41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

October 24, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE (room 432)
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am a consultant to the Board of The New World Foundation, which as you know, is interested in the work of the Southern Regional Council. I talked in New York the other day with Mr. David Freeman of the Fund for the Republic and he told me a good deal about that organization's work in the whole field of integration problems. He also spoke of the dearth of sufficiently trained personnel to undertake the urgently needed kind of field work in intergroup relations which your organization and others are trying to carry on. He suggested that I write you.

I should be most grateful for any material you might be able to send me describing the progress of your work and the ways in which it is being done. At some time during this winter I hope very much that I may be able to come down to Atlanta to talk with some of you and perhaps to make a visit to one or two of the centers where your work is moving forward.

My interest in this work relates partly to my own present work for The New World Foundation but partly also to the fact that intercultural relations and the integration problem have for many years been one of my chief interests and concerns. Therefore, to learn as much as I can about the work of the Southern Regional Council would contribute markedly to my self-education!

Yours very sincerely,

(Mrs) Katharine Taylor

Katharine Taylor
Consultant to the Board of The New World Foundation

KT/kb

November 6, 1956

Miss Katharine Taylor
Consultant to the Board of
The New World Foundation
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Dear Miss Taylor:

We should be very happy to have a visit from you. If you can let us know in advance, we could suggest one or two other places where local activity would be of interest.

Meanwhile, I am enclosing a few items describing our work. However, there's no real substitute for first-hand conversation. We'll look forward to hearing from you further.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Encs.
Short History SRC
SRC leaflet
Tuskegee Memo on SRC activities
September & October issues New South

File

RECEIVED NOV 15 1956

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

November 13, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Associate Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.,N.E. (room 432)
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am writing on behalf of Miss Katharine Taylor, who is out of town at the moment, to thank you for your kind letter and for the sheaf of material which you sent to her. I know Miss Taylor will be most interested in these pamphlets as her interest in the Southern Regional Council is very real.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Katharine K. Blake
(secretary)

December 14, 1956

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Taylor:

Thank you for your letter and for the subscription to New South. We are sending the two publications you suggested to Mrs. Harrison, Mr. Bentley and Mr. Hoehler.

I am delighted to learn that you are considering an early trip to Atlanta. The only dates definitely pre-empted for me are the first week in January, January 23-24, and the weekend of February 23rd. Please let me know, even tentatively what dates you may be here and I shall reserve them.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

December 10, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E., (room 432)
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Upon my return from a fortnight in Chicago I found your letter of November 6 which had been acknowledged by my secretary. I agree that "there's no real substitute for first-hand conversation" and I hope very much to be able to come to Atlanta for a few days sometime in January or February. Can you suggest any dates less inconvenient for you than other dates?

I have received a copy of Mr. Mitchell's letter to Mr. Richard Bentley (November 20) bringing the progress report up to date and making a formal application to The New World Foundation for a grant for the calendar year 1957. I trust that the Board will reply to this letter before long.

I found the material you so kindly sent me very interesting. I should appreciate it if (mentioning that I suggested it) you would send copies of two of those statements, 1) the grey folder "Toward the South of the Future", and 2) the mimeographed statement, "The Southern Regional Council, A Brief Account of its Origins and Aims, April 1956" to the following persons:

Mrs. Gilbert Harrison
3556 Macomb St.,N.W.
Washington 16, D.C.

Mr. Richard Bentley
120 S. LaSalle St., room 1845
Chicago 3, Illinois

Mr. Fred K. Hoehler
120 S. LaSalle St.,room 1865
Chicago 3, Illinois

The first two, as you probably know, are the Board members of The New World Foundation. Mr. Hoehler is currently in charge of the Chicago office of the Foundation.

If it is not too much trouble, would you be so kind as to pass along to the proper person the enclosed subscription blank and check?

Yours very sincerely,

Katharine Taylor

KT/kb
encl.

Katharine Taylor

File

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

December 27, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I imagine that you are rather anxious for a decision from The New World Foundation in relation to your recent request. I do not know whether you are at the moment extremely hard pressed for funds to enable you to carry forward your program or whether the matter, while important, is not of momentary urgency.

This question relates to the possible dates for my accepting your invitation to come to Atlanta to see something of the work at first hand. I should like to spend about three days there, and of course I want to be sure that you will be there during those days. My preference would be January 22-25 or January 28-31. However, if these dates seem to you too late, in view of what you are facing, I shall try to clear the days of January 14-17. Since I am in the midst of planning my somewhat complex calendar for the month of January may I ask you to telegraph me which of these dates are the best for you?

Yours very sincerely,

Katharine Taylor

Katharine Taylor

KT/kb

TRO 6-3379

Will come 22d
22 thru 25

January 11, 1957

Miss Katherine Taylor
41 Hawthorne Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Taylor:

Here is a memorandum we have put together as an attempt to add some concreteness to our earlier reports on the consultant program. Copies are being sent to Mrs. Harrison and Mr. Eagle, with enough additional copies to Mr. Eagle to enable him to circularize the Trustees if he wishes.

I hope this will be helpful as background for our coming conversations.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mm

Enclosure

January 11, 1957

AIR MAIL

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Taylor:

I am happy to know that the arrangements are made for your trip to Atlanta. We have reserved a room for you at the Atlantan Hotel for January 22-26.

In Washington a few days ago, I had a very pleasant luncheon with Mrs. Harrison. She seemed delighted by the news of your impending visit to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/eab

AIR MAIL

Dear Miss Taylor:

I am happy to know that ~~you~~ the arrangements are made for your trip to Atlanta. We have reserved a room for you at the Atlantan Hotel for January ~~22 through 26~~ 22-26.

In Washington a few days ago I had a very pleasant luncheon with Mrs Harrison. She ~~was~~ seemed delighted ~~to hear~~ ~~learn that you are to be in Atlanta~~ by the news of your impending visit to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

HCF

[Return her lts to HCF]

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

January 2, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have reserved my flights on Eastern Airlines. I leave Boston January 22 on flight number 303 at 7:45 a.m., arriving at Atlanta at 12:17. Returning, I leave Atlanta January 26 on flight 512 at 5:50 p.m., for New York.

Of course some contingency may arise to prevent this trip but I certainly hope it won't, for I want very much to have those days in Atlanta to talk with you and others and to attend the conference.

Yours very sincerely,

Katharine Taylor

Katharine Taylor

KT/kb

January 11, 1957

Miss Katherine Taylor
41 Hawthorne Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Taylor:

Here is a memorandum we have put together as an attempt to add some concreteness to our earlier reports on the consultant program. Copies are being sent to Mrs. Harrison and Mr. Eagle, with enough additional copies to Mr. Eagle to enable him to circularize the Trustees if he wishes.

I hope this will be helpful as background for our coming conversations.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mm

Enclosure

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

January 15, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E., room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for the new memorandum on the consultant program which I find very helpful. I am glad you have sent copies to Mrs. Harrison and Mr. Eagle. It was fine that you had the chance to talk with Mrs. Harrison in Washington.

I shall plan to go directly from the plane to the Atlantan Hotel on the 22nd and will await word from you there. Thank you for making the reservation for me.

It was ten below zero here early this morning and there is every prediction that this kind of weather is going to continue for a while. It will I assume be quite a contrast to find myself in the climate of Atlanta - unless I arrive there just as a cold spell is striking that region!

With best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

Katharine Taylor

Katharine Taylor

KT/kb

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . .

1/25/57

Mail to Miss Katherine Taylor, Cambridge.

Mailed

The People Take the Lead: A Record of Progress in Civil Rights, 1948-1957

"Memo to HCF from CHP Re SRC Consultant Program"

"Hate-Monger With literary Trimmings" by James Rorty

"Pro-Segregation Groups in the South"

"Memo Re People who are Too Busy to Live"

Koinonia Farms Newsletter #10

"The South and The Supreme Court's School Decisions"

"Recent Attacks upon the Members of the Supreme Court: A statement by Members of the Bar."

EAB

February 5, 1957

Miss Katherine Taylor
41 Hawthorne
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Katherine:

How grateful we are to you for interesting Mr. and Mrs. Moench in our work -- and over such a distance so quickly!

We were pleased, of course, by the unexpected and warmly welcome contribution, but almost equally so by the quality of interest revealed in their detailed questions about our operation. As you will see from the enclosed copy of my reply, we are supplying a surfeit of answers.

I am also enclosing two other items - our newly prepared summary of the work and a copy of a letter reporting an official school board request for our consultant services. I have also sent a copy of each to Mr. Eagle.

With deep appreciation and warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:mm

Enclosures

February 8, 1957

A I R M A I L

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorne Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

It was good to talk with you again this morning, virtually on the eve of the trustees meeting.

Enclosed is a copy of the thumbnail sketches of the consultants, four copies of which are going forward Air Mail to Vernon Eagle. Also a copy of our letter submitting the revised request.

One note about the consultants, which I am also pointing out to Mr. Eagle: this is the list of consultants that we have been using for work with our state affiliates and with comparable private groups in the South. We expect to be broadening the range to include some of the ablest practitioners as we undertake to service such needs as that indicated by the Bryson City Board of Education.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

February 25, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:-

I trust that by now you have received word from The New World Foundation as to their decision on your request for a grant. I have not as yet received a copy of anything that went to you from Mr. Bentley on this question; but I am sure it will be in the mail soon, and I think it is safe to say that the word is good.

I find it hard to keep up with the energetic actions of the Georgia State Legislature! After the long series of bills which were in process while I was in Atlanta, I have discovered in the New York "Times" a few more fascinating items, such as the February 18 Resolution of the Georgia House of Representatives calling for the impeachment of six of the United States Supreme Court justices for giving "aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States". I do hope that any further brainstorms of this sort that result in laws and resolutions will find their way into the press; for not only do they represent actions beyond one's dreams or concepts of a legislative body, but they are also evidences of a unique chapter in our history.

I am horribly belated in trying to convey to you and to all your staff my thanks for the unforgettable experience of those days in Atlanta. As I think of the pressure under which you all live and work, I am astounded at the amount of time you spared for me, with every ~~evidence~~ indication that you had nothing else to do but sit around and talk in a leisurely way. I hope you didn't have to pay for this by all-day and all-night work in the ensuing days. Those days in Atlanta were a profound and liberal education for me and I shall never forget them. You may be sure that I have used every opportunity among friends here to try to convey the extraordinary quality of the work of the Southern Regional Council -- so determined, yet so patient, so perceptive and so deeply intelligent at every turn of events. Please give my warmest greetings to all who gave so generously toward my increased understanding and also please tell Mr. Abram how much I enjoyed our talk together and how much I hope that I may further this acquaintance when next I come to Atlanta.

With best wishes always,

Yours very sincerely,

KT/b

Katharine

Katharine Taylor

March 5, 1957

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorne Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

I am still immensely pleased that we were able to have that pleasant hour together in New York.

We have just received from Vernon Eagle formal notification of the grant. As a matter of information, I am enclosing copies of my two letters to Vernon Eagle. (It seems we carry on a double correspondence, one official and one informal.) Your own letter, which was here when I returned, was very thoughtful and much appreciated.

My last day in New York was, on the whole, a good one. It's still too soon to put a cash value on the trip, but today we received official word that the William C. Whitney Fund is giving us $5,000. That alone makes the day seem much brighter.

With appreciation and warm good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

March 25, 1957

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

I am about to be off on another junket, but I didn't want to leave without at least a brief note of thanks for your recent letter and the clippings. We had heard of the series on Kasper but hadn't seen it. We are getting the other three.

Did you read about Kasper's latest misadventure? His checkered career caught up with him in Florida and just about wrecked him. Or so it seems.

I'll be writing you again when I get back to Atlanta. Meanwhile, my best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

March 11, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECE... 14 1957

Dear Harold:

Thank you for sending me the copies of your letters to Vernon Eagle. Yes, he is the kind of guy who can write formally with one hand while he delights in writing informally with the other.

You did have a rugged workout during those days in New York and I am glad that you at least have that $5,000 from the Whitney fund as a first dividend for your investment of effort. I hope that you will be hearing about more from your various sources later. It seems intolerable that you have to put so much of your time and energy into this struggle for cash when what you are really meant to do is to put your whole energy into directing the actual work of the council. However, this seems to be the way our civilization is organized, as I realized through all my years at the Shady Hill School.

I am enclosing three samples of a series of six articles in the Boston Globe on that extraordinary person, John Kasper. Unfortunately, I threw the others away before I realized that you might be interested in them. If you should by any chance want a full set for your archives, all you have to do is to write for them to the Boston Globe, 244 Washington St., Boston. Of course they may already have been syndicated in some paper which you read down there but I wouldn't be too sure.

All the best to you,

Yours,

Katharine

Katharine Taylor

Kt/kb
encl.

May 13, 1957

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorne Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

I thought you might like to have a copy of the enclosed progress report on the Consultant Service Program. Vernon Eagle requested such an up-dating in preparation for the Foundation's Board meeting on May 21st.

It seems terribly long since we talked last, though it isn't very long when I stop to think about it. Program-wise, the wheels are turning here very satisfactorily. Money-wise, we are still on an up-hill grade, but at least brute survival no longer seems to be the question. Our request to the Fund for the Republic for a further three-year period of assistance will be acted on day after tomorrow. If fortune smiles upon us, we will at least have a base on which to build a decent budget for the decisive period ahead.

I hope all goes well with you and that our paths will cross again soon.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

Bd of
New World
Foundation

June 18, 1957

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorne Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

I thought you might like to see the reply we received from the Cambridge law firm handling the estate of Mr. Emerson.

On the face of it, the bequest sounds most impressive, though we understand that "residue" can mean almost anything depending on the size of the estate and the specific bequests provided for.

In any case, it is deeply satisfying for the Council to be remembered in this way, particularly by so magnificant a person as Mr. Emerson clearly was. We are grateful to you once again for having made the Council's work known so helpfully.

I am going to be in New York again Wednesday evening, Thursday, and Friday morning of this week - stopping at the Roosevelt once more. I am not optimist enough to suppose that lightning will strike again, but I didn't want to miss even an infinitesimal chance.

Warm greetings from all of us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - Ltr. from Bingham, Dana & Gould

New Bruce

RECEIVED SEP 6 1957

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

September 4, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.,N.E., room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I trust you have patience with my uncommunicativeness this summer, the result of a considerable amount of traveling and a considerable amount of laziness.

I was interested in the new word last June about the bequest from Mr. Emerson, and in the letter you enclosed from the Boston law firm. I do not know whether you know any more about this by now. I have seen absolutely nothing here in the papers about Mr. Emerson's will and have heard nothing about it from anybody. Therefore, when you do receive more definite word I should be glad to hear what it is. I imagine that the estate is a rather conplex one and will take some time to be settled.

I was glad indeed to receive from you the semi-annual report of January to June 1957. I can well imagine how complex S.R.C.'s job is now and how difficult in view of the ups and downs of the total situation it is for you to evaluate clearly the progress in your own work. I am sure, however, that the progress is there and I know that you all must be sure also. I have been following in the New York Times the excellent reports on the general situation in the South and also on the Nashville one.

I trust that by now you have received and read the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry's report number 37, "Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation". I found it a very concentrated and intelligent piece of work and it seems to me to have inferences not only for interracial situations but for other kinds of tensions in groups and communities. I would think that it would be of considerable help to people working professionally along these lines.

My best to all my good friends on your staff, to your family, and to you.

Yours,

Katharine (K.B.)

Katharine Taylor

KT/kb

October 10, 1957

Miss Katharine Taylor
Alumnai House
Poughkeepsie, New York

Dear Katharine:

My plans for a trip behind the Union lines are beginning to shape up. I am to be in Philadelphia with Frank Loescher on Sunday, October 20th and part of Monday. Then I will proceed to New York and set up shop for a few days, probably at the Commodore or Roosevelt. My present plan is to be there through Thursday, October 24th.

What are the chances of my seeing you?

I wrote Howard K. Smith, but as yet have had no reply. Were you successful in getting the text of his broadcast?

I hope your teaching stint is going well, and am looking forward hopefully to a get-together.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. No word yet from the Boston law firm. I will pass along promptly any word we receive.

H.C.F.

News word

October 15, 1957

Miss Katharine Taylor
Alumnae House
Poughkeepsie, New York

Dear Miss Taylor:

Harold, who is ill and out of the office, has asked that I write you. It is assumed, however, that his New York trip will be made as scheduled. If so, he will be staying at the Hotel Commodore, beginning Monday evening, October 21st.

We are sending Harold your letter and, no doubt, he will expect a call from you prior to Thursday, October 24th.

Warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Tel: Poughkeepsie -
Globe 4-2300

10-13-57

ALUMNAE HOUSE
POUGHKEEPSIE
NEW YORK

New world

Dear Harold -

Thanks for your note expanding on your impressions behind the Union lines!

There's a bare chance we can meet - but all depends on your schedule, and mine. You say you'll be in N.Y. "Through Thursday" (Oct 24). Does that mean -

a) That you'll be there into Friday? b) Through late afternoon and/or supper time Thursday? c) And available perhaps

to meet me for breakfast or cocktail or supper on Monday Friday? or supper Thurs?

All this is projected from a very uncertain prospect of my own, so I'd better explain right now, that

a) I may not be able to get to N.Y. at all during those times,

b) If I should be able it would more likely be late Friday afternoon, than Thursday.

3

ALUMNAE HOUSE
POUGHKEEPSIE
NEW YORK

I'm so unpredictable about this that you mustn't alter or strain any other plans for such hours & dates — I guess the best thing is for you to drop me a line as soon as you know which hotel you'll be at, so that I can try to reach you by phone; or, you try to reach me by phone after you get to N.Y. —

4/ By that time maybe we'll both know a bit more about what we're up to.

Excuse this disorderly jumble. How I hate to be without a secretary!

Yours —

Katharine

No - I've not yet received a copy of Howard K. Smith's broadcast. Guess C.B.S is loose about answering such things. In previous experience in "no-reply" from inquiries to broadcasting networks —

October 18, 1957

Miss Katharine Taylor
Alumnae House
Poughkeepsie, New York

Dear Katharine:

Thanks for your note, which Paul Anthony acknowledged for me. I'm sufficiently recovered (from a virus) to be in the office and expect to be travelworthy Sunday. I'll call you from New York and see what the chances of a get-together are. I'm not yet sure myself whether I will return Thursday night or stay through Friday.

Howard K. Smith came through, and CBS granted permission for us to publish his broadcast in New South -- which we plan to do. I enclose a copy of the text, in case you haven't yet received one.

Yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure: 1

Hew Haven

October 28, 1957

Miss Katharine Taylor
Alumnae House
Poughkeepsie, New York

Dear Katharine:

It always gives me a great boost to get together with you and share ideas. I must say it always seems that the time is all too short.

I had a very good conversation with Mrs. Mahon - by telephone. Though we weren't able to get together, things worked out amazingly well. It turned out that the Little Rock bulletin is being prepared by Dorothy Height of the YWCA. I had lunch with her and with Alison Raymond. We discussed at some length what the bulletin might contain, and I am sending them some background information. In addition, I am putting the Committee of Correspondence on our mailing list and have volunteered to help them with specific inquiries they receive from their overseas correspondence. I am sure that we will be cooperating to the mutual advantage of both organizations.

I also had some very good conversations with foundation people, which I won't report in detail here. Suffice it to say that we should get some tangible benefit from at least a few of them.

I recall that you wanted some information on the Fund for the Republic's new program. Enclosed is a brochure which describes it.

I hope all went well in Cambridge and that you are totally fit again. I will be writing you again soon. Meanwhile, let me hear from you as your teaching load permits.

Yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure: The Free Society - FFR

New World

December 3, 1957

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorne Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

My friend Adam Yarmolinsky wrote a friend of his in the law firm handling Mr. Emerson's estate. Enclosed is a copy of the reply he received.

This is blessed news indeed and gives us even more reason to appreciate you.

Yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure: Copy of Haydock Letter

March 3, 1958

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

Many thanks for your welcome note of February 20. It confirms Jane's and my already strong conviction that you like the same things we do. I hasten to say that I'm not just speaking of the Progressive article (which I did have sent) or our children, but of Ashmore's book and The Voice at the Back Door. I had the opportunity to read Ashmore's book in manuscript, and Jane discovered the novel through a friend of ours some months ago. We had never heard of Elizabeth Spencer either, but will be prepared to snatch up the next book of hers that is published.

Vernon Eagle has come and gone, and I found him as sympathetic and alert as you had led me to expect. His stay here was all too brief and all too busy, what with an interagency conference and several other activities going on. Unfortunately, Jane was down with the 'flu, so we didn't get a chance to expose him to the Fleming variety of domesticity. He assured me, however, that he would be back before too long and we would have a more leisurely opportunity to further our acquaintance. I can only hope that he was as favorably impressed with the Council as we were with him. Incidentally, he and I immediately

found common ground in our mutual admiration for you. I don't suppose I have to tell you that he is one of your most enthusiastic boosters.

The very best from all of us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Sincerely

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS 2-20-58

Dear Harold —

The Feb. number of The Progressive, copy marked for your article, came in the mail today, — and you sent it to me I surmise? I thank you — and the article is damned good and the points very finely stated, in my opinion —

I have been reading Ashmore's ~~Farewell to~~ Epitaph for Dixie — (Louis Lyons has brought him here for the Nieman Foundation lecture tomorrow evening but alas, I didn't know about it in time to get out of another engagement.) and Elizabeth Spencer's The Voice at the Back Door, which I think an extraordinarily good novel and I think she writes with beauty and distinction. Why haven't I known about her before?! — stupid me.

Vernon Eagle wrote me he's to be with SRC in Atlanta Feb. 25 & 26 and then visit a "working spot" of SRC,

astro. I'm so glad he has this chance, for I've never ceased being grateful for my chance, last year. I know you'll save real time for a leisurely talk yourself with him, or at least I hope so!

And if he gets out to your house he'll see a dinosaur picture? I cherish mine! He has a son a little older, I think, than yours, Gary.

My thanks (belated) to Gary and my best, though they won't remember me, of course, to him and Tony — and to Jane and yourself, who I trust haven't forgotten me.

Yours

Katherine

March 25, 1958

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorne Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

Recalling our conversation about the New York Foundation, I wanted you to know that we recently received word of a $5,000 grant from that source. I gather from confidential rumblings that even this amount (we asked for more) didn't roll through easily. But there seems to be reason to hope that the Council will grow on the one or two doubting trustees!

Vernon Eagle gave them some report, following his visit here, and I am sure that has helped our future chances.

Jane and I enjoyed your card and enthusiastically share the hope you expressed.

Yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

S. Ward

April 11, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am glad that the New York Foundation came through with a $5,000 grant. Paul McGhee had earlier asked me to tell him all I could about S.R.C. and I had given him my own background and expressed my own convictions about the work. I am sure that Vernon did the same when he came back from Atlanta. I am also sure that the "confidential rumblings" which you mentioned were authentic - and that Paul McGhee himself is strongly in favor of your work.

My best to you and Jane and the young,

Yours,

Katharine

Katharine Taylor

KT:kb

July 17, 1958

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorne Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

By the time you see this, we will probably have been together in New York. At any rate, I am looking forward eagerly to that prospect.

Thanks ever so much for suggesting SRC for possible inclusion in the Pembroke College Campus Chest. I have written Miss Wolens enclosing some background material on SRC and its work. Apart from the possibility of tangible support, it's a pleasure to read so polished and favorable a description of the Council and its program. In my more promotion minded moments, I could not have done better myself.

With appreciation and warm regards from all of us,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosures: Cong. Rec. Reprint
SRC Annual Report, 1957
New York Times Reprint - 12/25/57
New South, June/1958

July 17, 1958

Miss Nancy Wolens
893 Dean Avenue
Highland Park, Illinois

Dear Miss Wolens:

Miss Katharine Taylor has been kind enough to send me a copy of her letter to you suggesting that the Pembroke College Campus Chest might want to include the Southern Regional Council among its beneficiaries.

As you will see from the enclosed material, the Southern Regional Council is a long-established race relations organization that is presently working to facilitate desegregation of public facilities and more democratic relations generally within its twelve Southern states.

Needless to say, we should be most pleased if your group considered the Council as an organization worthy of support. If you would like more information on any point, please let me know.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

C
O
P
Y

for H. Fleming

Harold, see my "plug" for S.R.C.! Maybe someone could send a bunch of stuff to this earnest and I'm sure intelligent undergraduate? K.T.

July 12, 1958

Miss Nancy Wolens
893 Dean Avenue
Highland Park, Illinois

Dear Miss Wolens:

I promised to write you again about possible ideas for the Pembroke College Campus Chest. By now you are doubtless in direct communication with the Unitarian Service Committee people about their work in Greece. The U.S.C., by the way, in case you are not already acquainted with its character, is a strictly non-sectarian "charitable corporation" for educational and social work abroad and in this country. It is not a religious-missionary organization in any sense, and it serves people irrespective of their racial and national backgrounds and their religious affiliations or beliefs.

Women's College of Brown University

It seems to me that you are making an excellent choice of local project in The Brown Youth Guidance in cooperation with settlement houses there. I have myself grown up in a settlement and I have the highest regard for their ways of work and for their imaginative approach to human problems. They meet community needs and education their neighbors toward community initiative and responsibility in very significant ways.

Now for a national organization. There are many of these--Red Cross, Heart Fund, etc., which through their widely popularized appeals secure good support from the population in general. It seems to me that you might choose something of a more pioneering nature, a needed pilot-demonstration in a field of urgent social concern. Such organizations do not command wide support, are doing very important work on very meagre budgets, and point the way for other groups.

The one I have in mind is the Southern Regional Council. I have been in close touch with this organization, am personally acquainted with its fine staff, and have spent some days in Atlanta observing its work. It is a "national" organization in that its support comes from people anywhere who believe in what it is doing.

It is working very quietly for the improvement of race relations throughout the southern states and in some northern centers also. It offers consultant services to communities struggling with school integration problems, labor problems, and community problems of an inter-racial nature. Nothing seems to me more needed in our society than work of this sort, and the Southern Regional Council is doing its work courageously, perceptively, and with increasingly fine results.

Their staff is inter-racial. Highly skilled Negro and white consultants go out into the field, enlist the cooperation of local individuals and organizations, and educate them in the most effective ways of work for each specific situation.

Its director is Mr. Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia. I am taking the liberty of sending him a copy of this letter and am asking him to send you some information.

One other international organization might be of interest to you. This is the World Federation for Mental Health, 19 Manchester Street, London W.1, England. Its American office is: 10 Columbus Circle, New York, New York. It is also a charitable organization and as in the case of the U.S.C. and the S. R. C., contributions are tax-deductible.

The W.F.M.H. was organized in 1948 in London, with representatives from more than fifty countries attending its conference there. I was chairman of one of the preparatory commissions for this conference, attended the London meetings, and have kept up with its work ever since. Dr. J. R. Rees, its Director, is a close friend of mine. I quote from its Bulletin its Aims and Purposes:

> To promote among all peoples and nations the highest possible standard of mental health, in its broadest biological, medical, educational and social aspects.
>
> To work with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, Unesco, Unicef, and the World Health Organization, with all of which the Federation has a consultant role.
>
> To help and encourage member-associations in the improvement of mental health services in their own countries.
>
> To promote communication and understanding through Meetings and International Congresses.
>
> To further the establishment of better humand relations in all possible ways.

The W.F.M.H. holds conferences and seminars and offers consultant services in all parts of the world, on every continent. It is attempting to meet what I think is a universal need. For if anything is urgent in this world it is that people everywhere shall learn to understand each other better, on a grass-roots, non-political level, and to work together more effectively on problems common to all. In the end, such work should become an influence toward the improvement of international relations at all levels, for the people concerned will be more aware of each other's attitudes, limitations, and potentialities. Its work is primarily concerned with preventive and educational purposes rather than with the cure of mental disease.

If you are interested in learning more about the W.F.M.H., I suggest that you write to both the London and the New York offices for informational

material. You are of course free to use my name if you wish in introducing yourself.

I hope that these suggestions may be of some use to you.

Sincerely,

Katharine Taylor

KT:gl

VIA AIR MAIL September 15, 1958

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

Bless you for lifting our spirits in a time of travail. Your contribution, and your letter even more, were great for the morale. I accept the amendment to the title of our program report; wasn't it Puck who said, "What fools these mortals be?"

You'll be interested in one use we made of the Virginia memorandum -- that is, as background for a briefing of the top network news officials in New York. We staged a luncheon (at your hotel, the Roosevelt!) for John Daly of ABC, his counterparts from the other two networks, and several of their principal assistants. Our consultants who have been working in the Virginia communities, plus our state chairman from Little Rock, gave very able interpretations of current and prospective developments in these key communities. The object, of course, was to further more mature radio and television news coverage "in depth."

I've also been making forays behind the vicuna curtain designed to elicit strong, statesmanlike utterances from the Summit. All very glamorous and -- temporarily -- successful, but of course wiped out by the off-the-cuff remarks. We're now

waiting itchily for a possible retrieval of the last boner.

We are eager to contrive your return to these parts. If you weren't on the board of a benefactor foundation, I'd invite you down as a consultant. Anyway, keep an immodest eye open for opportunities, will you?

You'd be surprised how quickly any lapse in your acquaintance with Gary and Tony would be remedied.

The very best from all of us on the staff, and from the Flemings, large and small.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Official receipt)

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

August 30, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I was about to write you to thank you for the memo "State vs. Federal Authority in Virginia," when the "Midsummer Report" came, with your note. Too bad the solemnity of your commitments prevented you from giving it the title of "Midsummer Night's Dream," or "Midsummer Nightmare."

First I want to say how extremely valuable the memo on Virginia is to "those concerned," like me. I had been trying to keep track of the legal entanglements in Virginia through the daily press, but found it hard going and often confusing. This memo does a very concise, clean job; it disentangles the legal threads up to the date of its publication; it gives us readers something firm to take hold of and to refer to as new moves come up. Cheers!

And as for your Midsummer Report, I am again amazed at the range and amount of the SRC services, performed by so small a group of skilled staff and with always the extreme limitations of budget. Herewith an infinitesimal booster-shot to the latter. Too bad I'm not a millionaire--but if I were, I suppose I might not have moved in circles which would have brought me into touch with SRC and you and Jane, and that would have been my loss.

Yes, I wish we could talk. I'm sure there are many important things that cannot be put into "reports." But these fantastic Virginia legal manoeuvres; the tricky state action to prevent the Arlington County School Board from being chosen by election and to require its appointment by the County Board of Supervisors (can that state action stand, legally?); and dozens of other matters, to say nothing of Little Rock day by day!

Well, as always, my wish is for: (a) more power to you; (b) occasional opportunities for vacationing, and for refreshing experiences not connected with the context of your work!

Warmest greetings to all my friends of the SRC staff.

My best to you and Jane and Gary and Tony; the latter will doubtless repudiate greetings from a total stranger, and the former will of course have forgotten me by now.

$20.00 CR
9/2/58
RHA

Ever,

Katharine

Katharine Taylor

KT:gl
Encl.

Oct. 12-1958

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

Dear Harold -

I have thus far read only chapter one of "The Southern Heritage" - but I find it very moving, and beautifully written. The author's self-revealing intimacy with the reader, and his combination of objective analysis and sensitivity, in telling the story is very fine. I'm taking it along with me this week when I set forth for a fortnight in Chicago. Good en-route reading! I thank you for sending it to me.

And now just as I return to this letter (callers have come and gone) the radio is announcing that the Jewish Temple in Atlanta has been bombed or

dynamited. How simply ghastly. With this, - and the Clinton Tenn. School - I begin to think there's a squad of secret experts going from place to place.

How can this kind of thing be brought to an end? — (This, as of course you realize, is merely a rhetorical question, an explosive response of mine, to explosions.) Well, anyway, the Federal Courts are behaving well, aren't they.

Yours —

Katharine.

VIA AIR MAIL November 14, 1958

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorne Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

We're in the process of digging ourselves out of the avalanche brought on by our annual meeting earlier this week. As the first order of business, I want to get the enclosed word on the Emerson Estate to you. It came at a most propitious moment -- an hour before we began our first annual session. This not only started us off in the proper spirit, but also gave me an opportunity to explain to our directors how deeply indebted we are to you for this generous bequest.

I'll always regret that I never met Mr. Emerson. We should like, if appropriate, to send some expression of appreciation to a surviving member of the family. I've written the law firm to ask who the proper person would be. You don't know right off, do you?

I forget just which of our great Confederate leaders it was who muttered on his deathbed, "The South, the poor South." But his lament is as timely today as it was then. Bad as it is, though, I'm not sure that there isn't more to hope for than in some time. With the closing of public schools, for the first time the white South is being required to pay a heavy price for intransigence. This means that the ranks of the liberals are being swelled, at least in the affected communities, by those who have previously been indifferent or opposed to change.

I hope we will have a chance to get caught up on these momentous developments soon. Meanwhile, warm greetings from all your friends here.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

P. S. Calculations from the Wall Street Journal put the total value of the securities at something over $18,000.

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

November 20, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E., room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

That was very good news about the Emerson bequest! and I gather from the letter which you enclosed from the estate lawyers that this is a "partial distribution" and that something more may turn up later on. Dear Mr. Emerson - how I wish that you and he could have met. You would have thoroughly enjoyed each other. I think that the estate lawyers are the best people to give you a name of a member of his family to whom you might write. I am not acquainted with his family. He and his wife were both very dear friends of mine but she died the year before he died. They married late and had no children. The relatives are children of hers by a previous marriage but Mr. Emerson was devoted to them and always thought of them as "our family".

In case you haven't already seen this syndicated article by Roscoe Drummond * I enclose it. I had always thought of him as pretty stodgily conservative and I was much interested in seeing how strongly he comes out in this article. Of course Governor Collins' proposal may be at heart a sample of delaying tactics. As for Drummond's proposals, is it barely possible that with this big election sweep the increased numbers of liberals from both parties in Congress might be able to outnumber the Southern Democrats and get some kind of good legislation through supporting the Supreme Court more effectively? Drummond's remark on the "policy of neglect and default....by the President, the Congress, and the Governors" is good tough talk.

I do hope that we can meet before too long. Be sure to let me know ahead when you plan a New York trip. If by chance anything should bring me to New York at that time do let us save time to hash over a lot of things together.

Sincerely,

Katharine

Katharine Taylor

KT:kb
enclosure

* Of course it's going to be that S.R.C. had already supplied Drummond with much of the great fine article!

Boston Globe 11-18-58

Laws Needed to Back Constitution; President and Congress Must Act

Integration-- How to Do It

By ROSCOE DRUMMOND

WASHINGTON — Current headlines read: "Little Rock Ordered to Resume Integration"; "Little Rock School Board Quits"; "Catholics, Protestants Support Integration"; "Integrated School Dynamited."

One thing is excruciatingly evident: It is that the problem of public school integration is not going to be resolved by continuing to ignore it, to neglect it, to try to pretend that it doesn't exist.

It is simply no longer good enough for the President and Congress to base policy on the wishful hope that if they close their eyes tight enough, it will go away.

It won't and it is reckless to tranquilize our minds longer to the fact that what is now a national danger will soon become a national calamity unless something is done about it.

The need is to replace a policy of neglect and default with positive action by the President, the Congress, and the governors.

★ ★ ★

As the base for useful Federal-state action it seems to me that these facts must be fixed clearly in mind:

The integration ruling can only be changed by a reversal of the Supreme Court's unanimous decision or by constitutional amendment.

Neither of these things is going to happen.

Either the Fourteenth Amendment, as interpreted by the court, is going to be carried out or massively evaded and if at any level of government citizens are to accept only those decisions of the Supreme Court they like, then our very system of law and order is on the way to breaking up.

Wise, patient, prudent but steady enforcement is attainable but only if the President, the C[illegible] and the gover-n[illegible] in it [illegible] mass integration is possible of early attainment in the South; but it is equally untrue to contend that no integration in the South is possible, because it is already taking place and being slowly extended.

What, then, needs to be done?

The need is to further the judicious extension of the desegregation process while at the same time making it clear that integration is not going to be imposed massively overnight before local opinion has been prepared.

The process will not be furthered by just hoping for it. It demands positive action by the President and Congress in cooperation with the governors.

★ ★ ★

I am profoundly convinced that legislation in support of the 14th Amendment is urgently required and for the following reasons:

1—We are dealing with a Federal right, the right of equal protection, and Congress has the duty to act because the 14th Amendment specifically invests Congress with enforcement authority.

2—The District Courts, which rightly have a role in determining when "equal protection" has been denied, are by no means the best instrument for carrying out the broad social, political, educational, and psychological decisions which need to be made in wisely carrying out the Supreme Court ruling. They can only get into these matters intermittently and sporadically as litigants on either side bring cases.

The courts do not have the authority to initiate the necessary studies essential for determining the broader issues. They can act against disobedience to the Constitution but they cannot act to prepare for disobedience.

3—Implementing legislation would remove the mist from the minds of many that avoidance of the Supreme Court decision is possible because there is "no law" on the subject and would put the moral weight of the legislative branch of the government behind the 14th

August 7, 1959

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

It was good to have your note of some weeks ago. I just realized how remiss I've been in failing to send you Fred Routh's new address. It is Fair Employment Practices Commission, State of Michigan, 900 Cadillac Square Building, Detroit 26, Michigan. The fairly frequent notes we've had from Fred suggest that he has adjusted to his important new duties and his new location with all the ease one might expect. We miss him a great deal.

Fred's replacement, Paul Rilling, formerly director of the Virginia Council, is busily and effectively at work. We were lucky to get so able a replacement so promptly. I hope you will have a chance to meet Rilling one of these days.

You must feel positively deluged with material from us these days, but I particularly wanted you to see the enclosed publication on the private school business. This is the first really comprehensive analysis of the chaos that would result from an attempt to replace public with private schools on any large scale. We're hoping it will help sober up some of our "leaders" who are intoxicated with thering of their defiant phrases.

My family and I are having a quiet, stay-at-home summer, having sunk everything in our new (actually big and old) house. I hope you are having a fine summer and that I will see you again soon, in New York or otherwise. I'll write next time I'm to be there.

Yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Green-Gauerke Pamphlet)

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

RECEIVED JUN 22 1959

June 18, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This is to thank you for several sheafs of interesting material you have been sending me lately. I like very much to keep in touch with what goes on in the SRC activities. Sometime when you are coming to New York do let me know, so that if I should happen to be there at the same time we could meet.

I trust that the SRC, is seriously taking up the Alabama bla ck and white rabbit case! I have followed it in the papers with fascination. How ridiculous can people be!

You will miss Fred Routh a lot, I am sure, but I hope that you have found a fine successor for him. Could you send me his address in Detroit, for I want to write him. Certainly he has taken on a very challenging and interesting new job.

All the best to you and your family and I hope that somewhere somehow you all get off for a good vacation this summer.

Yours,

Katharine

Katharine Taylor (K.B.)

KT:kb

Rec'd 8/26/59

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

August 24, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The report on the whole chaos of the southern private school movement is a superb job and I am very glad to have it. I am already lending my copy around to others here. *

Thank you very much for Fred's new address. I may possibly have an engagement in Detroit at some time this year, and if I do get there I shall make every effort to see him.

All good wishes to the family and yourself, and I hope that your new abode fulfills all your hopes for it!

Yours,

Katharine

Katharine Taylor

KT:kb

* The "background" report has just come - Thanks for this, too.

via air mail

July 15, 1960

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

I have no idea that you will be spending any time in the heat and turmoil of New York, but I'm writing you on the off-chance. It has just been decided that I will be in New York for a couple of days next week -- arriving Tuesday evening, the 19th, and leaving late Thursday afternoon. I'll be staying at the Commodore.

If by any unlikely chance you should be in New York then, it would be a delight to see you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

June 3, 1960

NOTE TO MF

When HCF next schedules a NYC trip have him write Katharine Taylor in advance.

See ltr. from Miss Tylor of June 1, 1960

ALSO: pull ltr. from D. John Heyman, NY Fd. dtd: June 6, 1960

MF - Pls help me remember to write her next time I schedule a NYC trip.

H.

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

June 1, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta,3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your letter of May 18. I, too, am very happily surprised that the bequest from Mr. Emerson is so sizable. How I wish that you and he might have known each other! I am sure that you would have greatly enjoyed each other.

It would indeed be nice to express in some way your appreciation of Mr. Emerson. Do write me if any appropriate idea occurs to you.

I still am hoping that we can meet in New York sometime. I shall be around here through most of July and although I have no fixed dates ahead for trips to New York during this period, I shall certainly be down there for a few days once or twice. (excuse blur!)

All the best to you and your family,

sincerely,

Katharine

Katharine Taylor

KT:kb

April 3, 1961

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

I was ever so grateful for your letter concerning our report to President Kennedy. I have delayed answering until I could tell you about an impending change in my circumstances. The enclosures are self explanatory, except that they say very little about the new organization I will be launching in Washington. But I will fill you in on that later, after it has taken on more definite shape. For the time being, I will be commuting between Washington and Atlanta until school is out and I can move the family.

I am not sure you have met Leslie Dunbar, who will shortly become the Executive Director. He is a first rate man both personally and professionally, and there is every reason to have high hopes for the Council under his direction. I hope that one of these days you will have another occasion to come South and visit the Council under its new leadership.

My new work will take me to New York frequently and this leads me to hope that we will be able to rendevous there in the near future. As soon as I

get a working base in Washington you will be hearing from me again. Meanwhile, warm regards as ever.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2.

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

RECEIVED
MAR 1 1961

February 27, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many, many thanks to you for sending me your report submitted to President Kennedy and others in Washington. I can already see its fine touch in a few of the statements that have been made from Washington, and I am sure that this document of yours will be of tremendous help to the administration. I think the report is absolutely superb.

I hope that you heard Edward P. Morgan's broadcast of February 9 or that you have received a transcript of it. He gave a good half of his time to enthusiastic comments on S.R.C. The New York Times keeps popping up with references and quotes about S.R.C. which is also all to the good for your general purposes and I hope will bring some dividends for your budget.

I was in New York last week and heard by the underground (Vernon Eagle) that you are to receive an award in Washington within the next week or two. Cheers! This is as things should be.

Sincerely,

Katharine

Katharine Taylor

KT:kb

Pending

file

November 22, 1961

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Taylor:

I shall meet you at the airport December 4. You have a room reservation at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel.

We shall be most pleased to see you. The Coles are expecting to have you with them for the better part of a day and we shall try to plan the rest of your time in an interesting but not too tiring way.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

ARTHUR HEYMAN (1867-1951)
HERMAN HEYMAN
MORRIS B. ABRAM
ROBERT G. YOUNG
ROBERT E. HICKS
MAURICE N. MALOOF
JOHN H. HICKS
JOSEPH LEFKOFF

LAW OFFICES OF
HEYMAN, ABRAM, YOUNG, HICKS & MALOOF
1504 HEALEY BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GA.

TELEPHONE
JAckson 5-3471

November 20, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I very much want to see Katherine Taylor when she is in Atlanta and I hope she will save some time for me. Please tell her so.

Sincerely,

Morris B. Abram

A/w

Tom
Tuesday
Thurs

Pending

November 17, 1961

Mr. Morris Abram
Healey Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Morris:

Miss Katherine Taylor of Boston will be in Atlanta December 4-8 and expressed a hope that she might see you. She said that she had met you several years ago at Harold's house or someplace. You may recall that she is a member of the Board at New World and connected with the Shady Hills School. Let me know if you want to spend some time with her.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:dm

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

November 17, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is a follow-up on our telephone conversation the other day.

I plan to arrive in Atlanta Monday, December 4 at 4:30 p.m. via Eastern Airlines flight number 555. I have return reservations on Eastern Airlines flight number 556, leaving Atlanta Friday, December 8 at 5:30 p.m.

I shall appreciate it if you can let me know before long the name of the hotel at which you have reserved a room for me. I shall then go directly from the airport to the hotel, where I hope I'll find some word from you.

Besides anything you choose to plan for me in relation to the work of the Southern Regional Council, there are two or three other engagements I should like to have planned. To avoid confusion and duplication I hope that you or someone in your office will be able to make these arrangements for me.

I, of course, want to get acquainted with you and to hear from you all that you want to tell me about S.R.C.

I should like, if possible, to have an evening with Jane and Bob Coles, and perhaps they will have an idea for letting me see at first hand something connected with their work.

I should like a brief look-in at Quaker House and a chance to talk with Mr. Yungblut, its director.

Vernon Eagle has sent me the report of Mr. Samuel H. Johnson about the Educational Counselling Service. I should like to have a talk with you about this to get your impressions of it, and I know that Mr. Johnson wants an appointment with me if possible when I am there. Perhaps he could come to the S.R.C. office for this.

I should love to see Morris Abram again, purely socially, if possible. I have no axe to grind with him!

If I am involved in evenings, I should like an hour or two off at the hotel during those afternoons, if possible.

I hate to load these appointments upon you, but it seems the only way to work them out efficiently.

Looking forward with much pleasure to this visit,

Yours very sincerely,

Katharine Taylor

Katharine Taylor

KT:b

Personal

Air Mail

October 11, 1961

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Taylor:

I was delighted to hear from Vernon that you were planning to visit us, and especially glad to learn from your letter that you will be able to stay a week or more.

The Annual Meeting would have been an interesting occasion for you -but as you say, and we admit it - it is the staff that does the work.

The week of December 4 and the next would suit us fine. For that matter, I believe you could pretty well select a time at your convenience and find us ready to welcome you. January 3-12 would be a little difficult for some of us here but not seriously so.

We have enjoyed having Jane and Bob Coles in Atlanta. I know they will be pleased that you are coming.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
cc: Vernon Eagle

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

October 10, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I know that Vernon Eagle and you have been in communication about the possibility of my spending a few days in Atlanta to catch up with the work of the S.R.C., to make a visit to Quaker House, and to have a chance to see how Dr. Coles' work is coming along. Vernon now tells me that you have suggested that I come to Atlanta in time to attend the S.R.C. board meeting November 8 and 9.

I wish I could do this, but I find that my schedule for these next weeks is pretty heavy and involves one or two other trips which I must make. So I have reluctantly decided that I cannot be in Atlanta November 8th and 9th.

Does your board meet again? Perhaps in January ~~or February,~~ and from your point of view would either of those months be a good time for me to come to Atlanta? I would hope to come at a time when you are there, for I have heard so much about you from Harold Fleming that I want to make your acquaintance and to get your thinking about the current phase of the work of S.R.C. While it would be of added interest to come at a time when the board meets, I would not feel that this would be essential. After all, it is the staff that does the work!

Hoping to hear from you about possible later dates which would be convenient for you,

Yours very sincerely,

Katharine Taylor

Katharine Taylor

KT:kb

P.S. I have just talked with Vernon Eagle by telephone. He would like me to complete my visit in Atlanta not later than the middle of January. Moreover, he would like me to spend a good week or ten days there. From your point of view, how would it be if I came the week of December 4 and a day or two into the following week, or in January, perhaps from the 3rd or 4th until the 12th? Please let me know your preference, and I shall try to fit it in with mine.

K.T.

January 4, 1962

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

Thank you for your letter of December 15 and the Dobosh Tort, and for having come to visit us. We enjoyed your stay very much indeed.

Things continue to move along here at about the same pace. Our voter project begins to take form under the direction of its newly appointed head, Wiley Branton. We shall be spending much of our effort the next several weeks on a year end analysis and report on the accomplishments of one year of executive action in the civil rights field. Other things go ahead.

Best wishes. I hope we shall see you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

December 15, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I have just sent to Vernon a copy of the bare calendar of my doings in Atlanta (with some comments), and as I listed all these doings and all the persons I had the chance to talk with I was vividly reminded of all you had done to make these days such an extraordinarily rich experience for me. I should feel guilty about all the work this involved and about the extremely generous gift of time, just to talk, on the part of your various staff members and yourself. But I don't feel guilty - just endlessly grateful and appreciative. Please thank the others for me.

The evening at your house was unforgettable - all the good talk with the Meyers, the Lincolns, Margaret Long, and yourselves; the delicious dinner, and that meringue pie of Peggy's, a real work of art!

I note in the New York Times (Claude Sitton) that the Albany situation has now exploded. When will people come to their senses?

I am going to Chicago December 17, to be with some of my family there until January 2. They and some of my friends out there will have to listen to my Atlanta story, and will want to.

A happy Christmas to all the Dunbars, and to my friends of the S.R.C. staff.

Yours,

Katharine

Katharine Taylor

KT:kb

April 12, 1962

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

Thanks for your wonderful comments about the Executive Support of Civil Rights. True, we got good press notices but I am always just as eager to hear reactions from those few people whose opinion we value so highly.

Despite your consideration in saying that I need not reply, I want to do so because I am disturbed by the announcement you enclosed of the meeting of the Greater Boston Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice. I read it with the feeling "must we go through all this again?" It take some doing for Robert Williams and the Monroe incident to be elevated as symbols of the civil rights movement in the South. The kind of people who are responsible for that announcement are apparently bold enough to try anything and I am disappointed at the Boston Unitarians for giving them the platform. I think you would find very, very few, if any, responsible Negro leaders in the South who would join in this meeting.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 4/11/62

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

April 10, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you ever so much for sending me the copy of "Executive Support of Civil Rights". I am extremely glad to have this to put beside "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights". It seems to me that this kind of thing is one of the most important services which S.R.C. is performing - although there are plenty of others which are of extreme importance. I have also kept the articles and editorial in the New York Times about this new report. How good it is that it received such excellent notice.

I enclose an item which came to me in yesterday's mail. I do not know whether you think that meetings of this sort on this particular cause are significant and useful, but in any case here it is. I shall not be able to attend the meeting, and I have no idea whether the Unitarians intend to do anything further along this line. Don't return the enclosure. I just thought you might be interested in seeing it. and don't reply!

Yours,

Katharine

Katharine Taylor

KT:kh

enclosure

THE GREATER BOSTON UNITARIAN FELLOWSHIP FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

In association with

THE LIBERAL CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS

present

"MONROE ON TRIAL"...a free inquiry into segregated "justice".

The Argument

On August 27, 1961, a racial struggle erupted in Monroe, North Carolina, of a more serious and complex nature than any thus far. After several hours of rioting, arrests, brutality and gunfire, four members of the Negro community and one white Freedom Rider stood charged with the major crime of kidnapping and the prospect of being sentenced by an all-white Southern jury to prison for life. This dramatic story remains today, the untold crisis of the Negro Freedom Movement.

On Thursday evening, April 12, in the First Church Unitarian, Harvard Square, Cambridge, two of the men under indictment will give a full and uninhibited account of their plight and the reasons for it. Richard Crowder, nineteen years old, President of the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee and a member, Harold Reape, aged seventeen, will be joined by their attorney, Conrad Lynn, distinguished Negro Civil Rights lawyer, in an attempt to mitigate the press black-out which has kept this crucial case from the awareness of the American people.

There have been many stirring examples of resistance to the unconstitutional and inhuman oppressions of Negro citizens but the Negro people of Monroe, North Carolina, have been unique. In a town virtually a headquarters of the Ku Klux Klan, they have originated and sustained a completely indigenous and militant resistance movement which has for years, and at bitter personal sacrifice, stood off attempts from all levels of officialdom to crush it out. This particular movement needs to be known and pondered by citizens everywhere. It may be that the brave Negro people of Monroe will give new life, new forms and new directions to a struggle now lapsing into inertia. They only need a chance to be heard.

APRIL 12, 8:00 p.m.
MONROE ON TRIAL
FIRST CHURCH UNITARIAN, HARVARD SQUARE
with
RICHARD CROWDER, under indictment for kidnapping.
HAROLD REAPE, seventeen, also under indictment.
CONRAD LYNN, distinguished Civil Rights Advocate
TRUMAN NELSON, Novelist and Historian of the Abolitionist Period, will act as Chairman.

PUBLIC INVITED

2½ U.S. POSTAGE

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn St.
Cambridge 38, Mass.

April 17, 1962

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

I finally read A Man in the Mirror (and so did Jane Coles). Thank you for letting me borrow it. I thought the description of the Masai customs and tribal organization was fascinating.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

May 9, 1962

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

I was greatly interested in your report of the Greater Boston Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice meeting. It all seems to have worked out for the best.

I suppose Vernon has told you that the General Education Board has made it possible for Bob and Jane to stay on here another year. We are very pleased.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Reid 5/3/62

PA ✓
LD

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

May 1, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

A word in reply to yours of April 12, about the Greater Boston Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice.

I've never had any contact with this organization, and all I know about it is second hand, from friends whose judgment I trust, and from one or two Unitarians who don't belong to it. The impression seems to be: a few people of strong convictions, who maybe don't know how to go about things; it attracts some of the fuzzy-minded, unable to distinguish between the valid and the non-valid; and others, who want to "bravely take a stand", and who satisfy their consciences through talking among themselves or making a "statement."

Well, that meeting that was held, on the Monroe incident. I asked a friend of mine, a Unitarian, a very sensible person, to find out what occurred, for her pastor had lent a room in his parish house for the meeting, although he had nothing to do with the planning of the occasion. She, my friend, talked with the minister and with two or three others who had attended the meeting.

Sixty or seventy people came. There was no enthusiasm about the speakers or the things they said. One man got up and shouted, "You're nothing but a communist", and stalked out of the meeting. There was no questioning, discussion. The whole affair seemed to fall flat; the minister said that from the opening words, right through, he had misgivings about the speakers.

So that episode is over, and I gather the U.F.S.J. was not enlisted in that cause! Maybe the audience had more sense than I give them credit for, or maybe they were just bored.

But why didn't they have more sense in selecting representatives from the South? My friend has given the minister of her church, hoping he will pass it along to those who plan such affairs, the suggestion that in any future plans to bring anyone up from the south to talk to them, they ask S.R.C. to recommend speakers.

These comments are naturally confidential, please! But I thought you'd be relieved to know.

Yours,

Katharine

Katharine Taylor

KT:kh

June 28, 1962

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

Les is away for several days integrating Chicago and Wisconsin and has asked me to comment on your question concerning the books for Miles College. The school continues to need books although there has been a gratifying response to the appeal.

All of the books you mentioned as examples are quite appropriate. In fact, the school library has so many needs - and so few volumes at present that any decent book fits the appropriate category. They have received worthless volumes, but most have been useful.

I hope you will have an opportunity some time to meet Lucius Pitts, the new president of Miles. He is an exceptionally fine person.

Best wishes/

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mmj

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

June 19, 1962

RECEIVED
JUN 21 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PA
advise please

Dear Leslie:

The appalling Air France crash at Paris, besides the shock to people everywhere, must have meant the loss to you of a number of friends, and the loss to Atlanta of some of its finest citizens. Tragedies like this are unthinkable.

Your report of May 30 on parochial school desegregation is encouraging. You probably saw this Times editorial, but here it is, in case you haven't seen it. Why don't the Protestant churches take a stronger stand?

I seem, without my consent, to have been put on the mailing list of the Liberal Citizens of Massachusetts, which apparently co-sponsored the "Monroe" meeting at the Cambridge Unitarian Church. I am not impressed by some of the names on the Executive Board list, or by their account of the meeting. But here it is - for your files or your wastebasket.

Months ago I received a form letter from you about one of the Negro colleges and its need to increase its library in order to secure accreditation. At the time I thought I could do nothing about this and I probably destroyed the letter. Now I'm trying to screw up my courage to sort out the accumulation of books on my shelves and reduce their quantity, to make room for recent acquisitions.

Is it too late? or does said college still need books? If so, name and address of the college? and what kinds of books? I wouldn't want to send them worthless things like out-dated psychology books. Yet I have a few good books on education and psychology which I don't need now and which wouldn't be considered dated. And possibly a very few novels and books of poetry.

I enclose a list of samplings, to give you an idea of some of these books. I'd like to know:

Whether they, or some of them, and which, would be appropriate for the college you mentioned.

If not, whether you can suggest any other institution which might like them.

Whether any of these might be of use to S.R.C. itself, for that would come first with me, of course.

I hate to bother you with this. Please turn it over to someone else to deal with. I have a persistent conscience about sending mere "discards" to people who need books which are significant and really useful to them. Therefore I don't want to wrap up any packages until I hear what you or someone of your staff thinks about such samples as these.

Best wishes to the Dunbar family,

sincerely,
Katharine (Taylor)

Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Examples of kinds of books I no longer need and can spare.

A collection about problems of the South, most of them sent me long ago by Edwin Embree after I had spent a few weeks as consultant for Rosenwald Fund activities in Georgia and Alabama. Would these be appropriate? or not? If not, I can dispose of them here:

Ashmore: The Negro and the Schools; Epitaph for Dixie

Johnson, Charles: Patterns of Negro Segregation.

Johnson, James Weldon: Along This Way

Raper: Tenants of the Almighty; Preface to Peasantry.

Embree: Brown Americans; Investment in People

Davis and Dollard: Children of Bondage

Miscellaneous, mostly dating around World War II and soon after:

White, W.L.: They Were Expendable

Lattimore: Solution in Asia

Dean, Vera M.: The Nature of the Non-Western World

Kennan: American Diplomacy, 1900-1950

Laves and Thomson (recent): UNESCO; the first definitive history of Unesco.

Sherwood, Robert: Roosevelt and Hopkins

International Conference of Social Work Report, Toronto, 1954: Self-Help in Social Welfare.

Riesman: The Lonely Crowd

LCM

May 10, 1962
Vol. XIV, No. 1

LIBERAL CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS

MONROE NON-VIOLENT LEADER AND ATTORNEY AT MEETING

The Liberal Citizens of Massachusetts, in association with the Greater Boston Chapter, Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, on April 12th sponsored a lively meeting at the First Church, Unitarian, in Cambridge, presented as an inquiry into the facts of the Monroe, North Carolina, kidnapping cases. The meeting, the purpose of which was to bring the facts of the Monroe incidents to the attention of as many people as possible, and to raise money for the legal expenses of the defendants, was chaired by Truman Nelson, author of "The Sin of the Prophet," "The Surveyor" and other books.

The speakers at the meeting were Harold Reape, 17 years old, President of the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee, and one of the defendants in the kidnapping indictments, and Conrad Lynn, of New York, well-known civil rights lawyer, attorney for the defense. The highlight of the meeting was a staged interrogation of Reape by Mr. Lynn, as if in a courtroom, by which the facts of the case were brought out.

A lively question period followed the speeches, with Mr. Lynn answering queries about the Monroe case and also departing from the strict matter of the meeting to give an intriguing presentation of the argument for the moral and legal right of southern Negroes to meet force with force and to use firearms or any other weapons to repel threatened invasions of their homes or properties or to respond to violent attacks.

LCM FAVORS NON-VIOLENT PROGRAM

The Liberal Citizens of Massachusetts, as a sponsor of the April 12th meeting, made it clear that it did not necessarily agree with the ideas expressed by the speakers. In fact the organization, in working for integration

(see "Monroe Meeting", page 4)

WILL U. N. LOAN PASS HOUSE?

"Be it enacted," says S. 2768, passed last month by the Senate, "that there is hereby authorized to be appropriated by the President . . $100,000,000 for a loan to the United Nations." The bill in effect authorizes the purchase by the U. S. of half of the 200 million dollar U. N. bond issue approved by the General Assembly on December 20th, 1961.

(see "U.N. Loan", page 2)

MEDICAL CARE FOR THE AGED: THE KING-ANDERSON BILL

by
Edward L. Young, M. D.

Approximately 17,500,000 Americans today are over 65 years of age - in ten years there will be 23,000,000 over 65. Nine out of ten of these old people will need hospital care at some time, and many of them more than once. But - average hospital cost to patients is $32 per day, and it is rising (it was $9 in 1946), the average hospital stay for over-65 people is 15 days, and the median yearly income of those over 65 is $1300.

Statistics, although they can be useful, never give the whole story. But these figures at least indicate that most of our older citizens cannot finance adequate medical care out of their income.

How such medical care should be financed is the subject of controversy in Congress and in the country. The King-Anderson bill, backed by the Kennedy administration, is the best answer. The bill would provide payments for hospital care, nursing home care, home health services and out-patient diagnostic services for everyone over 65 out of social security funds. The funds would be provided by an additional 1/4 of 1% contribution by both the worker and his employer. The payments would be made as an insurance right, without any means test, and the Supreme Court has declared that Social Security is a form of insurance.

A recent Gallup poll found 67% of the people in favor of the King-Anderson Bill. The main opposition comes from the American Medical Association which is working hard to defeat the bill, although Dr. Larson, AMA President, insists the organization spent "only" $163,404.61 for Washington lobbying in 1961 (this is more than was spent by any other single organization in the United States).

AMA objections generally center around three arguments:

It is said that this sort of involuntary plan will lower standards of medical care. How can it? There is no reason for expecting such a result. I have enough faith in doctors to be sure they will still give their patients the best type of care. Actually, other aspects of the changed situation will tend to improve such standards.

It is said that the plan will interfere with a patient's free choice of a doctor or the

(see "Medical Care", page 2)

("Medical Care" continued)

freedom of the doctor-patient relationship. This is not true under the terms of the bill, which specifically does not intervene between patient and doctor.

It is said that the plan is "socialized medicine." This is just playing with words, because socialization would mean that everything, from hospitals to pills, would belong to the government and be dispensed by it, and doctors would be controlled and paid by the government. It is absurd to call the King-Anderson Bill socialization.

The fact is that the fullest freedom to practice medicine for the patient's benefit can only come with freedom from worry about the expense of adequate care to the patient. When this expense is an important factor, the kind of care prescribed has to be suited to the patient's ability and willingness to pay; a difficult situation exists between a patient who will not take a chance on paying for diagnostic procedures or treatment which he is not sure will help him and a doctor who wonders whether he should ask the patient to take these; and many patients will not seek necessary treatment because of the expected cost, and also are not willing to apply for public assistance, or cannot qualify for it.

The King-Anderson Bill represents a step forward which is long overdue and, once adopted, can form the solid basis for further adjustments until we achieve a really adequate old age care program.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Representative John McCormack of Massachusetts and other House members are reported (May 1) as saying they have found an "overwhelming" sentiment among their constituents in favor of the King-Anderson Bill. But the AMA News (April 30) asserts, "Recent polls by congressmen continue to show that a majority of the voters who answer are opposed to the King-Anderson Bill." Obviously, there is work to be done, opponents to be persuaded and supporters to be encouraged. We think it is timely, therefore, to suggest a letter to be sent to Massachusetts Senators and Congressmen, with copies to President Kennedy and Secretary of HEW Ribicoff, along the following lines:

Sir: The undersigned citizens of Massachusetts support the purposes and provisions of the King-Anderson Health Insurance Plan Bill and urge your support and vote for the bill when it comes before Congress.

If you would like to sign this letter, please check the enclosed card and return it to LCM.

("U.N. Loan" continued)

No restrictions are contained in the Senate bill, except the fairly generous one that the U. S. purchase is contingent on subscription by other nations to at least $ 75,000,000 of the remaining bonds. Recent news reports state that 30 nation have already offered to purchase $ 55,000,000 worth of the bonds.

On March 9th, LCM addressed letters to Senators Saltonstall and Smith urging them to vote for the bond purchase. Sen. Smith, in reply, said that he would so vote. Sen. Saltonstall said, characteristically, "I have not yet decided whether I will vote for the Committee recommendation or another proposal. I do, however, believe that the UN is a valuable instrument for greater peace and security . ." He voted for it.

The bill went to the House of Representatives on April 9th, but hearings in the Committee on Foreign Affairs have not yet been scheduled by Chairman Rep. Thomas E. Morgan (D., Pa.). The House is not famous for its liberality in support of international cooperation, or any measures that can be characterized as creeping one-worldism. Time is also important. Rep. Morgan should be nudged, and our own Congressmen should know our views on the urgent need of the U. N., whose failure would make certain the world catastrophe which is otherwise only more or less probable.

"Wish I Could Quit This Stuff"

WILKINSON SPEAKS ON UN-AMERICANS

Frank Wilkinson, Director of the National Committee for Abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee, addressed a meeting under the auspices of LCM at the Hotel Touraine on March 20, calling for renewed efforts to eliminate the Committee in the next Congress. Mr. Wilkinson recently completed nine months in federal prison for contempt of Congress, a sentence arising out of a clash with the Un-American Committee in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1958.

At that time Mr. Wilkinson had gone to Atlanta to organize opposition to the Committee, which had subpoenaed a group of outstanding southern leaders in the integration movement. He was promptly subpoenaed himself. In his appearance before the Committee, he accused it of seeking to block integration by smearing the people who were working for it, and he refused to answer any questions, citing the First Amendment.

Book review:

BURNING CONSCIENCE

Guenther Anders; Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London; 16s.

Few contemporary stories exhibit as clearly as the story of Claude Eatherly the extent to which the people of other countries, not only in Europe, but in Asia and Africa as well, are better informed about things that go on in the United States than are the American people. Even at this writing few Americans know exactly who Major Claude Eatherly is or are familiar with the story of his 17-year ordeal. But this situation, we confidently believe, will be drastically changed in the coming weeks. This will be largely due to the efforts and the writings of his friend-in-correspondence Guenther Anders.

"Burning Conscience" is truly history in the making, and the history that it is making is breaking fast. The last letter in this correspondence is dated July 11, 1961, and recognizes only a glimmer of hope that Eatherly may eventually be released from the mental hospital to which he was indefinitely committed by a Texas court on January 12th. Now, in May, 1962, Eatherly is out on a "trial visit" basis, and even the American people will be hearing about him through his soon-to-be-published autobiography, two other biographies, a Swedish documentary film and other projects.

The decision to publish the Eatherly correspondence in toto was taken by Anders in the white heat of his indignation over the January trial and commitment. These were carried out under circumstances which, as Anders knew well through his constant contact with the case, were based on a number of outright falsehoods, subterfuges and official pressures. It is certain that publication of these letters has played a large part in Eatherly's release.

"Burning Conscience" is not a literary masterpiece. It is nevertheless, at this time, in this place, exciting reading, and important to an appreciation of this extraordinary drama which is still unfolding.

We offer herewith a one-paragraph condensation of the Eatherly story, which we trust will not discourage anyone from reading the letters. On August 6th, 1945, Eatherly piloted the "Straight Flush" over Hiroshima and sent the message to the plane which followed him, "Bomb primary!" In the following years he was increasingly harrassed by an overwhelming sense of guilt and nightmares. In 1959, after committing a number of seemingly pointless and incomplete crimes of forgery and robbery, he was admitted to the VA mental hospital in Waco, Texas. A psychiatrist (who had perhaps not read the John Hersey classic) said, "Hiroshima in itself is not enough to explain his behavior." The next year, while a voluntary patient, he left the hospital and tried to go to Mexico; he was arrested and returned to the hospital under an involuntary commitment; his doctor told him he would have to stop his writings against nuclear weapons, that "the hospital staff had to take orders from the Air Force and State Department." But in 1962, according to Newsweek (April 23) "the VA doctors in Waco appear over their heads and are back-paddling furiously." Claude Eatherly and his "burning conscience" are out.

* * * * * * * * * * *

"Burning Conscience" can be obtained by sending a check for $ 2.38 (17 shillings) to Blackwell Ltd., Broad Street, Oxford, England. "Burning Conscience" is also scheduled for publication by Monthly Review Press, 333 Sixth Ave., New York, $ 4.00.

INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATION ON PLANET-WIDE EXPERIMENTS URGED.

Astronomers Martin Ryle and Fred Hoyle of Cambridge (England) University, reacting quickly to reports of United States plans to explode "rainbow" atomic devices in space 500 miles above the Pacific, asserted (New York Times, May 2) that no nation should undertake scientific experiments that affect the planet as a whole without prior consultation with a properly constituted international commission.

The "rainbow bombs" are expected to alter the Van Allen radiation belts which surround the Earth. These belts of charged particles, whose existence has been disclosed by both American and Russian probing satellites. Scientific studies of the belt are very incomplete, and its origin and significance are far from being understood. Sir Bernard Lovell, director of the Jodrell Bank Radio Observatory demanded that those planning the "rainbow" project "be restrained by all means from this presumption of moral right to interfere with the environment of the earth," and his sentiments were echoed by many other world scientists.

These statements call to mind the outcry caused by this country's so-called "needles satellite," launched last October. This device was a rocket to place in orbit a wide band of millions of tiny copper wires, which were to surround the earth, in an experiment to see whether they would serve to reflect radio waves. At that time astronomers protested that the plan might interfere with reception of radio waves which are providing new information about the structure of the galaxy.

On October 25th LCM sent a letter to Ambassador Adlai Stevenson and to UNESCO officials protesting the "needles" experiment. The letter urged that UNESCO pro-

(see "International Consultation", page 4)

("International Consultation" continued)

mulgate the formation of an international commission "to consider and approve in advance all large scale scientific experiments proposed by individual member nations which would have results significantly affecting the peoples of the world at large."

Subsequent reports on the "needles" project reveal that the experiment in fact failed, as apparently the packages of wires did not properly discharge their contents and went into orbit as single units. This reprieve, however, may be short-lived. The United States is said to be planning a new attempt to create a needle belt around the earth.

It is clear that as more of such planetary experiments become feasible, the need for international restraints on over-enthusiastic national experimenters will become more acute.

("Monroe Meeting" continued)

and for full civil rights for southern Negroes, has given its full support to the program of non-violent political and social action so ably developed and courageously carried forward by the Rev. Martin Luther King, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, CORE and other organizations. This extraordinary movement will, LCM believes continue to advance the gains already made in the integration struggle and will be hailed by historians as one of the great and heroic accomplishments in the history of democracy.

The Monroe cases involve indictments brought by an all-white grand jury against five Negroes for kidnapping. The story as related by Conrad Lynn and Harold Reape involves a white couple, the Stegalls, who drove into the Negro quarter of Monroe in the wake of riots and brutalities against a group of Freedom Riders who were protesting segregation at a municipal swimming pool. The Stegalls were threatened by an unruly mob and were taken into the house of NAACP leader Robert Williams for their protection. They were allowed to leave two hours later, after the crowd had quieted down. They first told a Monroe reporter that they had been "rescued" by Williams, but later testimony given a grand jury by a police officer stated that Mrs. Stegall said they had been "kidnapped." At the impending May trial (before a white Monroe jury) the defendants may receive the mandatory sentence of life imprisonment for kidnapping. Money for appeal to federal courts is urgently needed.

LCM

BULLETIN OF THE LIBERAL CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS

John N. M. Howells, Chairman

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Rhoda Truax Silberman
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Prof. Henry T. Yost, Jr.
Dr. Edward L. Young

APPEAL TO ATTY. GENERAL TO HALT PROSECUTIONS UNDER McCARRAN ACT

One hundred and twenty persons signed a letter to Attorney General Kennedy embodying the appeal originally presented in LCM's advertisement published in the Boston Herald on Bill of Rights Day, December 15th last.

The advertisement recalled the strong position taken by the majority of the Supreme Court in the Watkins Case in 1957, and deplored the "weighing away" of individual liberties in deference to the presumed public interest in the Court's June 5th, 1961, decision in the case of "The Communist Party vs the Subversive Activities Control Board." Recalling the words of Voltaire, "I disagree with everything you say, but I will fight to the death for your right to say it," the advertisement stated, "We disagree with the Communist Party, but we believe that the freedom of all American citizens is of the same stuff as the freedom which we must accord to American Communists."

This text has been addressed, as a letter, to the Attorney General with the request that he "withdraw the prosecution of the Communist Party of the United States under the Internal Security Act." It was also sent to members of the Massachusetts Congressional delegation with the request that Congress "repeal the Internal Security Act of 1950 and abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities."

ARE YOU A MEMBER OF LCM?

Are you concerned about civil rights? civil liberties? a foreign policy that makes sense? Join today by checking the return card.

Liberal Citizens of Mass.
Box 124, Waltham 54, Mass.

RETURN REQUESTED

BULK RATE

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn St.
Cambridge 38, Mass.

New World Foundation
to T

November 7, 1962

Miss Katherine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Katherine:

My apologies for not having responded to your letter of last month. I wanted to get some indication -- without citing cases -- of how typical your experience with Miles has been. As you suspected, there are at least several such instances with relatively large shipments of books. They have a great backlog of unopened cartons which may help some in time. And, this is among other things another indication of the problems Lucius Pitts has taken on.

We are pleased you liked "One Hundred Years Later." It took quite some doing to get our own Members to slow down long enough to produce for us.

Your deserved compliment to Claude Sitton has been passed on, and I am sure he was genuinely pleased. He is without doubt, one of the best -- and hardest working -- reporters we've encountered. Certainly his presence and observations are a great asset.

We all hope the Foundation or someone will find an excuse to send you South soon.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:nm

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

October 10, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Ragional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

In response to your wish to be kept in touch with the progress of contributions to the Miles College library, I just want to add this brief word about my modest efforts.

I sent a contribution of $ 15 to help with the cataloguing, and received a very nice letter from Dr. Pitts in response to that. I shipped about one hundred books to them early in August, but received no word from them of the arrival of the books. After about a month, I wrote to inquire whether they had been received. A letter came September 22 from Mr. Frank Dukes of the Office of Development saying that they had checked their records very carefully, and had found no indication of receipt of the books from me. I then asked the Railway Express to trace the shipment. Their reply, just received, is to the effect that the books were delivered at Miles College August 8, and that they have a signed receipt for them. So I have written back to Mr. Dukes; a copy of this letter is enclosed. I didn't want to be bothersome about this, but I did want to know that the books had arrived! I am telling you this by no means as a complaint, but simply because you may find that other donors have encountered similar minor difficulties about their shipments. Please don't mention to the Miles College people that I have told you of this.

I have just received S.R.C.'s "One Hundred Years Later". What a good job!

I have been following in the New York Times the University of Mississippi situation with great concern. What a superb job Claude Sitton and Anthony Lewis have been doing on this. If you see Claude Sittion, please do tell him that not only I, but many people up here, are deeply appreciative of the way in which he has covered this situation.

Best wishes to all,

Yours,

Katharine

Katharine Taylor

KT:kh

enclosure

October 10, 1962

Mr. Frank Dukes
Office of Development
Miles College
Birmingham 8, Alabama

Dear Mr. Dukes:

Thank you for your word of September 22. On receipt of your statement that you find no record of having the books I sent, I asked the Railway Express to trace the shipment. They have now reported to me.

The books were shipped from here early in August. The Railway Express reports that they were delivered at Miles College August 8. The receipt for this shipment was signed by P. Montgomery. They were shipped prepaid in two large cartons. I enclose a slip which is a copy of the label on each carton.

There were about one hundred books, including those listed in the enclosed sheet, and a number of others covering various subjects and general literature.

I feel sure, in view of the Railway Express report, that the books must have been received and are now in your library. Doubtless, with many packages coming in at the time, the record of this one could easily have been mislaid or lost. This would be most understandable.

I merely wanted to be assured that the books had arrived, and now I do have that assurance.

With best wishes for the success of your Special Library Campaign,

Yours very sincerely,

Katharine Taylor

KT:kh

enclosures

Cr. ref
McMillan

January 14, 1963

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorne Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

An old friend of mine, George McMillan of Aiken, South Carolina, will be in residence at Brandeis for a couple of months as one of their Lasker Fellows in civil rights and civil liberties. You may recall George as the author of our pamphlet of a couple of years back called Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, and as a free lance writer whose byline pops up frequently. I have suggested to George and his wonderful wife, Virginia, that they look in on you while up your way. I believe you will find them good people to know.

All the best, and from Atlanta's bewildering seventeen degree weather a deep felt wish that you are not freezing.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional
Council -
5 Forsyth St. - N.W.
Atlanta 3
Georgia

1-25-63

Three degrees below
0° here, I hear
on the radio. Better
come up here and
get warm, for it's
Three above 0° here!
Thank you for your

Taylor, K. — file

word about the
Mac Millans. I
shall look forward
to meeting them.
This may not be
possible until mid-
February, for mean-
while I must make
two trips, one to
Goddard College, Vt.,
for a conference, and
one to New York.
Meanwhile I'll get
a word off to them —
Ever
Katharine (Taylor)

M J - clip N.T. review for our files

The New York Times Book Review

SEPTEMBER 8, 1963 1963, by The New York Times Company SECTION 7

THE HOW IS MIGHTIER THAN THE WHAT

A Lesson for All the World to Study Is Taught in a New Zealand School

N. Wood

TEACHER. By Sylvia Ashton-Warner. Illustrated. 224 pp. New York: Simon and Schuster. $5.

By KATHARINE TAYLOR

TEACHER. This word, among children and adults, calls up many different meanings, arouses many different feelings: authority, system, jailkeeper; awakener, helper, friend; fear, hate, respect, love; and some unmentionable epithets. Certain teachers elude all labeling, and in them we know the real meaning of the word. Sylvia Ashton-Warner is one of these. Whatever her paper record may be—and it includes her remarkable novel, "Spinster" — she needs no accreditation beyond this book. For in reading "Teacher," one comes to know her in her life with children: her respect and love for children, her insight, imagination and courage, her total engagement in the art of teaching.

On the surface this book is a record of Miss Ashton-Warner's 24 years in an "Infant (elementary) School" for Maori and white children in New Zealand. Yet it is more than that — a vivid journal of incidents, personalities, sudden moments of insight, and a philosophy of education which emerges through reflection upon experiences. It should have great value not only for those interested in the problems of education in old cultures and new nations, but also for those concerned with the future of civilization — for all, anywhere, who live and work with children.

The immediate focus of "Teacher" is on the Maoris of New Zealand, once a primitive people proudly dedicated to warfare who now are caught between one culture and another. There is the dominant white culture, government and school system of New Zealand, that pioneer country where its citizens "quarrel morning and afternoon, day and night . . . with delighted confidence"; and there is the life in the Maori *pa* (tribal village), "the instinctive living, the drama, the communal sympathy and the violence . . . tears, tenderness, brawls, beer, love, song." Some of the Maoris who manage to achieve higher education never recover from the deep confusion of straddling two ways of life.

From "Teacher."

Sylvia Ashton-Warner at work.

IT is the beginners, the 5-year-olds, with whom Miss Ashton-Warner is most concerned. The Maori children as they start in school are strenuous, noisy, destructive, unacquainted with obedience or inner discipline. "I see the mind of the 5-year-old as a volcano with two vents; destructiveness and creativeness." It is to change the direction of this passion, this vital energy, from destructiveness to creativeness that Miss Ashton-Warner is committed as a teacher, and in the process she must teach the required elements of reading, writing, numbers.

She discards the whole formal school procedure. Reading: There are the "Janet and John" series, doubtless first cousins to "Dick and Jane." The vocabulary? "come," "look," "see," "little dog run," "my kitten." Pleasant words, respectable words; pleasant stories. Why is sorrow, she asks, such a disgrace in infant-room fare? Why is young children's school reading "so carefully and placidly two-dimensional, . . . placed like a lid upon the child's inner life?" The question could be asked of us, too: large numbers of young American children begin their reading with only such books.

A young child is constantly trying to deal with his own experiences. In school he may be reading with docility or seeming contentment the "pleasant" stories in a reading series, progressing to the teacher's satisfaction in the limited reading vocabulary to which he is exposed, and writing stories based on that vocabulary rather than risk spelling mistakes. But down inside he may be thinking: What makes a subway train go? I hate my brother, he's so mean to me; I'll never tell my mother what I did yesterday — she'd punish me; I want to learn to fly a jet; I hate school — they're always making you do something else; those two men I saw fighting in the alley— I ran away fast; but I dreamed about them last night and it waked me up and I hid under the blankets.

Many schools tend to evade or to put the lid on these realities of young children's experience. I've known teachers who probe too deeply into a child's rightful privacy; I've known others who are convinced that the school's job is to ignore the child's own concerns, to follow the lesson plans and no nonsense about "the inner life." Many children find in school the excitement of new knowledge, the delight in objective learning, the strengthening of powers of self direction. But for others the early years of school mean jobs to be done and rules to be obeyed, with little relation between these and the child's sense of his own life. Is it not likely that what such a child learns is himself to put the lid on the realities of his experience, to grow up into a tidily compartmented personality — or perhaps a rebel against learning and against society's requirements?

MISS ASHTON-WARNER neither probes too much nor ignores. Instead, she provides an atmosphere, a "third dimension," in which the child can be himself. She is there. She listens. She acts. "The more violent the boy, the more I see that he creates" — through clay, paint, dancing ("body-talk"), writing, reading. For instance, reading. At the start she asks each child for his own words. As they come out— words of love, fear, desire, intensely personal—she prints them on cards and gives them to the child: "mummy," "truck," "ghost," "kiss," "jet," "beer," "police," "frightened."

First words, she thinks, must be already "part of the dynamic life" of the child. If reading is begun in this way, a love of reading, a realization of what reading can mean, is born, and this is carried over with confidence by the Maori children to the books of the new culture, to all literature. Thus a bridge is formed from the inner world outward, and the wholeness of personality can be preserved. She has noted this process in many of the Maori children: destructiveness—often the product of hoarded fears—fades out, the creative takes over, and real learning occurs.

Miss Ashton- *(Continued on Page 36)*

Miss Taylor, a consultant in education and child development, is former Director of the Shady Hill School in Cambridge, Mass., and of its teacher-training program.

Poets' Column

Oedipus: His Cradle Song

WHO is my shepherd, that I shall not want?
Who with earth-roughened hands
Will loose the spike that joins my anklebones,
And bear me home, and have me in his house?

I seek a father who most need a son,
Yet have no voice to call
One or the other, nor wind nor oracle
To publish me, where I am meant to die.

Who is my uncle, that shall intervene,
Assist the turning wheel
That like the running towers of the sun
Will smash my king's house and my cockleshell?

Who is my mother, that shall make my bed?
Who with gold-beaten rings
Shall quicken me, that I beget my son
Where my cold father with his lust lay down?

Who is one blind, that has already seen
Blood where it shall fall soon?
He knows my ways and how I rule this ground.
In his perpetual light I would be found.

The day is in the sea, the night grows cold.
Is the event long past?
The suckling beast knows where I lie alone.
I seek a father who most need a son.

Architect, Logician

ARCHITECT, logician, how well the snail
Narrates his tenuous predicament!
Knit with fragility, its echoing cowl
Enchants the space wherein he's pent,
Yet holds his heart like water in a bowl.

Like those who temper opal for a house,
A wise man keeps the cosmos in his skull
Rimmed with a box of sound where every day
Repeats his wishing yet confirms him whole.

As flesh grows merry in its neutral shell,
Beware the pleasures of small bones that fit
Elbow to brow when the design's not whole;
Each hauls his house; the trick's to live in it.

Both the above from "The Selected Poems of John Malcolm Brinnin. (Atlantic-Little, Brown).

"I can lick any lightweight author in the house."

SPEAKING OF BOOKS

By J. DONALD ADAMS

MARTHA'S VINEYARD, Mass.

WE are, as everybody knows, a nation of migrants, as well as immigrants; we were a people on wheels even before Henry Ford devised the Model T — buggy wheels and prairie-schooner wheels, to be sure, but we were always on the move. What other people have made homes in so many different places in the land of their birth? This phenomenon is now still more marked than it was in our beginning and during our early growth. The rise of the chain stores and the multiplying of great corporations with offices or plants in a dozen different cities have made us in large part a nation of transients; even our academic men flit, during their early years, at least, from college to college.

There are, however, a few places—even a few regions—where roots are still deep, and prized besides. In spite of the Southern Negro's migrations, the South—especially the Deep South — is such a region. So are Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine, and so too are some of our islands. Not Long Island, certainly, nor Manhattan itself, but to find the tradition of rootedness at its strongest (save for the Appalachian mountaineers) one must turn to the islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, plus some of those off the coast of Maine.

Islanders here, or anywhere in the world, are a special breed, and their unifying trait is independence. Consider for a moment, before I get down to literary brass tacks, the amazing history of the great island peoples of this world. They are three, or possibly five in number. First, ancient Greece; though properly a peninsula, one thinks of the Greeks as an island people, which they essentially were; then England, once master of the greatest empire mankind has known; then Japan, for a time so nearly master of the Far East. On the fringe are Ireland and, if not geographically, certainly in character, Scotland — both peoples (originally one) who have made themselves felt throughout the civilized and not so civilized worlds.

I write this column from an island loved by many thousands of Americans who were not born here; 15 minutes distant by air lies another which has at least an equal number of devotees—Nantucket. I will not stick my neck out and proclaim the superiority of one over the other; their rivalry is old and unending. They are among the last outposts of a sane manner of life in these United Sates, and happy is he who knows them.

I CALL your attention today to a little book concerned with the life lived for generations by one family on the island of Martha's Vineyard. It is by a native Vineyarder whose roots on the island reach back for 300 years. "It Began With A Whale: Memories of Cedar Tree Neck" is for the present, at least, obtainable at $2 only in certain shops on the Vineyard, or by writing to its author, John Tobey Daggett, at Marblehead, Mass.

Perhaps the most interesting single fact in Mr. Daggett's book is the price paid by his grandfather for the two-centuries old Daggett Homestead. With about 100 acres, which include a half-mile or more of shorefront on Vineyard Sound, looking across to the most feudally maintained area in the United States — the island of Naushon—the purchase price a century ago was $1,800; today the property would bring at least a quarter of a million.

This is a simple story filled with homely but often fascinating details about the kind of life lived by these island folk since the Vineyard was settled over 300 years ago. Its beauties are shared today during the summer months by some 34,000 people; the population then drops to 6,000. Part of the Vineyard's charm derives from its variety; it has hills and woods and moors (though these last lack Nantucket's heather); it has great beaches on the open sea, pounded by a magnificent surf, and smaller ones across the island, on Vineyard Sound; it has multicolored cliffs that are steadily consumed by the hungry Atlantic; sheep meadows and ponds and lagoons.

Mr. Daggett's father was a commercial fisherman who combined farming with his fish traps, as did other island men, and as a few still do, although the fish are no longer so plentiful as they once were. So too have the sheep herds dwindled. The heath hen, once native to the island, is now extinct, but the deer are many, and Canada geese make stop-overs on the island ponds during their migrations, as do many varieties of songbirds—and always, of course, there are wheeling gulls that smash open their clams on the island bridges.

The book offers intimate glimpses of the life the islanders led through many generations, when to cross the island and back over the dusty roads was a full day's journey instead of a half-hour's motor trip; Mr. Daggett tells of their simple, happy recreations and the warm neighborliness of the island life. Some of this remains, and any part-time Vineyarder will tell you how the island and its ways have worked into his blood. For my own part, it is the only place in the world where I have seen that aphoristic phenomenon, a blue moon.

Treasure Chest

Cedar Tree Neck

OUR house is situated on the shore of Vineyard Sound on the north side of Martha's Vineyard at Cedar Tree Neck. The house was built by Mayhew Norton, a ship's pilot, apparently at the early age of 22, and the fifth generation descended from Nicholas Norton who migrated from England.

Mayhew probably selected Cedar Tree Neck for his home because the land projects farthest into Vineyard Sound of any point on the north side of the island, and was, therefore, nearest the shipping lane. This was important because he piloted ships around the Cape, probably to Boston. There were no lighthouses and buoys in those days, and experienced pilots were needed along the hazardous parts of the coast. These early pilots had as navigational aids only their own crude maps, soundings, sights and other data that they themselves had accumulated by experience.

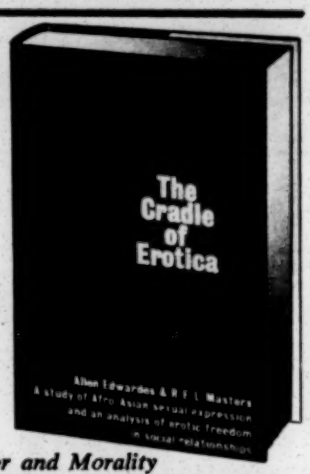
According to the Norton family, after having sailed to Boston, he would walk to New Bedford, some fifty miles away. He would set out at 4 o'clock in the morning and would arrive at 8 the same evening, even ahead of the stage coach which had to stop for a change of horses and for meals for the passengers. He would stay in New Bedford until a packet or small sailing boat arrived from the Vineyard, perhaps a wait of several days, and then return on it to Holmes Hole, now Vineyard Haven, or to Edgartown. He then would walk to Cedar Tree Neck, where he would wait for the next trip.

Vineyard Haircut

FATHER did not like to waste time in the barber shop when there was much work to be done at home. He finally induced Mother to cut his hair, and evidently he was so pleased with the result that she had a permanent customer. It was an amusing episode. First, there was the difficulty of agreeing to the time—Father had something to do, or Mother a cake or loaf of bread to bake. However, having mutually agreed as to the time, Father with one of Mother's aprons tied round his neck would sit in a high chair and Mother would begin. Frequently it seemed that Mother had hardly started before Father, having nothing to do but think about his work, would want to speak to one of his men who perhaps was working in some distant field. Much to the annoyance of Mother, he would interrupt operations, and with the apron still hanging from his neck, he would go over the hills to speak to the men.

John Tobey Daggett in "It Began With a Whale" (J. T. Daggett, Marblehead, Mass.).

"A rare source book . . . dedicated to 'erotic freedom in social relationships'."
—Jacob H. Conn, M.D.
Johns Hopkins University Medical School



THE CRADLE OF EROTICA

A Study of Afro-Asian Sexual Expression and an Analysis of Erotic Relationships

By ALLEN EDWARDES
author of *The Jewel in the Lotus*
and R. E. L. MASTERS
author of *Forbidden Sexual Behavior and Morality*

Here is unquestionably the most complete exposition of sexual data on Eastern culture ever published. Twelve years in preparation and writing, this monumental work fills the tremendous gaps that have existed in all other studies on this vital subject.

"The Cradle of Erotica contains the most detailed descriptions of Afro-Asian sex behavior available in the English language," says Harry Benjamin, M.D. "The descriptions of such matters as a fatalistic attitude toward sex, and the behavior of children in sexually unfettered societies, are virtually unique."

EPOCH-MAKING VOLUME —
The authors explored the libraries, national archives, the great private collections of the world. Together, they studied the definitive works of historians, theologians, physicians, scholars, sexologists, and erotologists of many cultures. Thousands of records, secret reports, surveys, and anthropologic reports were minutely examined. The result is THE MOST COMPLETE AND THOROUGHLY DOCUMENTED SINGLE VOLUME OF ORIENTALIA EROTICA AVAILABLE ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD TODAY.

"Informative and captivating," says The Society for the Scientific Study of Sex Newsletter. "Erotica are not its only source. Religious and philosophical writings have their place beside them. Rites and cults involving sex practices and techniques, sides and preferences are described."

IMMENSELY READABLE, IMMENSELY VALUABLE
The Cradle of Erotica is an immensely readable source of information on peoples whose sexual behavior is all but unknown to most scholars in the West. This volume discusses in detail and to an extent seldom approached in sexologic literature the whole range of sexual practices found among the people of the East: the orgiastic rites of sexual cults, the religiously motivated mutilations, bisexuality, homosexuality, sadomasochism, sexual fatalism, and many other "curious" aspects of human sexuality hitherto known only to a few scholars of the Orient. There is no comparable work in existence.

The Cradle of Erotica is being hailed as the great and important contribution that it is. Dr. Albert Ellis says: "There is more interesting and informative material in this book regarding the sex attitudes and practices of African and Asian peoples than is contained in any other volume that has yet come to my attention."

THE JULIAN PRESS, INC., 80 East 11th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

SEND FOR YOUR COPY TODAY FILL OUT THE COUPON AND MAIL TODAY!

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(If not completely satisfied I may return within 10 days for refund.) T-1

Breaking Old Rules

AN EXPERIMENT IN EDUCATION. By Sybil Marshall. Illustrated. 222 pp. New York: Cambridge University Press. $4.75.

By BARBARA NOVAK

THE experiment which gives title to this book took place in the small village of Kingston, England, over a period of 18 years. The author, as sole teacher of the rural schoolhouse, with students ranging in age from 4 to 11 years, formulated her own curriculum out of ingenuity and imagination, and in so doing struck a strong blow for the anti-rules faction of educational theory.

Sybil Marshall, with full freedom to express her creativity as a teacher, gave the same gift to her pupils, and they rewarded her with a masterly artistic output in the form of paper mosaics, paintings and poetry, some of which is offered here as evidence of her success. Though she herself had little instruction for teaching, she knew what classroom experiences had disturbed her as a child.

Starting from this empathy for the student situation (which can end many abuses when properly applied), Mrs. Marshall drew the children into new worlds of creative expression and discovered, along with them, the possibilities open to the free imagination. Ultimately, using her symphonic method, she founded each term's work on a central theme, such as Beethoven's "Pastoral" Symphony or the "Canterbury Tales." History, geography, nature study, art, poetry, music —all proliferated from that core.

Mrs. Marshall's freedom from curriculum restrictions was certainly unique and will find few parallels in teaching here today. Yet her book can be read with great profit by all educators interested in creative education. Some may object that her method has gaps, especially in the sciences and mathematics. But the book is essentially an invitation to experiment, and the resourceful science teacher might still be inspired by the nuggets of educational philosophy inserted throughout.

The author obviously believes that one teaches best what one cares about most. In her case, the arts are dominant. Art, in Mrs. Marshall's school, is not only a tool for education but a way of life, an integral component of the total education of a human being. We are reminded that the child and artist or poet meet on a common ground of pure intuition and sharpened immediacy of experience. The author draws from the child that same ability to project a direct sensitivity to nature that the mature artist or poet often seeks to recover. The interconnected arts and disciplines play back and forth within the child's world, tying past and present and laying store for the future. For Mrs. Marshall is well aware that initial education is only a first step on a life-long journey of the mind.

There are many basic insights into the heart of education in this book, and this is its major value. It demonstrates that great teaching is often an individual process, that what a teacher *is* becomes an integral part of what he or she teaches. For the author, education is a pleasurable experience, based on mutual enthusiasm, love and respect. Those who cannot equate education and pleasure will worry about all the rules Mrs. Marshall has broken. As for myself, I wish I had gone to her school.

Miss Novak teaches art history at Barnard.

From "An Experiment in Education."
Sybil Marshall, as seen by Jill, a 6-year-old pupil.

The How Is Mightier Than the What

(Continued from Page 1)

Warner's classroom is noisy, children reading to each other their word cards or their own stories, rushing for the drawing paper, telling yesterday's events (often tragic, sometimes brutal) in the *pa*, demanding that she listen. She listens. Though the room may look like chaos, there is a kind of natural order. She guides the inner discipline, imposes outer discipline when needed ("for the spirit to live its freest, the mind must acknowledge discipline"). She knows that when the school inspector comes to visit, she is graded as a teacher of low ability, but this is irrelevant. "When did I ever claim to be professional? . . . The only thing I teach is style. And believe me, I teach that. I teach it all the time, in everything, because the rest follows." And she believes, with Alfred North Whitehead, that "style is the fashioning of power."

Miss Ashton-Warner's book, as I have said, carries implications that reach far beyond the classroom, for she is one of those teachers convinced that education must learn — and learn quickly—how to take its part in enabling the young of each generation to grow in their understanding of the forces in human society which determine civilization's future. There is an intense longing throughout the world that wars must cease. Diplomats, experts, governments are warily at work to this end. An inch is gained now and then, but meanwhile new eruptions of violence occur, new suspicions and distrusts overcloud the hope.

"When a war is over," Miss Ashton-Warner writes, "the statesmen . . . should turn their attention to the infant rooms, since it is from there that comes peace or war." This is neither fanciful dreaming nor sentimentality. There is no trace in her of either. Her experience, her self-searching and questioning — for she is her own best critic — have led her to a deep conviction: that the releasing, and directing, of the creative energies in young children is not merely a teaching matter, but an international matter; it has to do with the future of life on this earth.

No one could convert Sylvia Ashton-Warner's way of work with children into a "system." No one could succeed in the effort to imitate her. But the essence of her wisdom, her philosophy, is here for anyone in this unique, vital and refreshing book.

THE MONEY TRAP
BY LIONEL WHITE
author of Obsession
A persuasive partner, a socially ambitious wife and temptation in the form of an illicit one million dollars—all add up to a trap for an honorable man in White's latest novel of suspense.
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October 14, 1963

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorne Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

It was a delight to see you in New York. More pertinently, it was a delight to be working together with you. I am pleased with the way things seem to be shaping up for Bob.

I finally got close to the bottom of my New York Times stack, and read your book review of September 8. It was very good.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File
Foundations -
New World
"Katharine Taylor"

September 2, 1964

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

I hope you won't mind if I ignore your injunction against a reply to say thank you to your letter of August 22. I wish we could hear from you more often, even if you don't always write such nice letters.

We also continue to wish that you may find your way down here again.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 8/27/64

PW ✓
ML ✓
PAV ✓
LDB ✓

41 HAWTHORN STREET
CAMBRIDGE ~~38~~, MASSACHUSETTS - 02138

August 22, 1964

L.D. — This is just a bit of fan mail! Don't bother to reply K.T.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

For weeks and weeks I have been meaning to write you about the extremely high quality of the printed and mimeographed material I have been receiving from SRC. The Special Reports on Mississippi, St. Louis, and Charlotte I found extremely valuable, and they have been on loan to various friends ever since I myself read them.

The New South is also extremely readable and always pertinent to issues as they come along. Do tell Margaret Long how eloquent I find her free-wheeling remarks in each issue of the New South.

Your annual report makes me realize how constantly the work of the SRC is expanding and how much pressure crowds in on you and your staff every day.

What frightfully troubling times these are, as far as interracial relations are concerned; the consequences of too long neglect and much too effective escapism from the interrelated problems which bring about these crises. And now we have the Democratic Convention to face, with Wallace and Thurmond and Long already charging full steam ahead. As if we hadn't had enough with Goldwater and his friends.

Well, all this makes me realize even more deeply the need for and value of the SRC.

All the best to you and your family and the folks of SRC.

Yours,

Katharine

Katharine Taylor

P.O. I have had letters from young friends of mine who have spent this summer under the Harvard-Radcliffe project at Miles College. Two or three other young friends of mine have been in Mississippi this summer. I shall hope to see these fine volunteers on their return to Cambridge.

April 9, 1957

Adele R. Levy Fund, Inc.
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

In Mr. Fleming's absence, I wish to acknowledge with sincere thanks the $2,500.00 grant from the Adele R. Levy Fund, Inc. toward the work of the Southern Regional Council.

Enclosed is an official receipt from the Council.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosure

Enclosed - copy of
see tax-exemption
ltr

April 2, 1957

Mrs. David Levy
993 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Levy:

You were very kind to give me so much of your time last Friday. I can't tell you how encouraged I was by your sympathetic interest in the work of the Southern Regional Council and your willingness to help. I left New York that night with a real lift of the spirit as a result of your kindness and generosity.

Your promise of an immediate gift of $2500 is, of course, of great importance to the Council at this time of special need. But your assurance of comparable support for two succeeding years -- if it is not possible to work out a grant from the New York Fund for Children -- is no less important since it helps provide a basis on which we can plan an effective program for a goodly period ahead. It was most thoughtful of you to give us this longer range assurance.

We have already begun staff discussion of our program activities that might be considered within the scope of the New York Fund for Children. I shall be writing Mrs. Driggs shortly and, if her reply does not foreclose it, we shall be submitting a request to the Fund in the near future.

From time to time, I shall be sending you brief evidences of our progress, which I feel sure will justify your interest in and support of the Council's work. Meanwhile, my thanks again and every good wish.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

MRS. DAVID M. LEVY
993 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 28, N.Y.

April 5, 1957

My dear Mr. Fleming:

As you gathered, I was tremendously impressed by your account of the work that your organization is doing and I have heard fine things about it from all sides. I am very happy to be able to participate and enclose my check for $2500. As I told you, should the Council be unsuccessful in obtaining a grant from the New York Fund for Children, Inc., I will plan to renew my gift for two succeeding years.

Sincerely yours,

Adele R. Levy

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

NEW YORK FUND FOR CHILDREN, INC.
100 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

MURRAY HILL 5-2629

Have Card

Special Delivery

April 18, 1957

Mr. Howard Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Mrs. David M. Levy, President of The New York Fund for Children, Inc. has told us that you were interested in applying for a grant from this Fund. Although it is contrary to our customary policy to initiate inquiries in these matters, we thought you would want to know that April 26th is the last date upon which requests may be received for consideration this spring.

Sincerely yours,

Marie K. Driggs

Marie K. Driggs
Executive Secretary

Student Corp

April 22, 1957

Mrs. David M. Levy
993 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Levy:

It was thoughtful of you to speak to Mrs. Driggs about our plan to submit a request to the New York Fund for Children. The request was delayed longer than I intended pending a meeting of our Executive Committee. After some delay, the meeting took place last week, so that the proposal reflects the thinking of both Board and staff members.

I thought you might like to have the enclosed copy of the proposal less the bulky supporting material.

Warmest thanks for all your help, and every good wish.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

FILE COPY

April 22, 1957

Mrs. Marie K. Driggs
Executive Secretary
New York Fund for Children, Inc.
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Driggs:

It was very thoughtful of you to advise me that the deadline on Spring requests is almost here. Fortunately, we were putting our proposal to the New York Fund for Children in final form when your letter arrived.

Members of our Executive Committee, at a meeting last week, discussed the request at some length. The enclosed proposal embodies their thinking as well as that of the staff. If further information on any point would be helpful, please let us know.

We shall greatly appreciate the Fund's consideration.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

April 22, 1957

A PROPOSAL TO THE NEW YORK FUND FOR CHILDREN

This is a request from the Southern Regional Council for a grant of $10,000 a year for three years from the New York Fund for Children.

As a body of Southerners of both races working together for a democratic society, the Council has a uniquely important role to play in the South today. It is not a new movement. As the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, it goes back in reputation and experience to 1919. But, despite this valuable continuity with the past, we find ourselves today in a new period, more crucial and challenging by far than in any preceding time.

Since the beginning of World War II, the trend toward full opportunity for Negro Americans, North and South, has been gaining momentum. In the legal sense, it reached a climax in May 1954 when the Supreme Court went to the heart of the question and held that there could be no equality in education so long as public schools were segregated. That decision spelled the doom of legally enforced segregation. It also served, however, as a rallying cry for the forces of prejudice and backwardness in the South, which have launched a formidable campaign of resistance to change and repression of those individuals and groups in the South that favor compliance with the Supreme Court's decision.

This resistance goes far beyond merely private pro-segregation activity; in the deep South, it includes virtually all of the state and local controlling institutions -- governors and attorneys general, legislatures and state-created commissions, many grand juries, most of the state and local law enforcement agencies, most Southern congressmen and senators, and, under vigilante pressure, many influential private institutions such as newspapers, business organizations, civic clubs, and the like.

As the one organization of its kind in the South, the Southern Regional Council and its state affiliates have faced steadily mounting demands to give leadership, a positive voice, and professional skill to the desegregation effort in the region. The Council has an outstanding Board of white and Negro Southerners, an unusually able and devoted staff, an affiliated human relations council in each Southern state, and many years of background and experience in the human relations field. But it must have new and expanded financial support if it is to meet effectively the heightened demands and opportunities which the current situation presents.

At stake in the reactions to the school decision is the welfare of Southern children, white and Negro. The major problems of this transition, of course, do not lie with the children themselves, but with the adults who influence their attitudes and create the situations in which they learn and develop. Little of the Council's work reaches children directly. But many of the Council's programs are concerned with parents, teachers, school administrators, and church leaders charged with youth activities. Therefore, we feel that in more than a broad general sense the work of the Council may be considered within the scope of the New York Fund for Children.

Our various activities are summarized in the attached material. Following are some specific examples of the way in which these programs influence the opportunity of children to develop in a more democratic environment.

1. Work directly with young people's groups. Mrs. M. E. Tilly, the Council's Director of Women's Work, spends a substantial amount of time counseling and teaching Methodist youth between the ages of twelve and twenty. She works year-round with the Methodist Youth Fellowship of the North Georgia Conference, and in the Summer she teaches at the annual region-wide assembly of that group at Lake Junaluska, North Carolina. In cooperation with the Association for the United Nations, she speaks to public school classes and to PTAs, with heavy emphasis on the international importance of our racial practices. Various members of our staff have worked closely with leaders of the YWCA's Y-Teen program and the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization, on activities and materials concerned with race relations.

2. Work with teacher and parent groups. We have supplied speakers and consultants to both national and local meetings of the National Congress of Negro Parents and Teachers and the American Teachers Association. The aim here is to give helpful information, reassurance, and guidance to Negro teachers, who are often confronted with severe problems as a result of the segregation controversy and desegregation itself. All-white PTAs in the lower South are generally less receptive, but we are alert to every opportunity to supply speakers and information to those PTAs that are willing to deal with the subject of desegregation. Several of our state affiliates -- notably the Kentucky Council on Human Relations -- have supplied staff assistance and special consultants to school officials, teachers, PTAs, and student groups. The Texas

Integration #4

Council has been working with PTAs in the western part of that state as they undertake to unite the formerly separate white and Negro organizations.

3. The regional consultant program. The Southern Regional Council's consultant services are described in the enclosed material. In recent months, we have been able to make consultants available on a wider basis to public and private community leadership. Several weeks ago, for example, we received an official request from the school board of a North Carolina city for consultant help in formulating a plan for desegregation. This was an extremely significant request, since as yet no city in North Carolina has proceeded toward desegregation of the public schools. We made available to them a Kentucky County Superintendent of Schools who had done an outstanding job of desegregating his school system. His counsel was supplemented by that of a trained social scientist who had served as an adviser in the Kentucky desegregation. This is a consultant pattern that we hope to expand in the months to come.

Another opportunity that we hope to meet in the coming period is that presented by the teacher-training institutions. Young Southerners preparing themselves for teaching careers in these institutions have little or no chance to acquire insights and experience in teaching racially mixed classes. We have been supplying a good many of them with materials and information on desegregation. Through our field staff and consultants, we hope to develop ways to meet this need more directly. Given the necessary resources, we propose to stimulate workshops and possibly visits to desegregated school systems.

4. The Encampment for Citizenship. This summer, for the second time, the Council is cooperating with the Encampment for Citizenship in finding promising scholarship participants for the annual Summer encampment. We try to

recruit at least one white and one Negro young person from the same community, so that when they return to their homes they may continue their relationship and be mutually supporting in new-found values. Last year we recruited seven young people for the encampment, and this year the number will be twelve or more.

5. Information services. The Council receives each year hundreds of requests for information and material on race relations. A great many of these come from students, teachers, and religious youth leaders. It is impossible to measure the effect of information and publications distributed in this way, but we feel that their importance to the growth of new attitudes may be of considerable significance.

It would be possible to submit one or more of these activities as a special project worthy of support by the New York Fund for Children. We sincerely believe, however, that assistance to the Council's overall program will be more realistic and will better serve the common aims of the Fund and the Council. It is the Council's purpose, as far as possible, to achieve a program that is functionally integrated. Therefore, increasing our specific contribution to the welfare of the South's children is a matter not so much of developing new projects as of extending this emphasis in all of our on-going activities. A grant from the New York Fund for Children would be of great value in enabling the Council to enlarge this phase of its program.

We are proposing a three-year grant period for two reasons. First, in our opinion, the next three years will be crucial in determining the future pattern of race relations in the South. Despite the tension and difficulties of the last few years, the situation has not yet crystallized; it will do so as further court decisions and the possible spread of violence bring the issues to

a head. Thus what is done or not done during the next three years will probably set the framework in which the longer-range working out of integration will take place. (For a disturbing example of the pro-segregation campaign to influence children's attitudes, see "A Manual for Southerners" enclosed.)

Secondly, sound program planning and staffing require a stable financial base. The Council is fortunate in having a deeply committed and well-qualified staff, but we cannot expect to hold such people or to make maximum use of their skills unless the organization's finances are secure for a reasonable period ahead.

We submit this proposal in the hope and belief that it will merit the support of the New York Fund for Children.

Encls:

"South of Promise"
"Brief History of the Southern Regional Council"
Next Steps in the South
What's Happening in School Integration?
White Citizens Councils - A Manual for Southerners
Organizational Chart and Descriptive List of Staff Members
1957 Budget
Letter of Tax-exemption

FILE COPY

April 23, 1957

Mrs. Marion R. Ascoli
23 Gramercy Park South
New York 3, New York

Dear Mrs. Ascoli:

As I wrote you earlier, Mrs. Levy suggested that some of the Council's activities might fall within the scope of interest of the New York Fund for Children. We have submitted the enclosed proposal to the Fund.

I thought you might like to see the enclosed copy, unburdened by the various items of supporting material. I am enclosing a newly prepared copy of our 1957 budget, showing forecast income as well as expenses.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls:

May 2, 1957

Mrs. Marie K. Driggs
Executive Secretary
New York Fund for Children
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Driggs:

Thank you for your letter of April 26th requesting further information about the balance to be raised from new sources shown on our 1957 budget.

Perhaps it would be helpful if I clarified the meaning of the various income figures. "Income Forecast" indicates funds already realized in 1957, pledged, or requested with reasonable likelihood of success. Of the total contributions forecast ($83,641.44), we have already realized or have pledged to us all but $24,220. This latter figure represents mainly our request now pending before the Fund for the Republic. We are asking the Fund for a thirty-nine month grant, effective October 1, 1957, and the unrealized sum forecast indicates the pro rata share for October through December.

The balance to be raised from new sources ($40,461.69) means the amount that is not as yet specifically in prospect. Since this budget was prepared several weeks ago, we have increased our office-related income by $2,000 and have submitted a request for new funds from a labor source amounting to $3,000. If the latter request is successful, we will have reduced the balance to $35,461. We have no further requests before new sources at the present time, except for the New York Fund for Children. We, of course, are exploring other prospective contributors, foundations and individuals, who have shown some interest in this field. Also, one of our most devoted and able Board members, Miss Josephine Wilkins, has volunteered to put in two full months of effort on fund-raising for the Council.

From her efforts and those of other Board and staff members, we hope to close the gap between our projected expenditures and projected income for the remainder of 1957. For an organization based in the South, this is a sizeable fund-raising task, though we hope that the importance of the work will make it a feasible one. Naturally, favorable action on our request to the New York

Fund for Children would be of vital assistance to us in meeting this demand.

Since our request to you is for a three-year period, I thought you might like to see the projected budgets, enclosed, for the next three years which were prepared in support of our request to the Fund for the Republic. The amount we are asking the Fund for the Republic to contribute is shown on each annual budget, as is the remainder which must be raised from other sources. Of course, we have no assurance that the Fund for the Republic will approve these amounts.

If I can supply further information of any kind that will assist the consideration of our request, do let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

ENTERED MAY 2 1957

NEW YORK FUND FOR CHILDREN, INC.
100 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

MURRAY HILL 5-2629

RECEIVED MAY 2 1957

April 26, 1957

Dr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

Mrs. Levy has asked me to write and inquire how much of the funds to be raised from new sources ($40,461.69) are pledged, or for which you have submitted other requests at the present time. What are your hopes and expectations with regard to raising this sum?

Sincerely yours,

Marie K. Driggs

Marie K. Driggs,
Executive Secretary

mkd iho

May 28, 1957

Mrs. Marie K. Driggs
Executive Secretary
New York Fund for Children, Inc.
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Driggs:

I can't tell you how pleased and strengthened we were by the generous grant from the New York Fund for Children. The $10,000 grant for 1957 and the assurance of future support, in diminishing amounts, for the two succeeding years do much to free more staff time and energy for the program activities which are so badly needed now in the South.

In accordance with our request, we will apply these grants in such a way as to extend and make more effective those activities which more directly affect the welfare of the South's children. You will receive our monthly publication, New South and, from time to time, progress reports on the Council's program and finances.

You may be interested to know that the Fund for the Republic, meeting on the same day as the New York Fund for Children, approved a three-year grant to the Council for $200,000. This provides, roughly, one-third of our budget for the period and, together with your recurring support, will give us a substantial base on which to build future support.

Please convey our warmest appreciation to the Board of the New York Fund for Children.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Encl. - 1 official receipt

NEW YORK FUND FOR CHILDREN, INC.
100 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.
MURRAY HILL 5-2629

RECEIVED MAY 27 1957

May 17, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your application for a grant for the General Budget of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. was considered by the Board of Directors of the New York Fund for Children, Inc. at its meeting on May 15th.

I am delighted to tell you that the Board approved a grant in the amount of $10,000 for the first year, $7,500 for the second year, and $5,000 for the third year, and I am enclosing a check in the amount of $10,000 for this purpose for the first year.

$10,000 — CR
nha

Sincerely yours,

Marie K. Driggs

Marie K. Driggs,
Executive Secretary

mkd iho
enclosure

November 22, 1957

Mr. David M. Heyman
The New York Foundation
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Mr. Heyman:

When I was in New York several weeks ago, you were kind enough to discuss the work of the Southern Regional Council with me by telephone. Following your suggestion at that time, we are submitting the enclosed request for assistance to the general budget of the Southern Regional Council. We did not discuss the Foundation's policy with respect to grants for more than a one-year period. As you will see, we have taken the liberty of asking for support for three years, for reasons which we believe to be convincing. If this is not in order, we shall, of course, be prepared to revise the request appropriately.

I greatly appreciated your interest and helpfulness, especially since I was merely an unexpected telephone caller in the midst of a busy day. Unfortunately, I did not get a chance to see Ken Clark on that trip, but we have been in communication since and his very promising undertaking for us in Little Rock is still on. I know that you and Ken will feel free to call on me for any information and assistance I can give the other Southern project you mentioned to me in passing.

In addition to the proposal itself, I am enclosing other materials which describe reasonably fully the organization, program activities, and finances of the Council. If

further information of any kind would be helpful to your Board in considering our request, please call on me for it.

With appreciation for your consideration and kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures: Proposal to the New York Foundation
Proposed Budget for 1958
Organizational Chart
Partial List of Board Members
Congressional Record Reprint
Semi-Annual Report
Letter of Tax Exemption

A PROPOSAL
TO THE NEW YORK FOUNDATION
FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

November 21, 1957

Jacob R. Schiff Fund consider a grant in support of the work of the S.R.C.

This is a request that the New York Foundation consider a three-year period of assistance to the work of the Southern Regional Council. In order that this proposal not be unreasonably long, materials describing the Council's history, aims, and activities in some detail are attached. The object here will be to set forth the reasons why we believe the New York Foundation will feel this request is justified, the specific amounts asked for and their relationship to the total financial needs of the Council.

Fund

The Situation in the South

So much has been written about race relations in the South that a lengthy essay here would be uncalled-for. We should like to make it clear, however, that the Council takes no despairing view of the prospects in the South. Tremendous historical forces - moral, economic, social, and political - are pressing toward an integrated society. Resistance in parts of the region is powerful and can have catastrophic consequences. But the basic direction of the transition is irreversible. The important questions for any given part of the region are: When? How? At what cost to the human beings involved and to the local, state, and national welfare?

Heartening progress toward integration has been made in the five Border states and the District of Columbia, in Kentucky, in western Texas, and in a few scattered spots in Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee. These areas have provided more than enough evidence that desegregation of schools and other facilities can and does work well, given the necessary leadership.

Unfortunately, in the rest of the South there has been a resolidifying of old attitudes, largely engineered by the political leadership. Defiance is manifested not only in official actions and utterances directed at the Supreme Court and its decisions, but also in punitive measures against individuals and groups who favor a positive or even a more realistic course of action.

Accompanying this official posture have been the growth of the White Citizens Councils and other resistance movements, serious problems in the churches and the labor movement, the deterioration of political campaigns, and in general conformity or silence by many of the responsible elements in the South. The example set by state office-holders and others in high places has stirred excitable rank-and-file Southerners

to violence in several instances - even in parts of Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas, where integration should have been expected to proceed without a ripple.

Any adequate appraisal of these negative factors must take into account the great concentration of power available to the extreme pro-segregation forces in the deep South. This includes virtually all of the state and local controlling institutions - governors and attorneys-general, legislatures and state created commissions, many grand juries, most of the state and local law enforcement agencies, most Southern congressmen and senators, and, under vigilante pressure, many influential private institutions such as newspapers, business organizations, civic clubs, and the like.

All of this has presented grave problems in national and international terms. The impact of the "Southern revolt" on the prestige of the United States abroad, particularly among Asians and Africans, is of great concern to every thoughtful American. Domestically, the assaults on the authority of the Supreme Court, on respect for law and order, and on recognition of the rights of minority-group citizens are major threats to the national welfare. Pro-segregation laws and administrative actions in the South have seriously eroded such basic civil liberties as freedom of speech, association, and the right to due process of law.

The Role of the Southern Regional Council

This situation imposes a tremendous responsibility on the Southern Regional Council. As the only wholly Southern interracial group with long experience, professional skills, and reputation in the field of race relations, it has had to operate on a broader and more effective scale than ever before, recognizing that it is dealing with causes and effects that are nationwide in scope. The Council's task has included but gone far beyond the stimulation of purely local action. We have felt it essential to assume more leadership in educating and rallying those regional - and sometimes national - forces whose action or inaction at this time is critical.

Lest this sound presumptuous, we hasten to add that we have no illusions that the Council is a causative force, or even, in itself, a powerful one in this vast transition. Its effectiveness must be judged in terms of the strategic importance of its activities in contested situations where the right program at the right time can make a decisive difference. Examples would be the timely release last summer of the Council's findings on Negro suffrage, the support of consultant services to community leadership vacillating between a forward and a backward course, and other activities described in the attached material.

The main functions of the Council may be briefly summed up as follows:

1. State Human Relations Councils. -- The Southern Regional Council has devoted a large part of its resources in the past three years to the creation of staffed interracial organizations in ten of the Southern states. Working against great odds, these state groups have provided instruments through which white and Negro Southerners can express their common belief in a democratic society and work for its achievement at the local and state levels. The Council continues to give both program assistance and financial aid to the state councils.

2. Interagency Cooperation. -- The Council has already, of necessity, assumed a greatly increased responsibility for coordination and clearing-house work with other agencies. This has been in response to the expressed wishes and requests of a number of organizations, including the social action departments of the major religious denominations active in the South, the several Jewish agencies concerned with human relations, the trade unions, and such groups as the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP, the YMCA, and the YWCA. The Council has four times served as convener of thirty of these agencies for the sharing of ideas and joint program planning. At their request, the Council has also coordinated their concerted field efforts.

3. National Communication. -- The Council has played a central part in the newly formed national Consultative Conference on Desegregation. Through this association and other channels, we have greatly increased communication and cooperation between enlightened Southerners and national forces concerned with desegregation.

4. Federal Agencies. -- The Council is called upon by various departments of the Federal Government for interpretation of Southern problems and for specially assembled information, made possible through our fact-finding program. For example, the Department of Justice requested and was given the complete raw findings of the Council's special survey on the status of Negro suffrage in the South.

5. Interpretation through the Press. -- One of the main assets of the Council has always been its reputation with the press, Southern and national, as a dependable and authoritative source of information about all aspects of race relations in the South. The Council and its parent organization have served as a repository of such information since 1919. Many Southern editors and newspapers whose policies on racial matters are directly opposed to those of the Council are accustomed to relying without question on the Council's information services. This function too has greatly increased and continues to grow with each passing day. It is no exaggeration to say that the Council now serves in this way virtually all of the major national publications and a great many Southern ones. To the newspapers must be added a growing list of radio and television programs.

6. The Consultant Service Program. -- Established as a service to the Council's state affiliates, this program has greatly broadened its scope and usefulness. Within the limit of resources, we are undertaking to make special consultants available to public or private leadership in Southern communities with outstanding problems or opportunities. Within recent months, for example, upon official invitation, the Council has made available the consultative services of a Kentucky county school superintendent, who successfully carried out desegregation, to a local school board in North Carolina beginning quietly to plan for such a change.

7. Victims of Pressure and Reprisal. -- The Council has been heavily concerned with the difficulties of individuals and groups that have undergone abuse, ostracism, and sometimes violence in the segregation controversy. We have helped victims of economic reprisal to secure financial help through such programs as the "Rights of Conscience" project of the American Friends Service Committee. We have helped ministers and teachers, discharged for their dissenting views, to find new positions. We have worked with the interracial community at Koinonia Farm in its efforts to get support and legal counsel that would enable it to continue in Americus, Georgia. Beleaguered newspaper eidtors have also turned to the Council for advice and aid. We are deeply concerned about the impact of hostility and violence on the children, white and Negro, in the forefront of desegregation. Through the investigations of Dr. Kenneth Clark, we are seeking to improve our understanding of the adverse effects of these experiences, and ways in which they can be minimized.

8. Work with Labor. -- Under a special arrangement, the Council has recently acquired the services of a well-qualified staff member bearing the title of Labor Consultant. This staff member's function is to serve as a resource and liaison person with the unions in the South, which hold great promise as an important influence for progress in race relations. Although this position was initially established on a temporary basis, it has already yielded such fruitful results that it has been continued as part of the regular staff structure.

9. Other Functions. -- All of the important activities that the Council has regularly carried on are being expanded and intensified to the limit of resources as the demands on the Council mount. In this category are the work with church women and other women's groups, the maintenance of comprehensive reference files to service a stream of information requests, the distribution of program materials, and the briefing of foreign visitors travelling in the South under the auspices of the State Department and other public and private sponsors.

We do not wish to imply that the Council feels that it has achieved any fixed or final formula for its efforts in the South during the period ahead. As recent experience has made all too clear, the situation is volatile in the extreme. Any realistic approach in this area must be

firmly grounded in recognition of the need for constant reassessment and flexibility. We do feel that we have achieved an orientation, a structure, and a range of staff skills sufficiently versatile to render a major service in this critical period.

Financial Analysis

It need hardly be explained that raising funds for the kind of work carried on by the Council is more difficult in the South today than ever before. At a time when the need for expanded activities is critical, an unprecedented amount of new support must be secured.

Through a generous terminal grant from the Fund for the Republic, the Council has in hand approximately one-third of its minimum budget for the next three years. Even so, this leaves an aggregate total of some $400,000 to be raised from other sources. At the end of this proposal is a budget which shows the dimensions of this task for 1958.

We are proposing a three-year grant period for two reasons. First, in our opinion the next three years will be crucial in determining the future pattern of race relations in the South. Despite the tension and difficulties of the last few years, the situation has not yet crystallized; it will do so as further court decisions and the possible spread of violence bring the issues to a head. Thus what is done or not done during the next three years will probably set the framework in which the longer-range working out of desegregation will take place. If this is true, it clearly follows that this is the period in which to make the most effective contribution of which this organization is capable.

Second, we earnestly believe that sound program planning and able staffing demand a stable financial base for a substantial period ahead. The Council is fortunate in having a remarkably devoted and well-qualified staff, but we cannot expect to hold such people or to make maximum use of their skills if the financial structure of the organization is not secure for a reasonable future period.

In the light of the budgetary needs presented, we hope that the New York Foundation will favorably consider a grant to the Council of ~~$15,000~~ 5,000.00 for 1958, and a prospect of additional support in the ~~diminishing~~ amounts of ~~$10,000 and $7,500~~ 5000 during 1959 and 1960, respectively. Naturally we should expect grants for the latter two years to be contingent on a satisfactory showing of performance by the Council at the beginning of each new grant year.

November 25, 1957

Mrs. Marie K. Driggs
Executive Secretary
New York Fund for Children, Inc.
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Driggs:

At the Council's recent Annual Meeting - the first since the New York Fund for Children's 1957 grant - the members present unanimously adopted the enclosed resolution. The appreciation it expresses is deeply felt, both by the governing body and the staff of the Council.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Resolution)

Resolution to the New York Fund for Children
Adopted at the Southern Regional Council
Annual Meeting - November 12, 1957

It is self evident that the future of our region and the nation depends upon the ability of each generation's children to adjust to the reality of their day and to prepare for the world of tomorrow.

Growing up is never an easy process. But, of this generation of Southern children - both Negro and white - more than usual is demanded. They are not the ones who make the decisions, but it is they who must, in final analysis, live out the decisions made.

Through the generous financial support of the New York Fund for children, the Southern Regional Council has been enabled to help the children of the South by working through religious youth groups, other organizations, and a small but growing number of public school systems. For this support, we, the members of the Council, are sincerely grateful.

December 13, 1957

Mr. D. John Heyman
Secretary
New York Foundation, Inc.
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Mr. Heyman:

Thank you for your kind letter of December 10 acknowledging our application for a grant from the New York Foundation and requesting our latest audited financial statement.

Enclosed is a copy of the recently completed audit for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1957. Audits have always seemed to me unnecessarily obscure and misleading. If you have questions about this one, I will be happy to add any clarification I can.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Audited Statement dated November 15, 1957)

NEW YORK FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1909
61 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y. 6

December 10, 1957

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We have received your letter of November 22 including an application for a grant to Southern Regional Council, Inc. by the New York Foundation. Your application will be given careful consideration at the next meeting of the Board of Trustees.

In the meantime, I would appreciate your sending us a copy of your last audited financial statement, including your major sources of support. If because of the fact that your fiscal year is now ending you do not have such an audited statement for 1957, would you be kind enough to send us your statement for 1956 plus an informal statement of income and expenses for 1957, including your major sources of support. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

D. John Heyman B

D. JOHN HEYMAN
Secretary

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL

February 4, 1958

Mr. Harry Ashmore
Executive Editor
ARKANSAS GAZETTE
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Cousin Harry:

Through the grapevine, I learn that the New York Foundation, which is considering us, is about to ask your confidential judgment of SRC's usefulness. The inquiry will probably come in the form of a letter from either Sol Markoff, the executive, or Ken Clark, who consults with them. As I understand it, they are set to go except for one doubting board member; and what you and McGill say is expected to be decisive.

After all your help, I know I don't have to prime you for such queries. But, not knowing what form this one will take, I thought you ought to know what's behind it and how crucial it is.

I've been rejoicing in the critical acclaim accorded Epitaph. Old Hodding really did an inspired job. I only wish the Atlanta papers were among those serializing the book.

Hope the Mexico City sojourn restored your weary spirits and that you corrupted O'Dwyer more

than he did you. You should have heard the pride Popham exuded over getting you two together.

The best, as always,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. The Methodist churchlady, Mrs. Henderson, showed me the reprint of your editorials on the Faubus affair -- an excellent job. Could you have your secretary mail me a batch?

H. F.

2/18

February 11, 1958

Air Mail - Special Delivery

Mr. Sol Markoff, Director
New York Foundation
61 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 6

Dear Mr. Markoff:

I believe that I am familiar enough with the Southern Regional Council to give you an accurate evaluation of it.

I helped organize it a good many years ago when it became obvious that the old anti-lynching organization had become out-moded. Because I consider an editor ought to be able to comment on any organization, I have a policy of not becoming a member. I, nonetheless, maintain an active interest in the Southern Regional Council.

I think the most eloquent testimony in its behalf is that despite the hostile climate under which it operates, it has been able, year after year, to attract first-rate men from every state in the South. It has attracted Roman Catholic bishops, Protestants and Jews. It has attracted, also, outstanding Negroes.

It fills a unique place. It is not an aggressive lobbying institution but one dedicated to research and dissemination of the information obtained. I think you can well understand that in a region where there is so much sound and fury it is necessary to have some organization which, year in and year out, can assemble the facts and keep them before the public.

The Council also affords a rallying point for churches and other groups which are not swept off their feet by the hysteria now so prevalent. The White Citizens Councils attack them as left-wing, as infiltrated by Reds and so on. They have been doing this for years without any appreciable success in destroying the integrity of the Council. Its position is enhanced by the critics it has.

I feel very strongly that it is a much needed organization.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph McGill

RM:gl

Blind copy: Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Case 2/17

PA - Commendation
McGill Hr also added

Arkansas Gazette.
LITTLE ROCK
ARKANSAS

OFFICE OF THE
EDITOR

February 14, 1958

Dear Cousin Harold:

I have now received a request for information from the New York foundation which I am getting ready to reply to. It takes a little time to put together a tissue of lies of the sort I plan to fabricate, but I don't think it can hurt you.

I'll send you a copy of the composition when I get it off.

Regards,

Harry S. Ashmore
Executive Editor

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

COUSIN H. —
OH THE THINGS
I HAVE DONE TO
CARRY ON THE LORD'S WORK —
HSG

February 14, 1958

Dear Mr. Markoff:

I am pleased that your Foundation is considering an application for a grant from the Southern Regional Council.

I have been familiar with the work of the Council since its inception -- both from observation as a newspaper editor in the Carolinas and Arkansas, and from my experience as a director of the Fund for the Republic.

It is, of course, difficult to appraise the worth of any human relations agency in the South against the present background. The deterioration of the past several years has served to blank out some past accomplishments of the Council, and to obscure others. It is not, therefore, a matter of measuring progress to which the Council may have contributed, but rather of determining whether the situation might not be worse if the agency and its state affiliates had not been in existence. I believe that it would have been.

The Council in my judgment serves two important functions that no other agency in the region is capable of. It remains a rallying point for moderate white Southern opinion, and keeps open essential channels of communication between the races -- something the NAACP cannot do by its nature, and the Urban League can do only in the most limited way. It also provides an indispensable source of factual information on every aspect of the race problem; the Council's resources have prevented many a distortion in the local and national press, helped correct many that did find their way into print.

Aside from its immediate value, I believe the Council is worthy of support because of its potential. It can be assumed that one way or another some school districts in the South are going to have to move toward at least token desegregation in the months ahead. The present climate of opinion

is such that any such action will create serious tensions in the community where it takes place. The Council and its local affiliates will provide one of the few sources of "human engineers" to assist local school officials, and other public and private agencies concerned with the impact on race relations. As I am sure you are aware, trained, experienced people in this field are extremely rare -- particularly those with the Southern background which is essential to their success.

The Council has been able to attract and retain persons of demonstrated competence -- both professional and volunteer. Its present director, Harold Fleming, provides a rare combination of dedication and common sense. He is, in my judgment, the best qualified man in this field I have known in my time. His services alone would make the maintenance of the Council worthwhile.

Let me say, finally, that it is a measure of the South's tragedy that the Council cannot obtain adequate local financial support; even those who are sympathetic and disposed to contribute are all too often intimidated by the organized pressures directed against any human relations agency which deals realistically with racial problems. Support from outside sources is, therefore, essential, and I hope the New York Foundation will consider the Council's application sympathetically.

Sincerely,

Harry S. Ashmore
Executive Editor

Mr. Sol Markoff, Director
New York Foundation
61 Broadway
New York 6, N. Y.

original
RF to HCF

February 19, 1958

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore
Executive Editor
The Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Harry:

The Lord bless you and make His face to shine upon you, for you have wedded truth and poetry for His name's sake.

If the New York Foundation doesn't come through now, there's no justice under heaven.

Yours in awe and appreciation,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

original
Pt. to
hcf

February 19, 1958

Mr. Ralph McGill
Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ralph:

Many, many thanks for your good letter to Sol Markoff of the New York Foundation. What with your letter and an equally heart-warming one by Ashmore, they must surely come through.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

VIA AIR MAIL

February 20, 1958

Mr. Sol Markoff
Director
New York Foundation
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Mr. Markoff:

I was very sorry that we didn't get together during my brief visit to New York last week. As Ken Clark may have told you, the hotel chose to present me with all my messages Friday as I was checking out at the end of the day.

I plan to be in New York again from March 5 to 7 and will call you shortly after arrival in the hope that we can get acquainted then. Ken's enthusiastic references to you have almost made me feel that we already are.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

February 20, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: J. C.

From: M. F.

Please see that the following person is placed on our complimentary mailing list for NEW SOUTH:

Mr. Sol Markoff
Director
New York Foundation
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

February 21, 1958

Mrs. Marie K. Driggs
Executive Secretary
New York Fund for Children, Inc.
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Driggs:

I take pleasure in sending you the enclosed reports on the Southern Regional Council's work and finances during 1957, as well as our proposed budget for 1958.

As I hope these reports make clear, the assistance of the New York Fund for Children was invaluable to the Council's efforts in a very difficult year. While we have not devoted a separate section of The Annual Report to programs affecting children and young people, many of the Council's activities have been directly or indirectly concerned with the Fund's special interest.

The distressing developments in Charlotte and Little Rock have created even greater concern over the effects of tension and conflict on the young Southerners who are cast in the role of pioneers of social change. The personality study of the nine Negro students enrolled in Little Rock's Central High School, done for us by Dr. Kenneth Clark, has given the Council a basis for more effort in this field. During 1958, we hope to develop, and stimulate other organizations to develop, programs

aimed at minimizing the damaging effects of contested desegregation on the children involved.

I hope that the New York Fund for Children will feel that the performance of the Council justifies its continued confidence and further support within the terms of your letter of May 17, 1957.

If I can supply additional information about past or contemplated activities, I shall be glad to do so.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/smf
Enclosures - SRC Annual Report, 1957
List of Board Members
1958 Budget
1957 Audit

Rcd 2/27/58

NEW YORK FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1909
61 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y. 6

February 24, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I, too, am sorry that we couldn't get together when you were in New York. Possibly we can get together on your next visit.

Sincerely,

Sol Markoff

Sol Markoff
Director

SM:re

March 13, 1958

Mr. Sol Markoff
Director
New York Foundation
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Mr. Markoff:

I thought you might want to see the minutes of the last Southern Interagency Conference, held here in Atlanta. They will give you some idea of how the various agencies in the South are operating.

I enjoyed the hour together last week and will look forward to future opportunities to get together.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Minutes of February Interggency Meeting)

March 18, 1958

Mr. D. John Heyman
Secretary
New York Foundation, Inc.
61 Broadway
New ork 6, New York

Dear Mr. Heyman:

Our warm thanks for your letter of March 10 informing us that a grant of $5,000 to the Council has been approved by the New York Foundation.

Please express our appreciation to the Trustees for this important assistance to the Council's work. We shall keep you informed of our program activities in the months to come.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NEW YORK FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1909
61 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y. 6

March 10, 1958

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It gives me pleasure to inform you that in response to your letter of November 22, the Trustees have made a grant of $5,000. toward your general budget.

This sum will be paid in quarterly instalments beginning May 1, 1958.

Sincerely yours,

D. John Heyman

D. JOHN HEYMAN
Secretary

June 11, 1958

Mrs. Marie K. Driggs
Executive Secretary
New York Fund for Children
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Driggs:

This is to acknowledge with warm thanks payment of the New York Fund for Children's 1957 grant of $7,500. Please express our lasting appreciation to the officers of the Fund.

There has been a steady increase in the extent in which our program activities are concerned with the welfare of children and young people involved in desegregation and racial tensions in the South. In our future reporting, we will try to spell out some of the ways in which the Council has worked in this area of particular concern to the New York Fund for Children.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Official Receipt)

NEW YORK FUND FOR CHILDREN, INC.
100 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

MURRAY HILL 5-2629

June 9, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

rho 6/11/58

We are pleased to enclose a check for $7,500 for the second of a three-year pledge made by the Board of Directors of the New York Fund for Children, Inc. at its meeting on May 17, 1957.

Thank you for the Progress Reports which you have been sending to us and we shall look forward with interest to receiving your Reports in the future.

Sincerely yours,

Marie K. Driggs

Marie K. Driggs,
Executive Secretary

mkd g
enclosure

VIA AIR MAIL

December 29, 1958

Mr. Sol Markoff, Director
New York Foundation, Inc.
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Mr. Markoff:

The middle of the holidays is a poor time to be writing, but I suspect I am well behind schedule in asking about the possibility of continued assistance in 1959 from the New York Foundation. I very much hope that you and your board will feel the Council's work merits renewed support.

I expect to be in New York Tuesday and Wednesday, January 6 and 7. Will it be convenient for us to get together on either of those days? If not, I will plan to arrange to stay over for a day or two if that will make it possible.

If for any reason it won't be possible for us to talk, I'll be grateful for any guidance you may give me about the nature and timing of our application for further aid.

With kindest regards and best wishes for the new year,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NEW YORK FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1909
61 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y. 6

December 31, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming:

With regard to your letter of December 29, I have a number of appointments scheduled for both the 6th and 7th of January, but if you are going to be in the city on both days, I would suggest you call me when you arrive to see if we can get together for an hour or so. I believe this will be possible.

With kind regards,

Cordially,

Sol Markoff

Sol Markoff
Executive Director

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

A REQUEST TO THE NEW YORK FOUNDATION FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

February 28, 1959

The New York Foundation's 1959 grant of $5,000 to the Southern Regional Council has had special value, for two reasons. First, it came during a period of serious crisis in Southern race relations -- and therefore of unprecedented demands on this organization. Secondly, the Foundation assisted the basic, ongoing program of the Council rather than some limited function. For its generosity, timeliness, and understanding we are lastingly grateful.

It is a peculiarity of most philanthropies that they prefer to designate their gifts for narrow purposes. Thus many organizations are led to contrive one "project" after another, often to the detriment of the overall effectiveness of their programs. The Council has been largely able to avoid such distortion of effort. For this we are indebted to the New York Foundation and a relatively few other contributors who have been willing to invest in the basic operation.

Even so, of the Council's funds on hand or committed for 1959, only $47,000 is available toward a general operating budget of $110,000. This is in contrast to approximately $109,000 available for special projects. (These figures are exclusive of funds earmarked for aid to independent state Councils on Human Relations -- approximately $60,000.)

This request for 1959 is based on the hope that the New York Foundation will again contribute to the central needs of the Council, in the increased amount of $10,000.

Needless to say, we will value the renewed general support of the New York Foundation because of the pressing budgetary need it will meet. But more than that, we know from experience that, dollar

for dollar, investment in central program activities yields far greater returns in effectiveness than support of a more restricted kind.

In advancing this point, we do not mean to lose sight of the contributors' interest in the specific program efforts which they are assisting. Our 1958 Annual Report, enclosed, gives a summary account of the Council's activities during the past year. We should also like, however, to list here several of the major needs which will loom large in the year ahead and which the requested grant will help make possible:

(1) Maintenance of an effective professional and clerical staff.

(2) Publications and information services to the press, television, civic and religious organizations, scholars, and community leaders.

(3) Assistance to such government agencies as the Commission on Civil Rights and the Department of Justice.

(4) Services to more than 100 influential foreign visitors annually.

(5) Aid to beleaguered individuals and groups -- victims of segregationist pressure and reprisals.

(6) Work with citizens' efforts to preserve public education through compliance with court rulings -- an important new expression of positive public sentiment in the South.

Few of the larger foundations are inclined to support organized efforts in so "controversial" a field as race relations, particularly in the South. The New York Foundation is a much-appreciated exception. We earnestly hope the Foundation will feel that the Council's performance merits its support in the increased amount requested during 1959.

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL

March 2, 1959

Mr. Sol Markoff
Director
New York Foundation, Inc.
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Sol:

Here is our request for 1959.

As you suggested, I have tried to keep it brief. Although you will no doubt still have to edit it, I hope it has the makings of a docket item. I will be ready to supplement or revise it in any way you feel necessary.

The Annual Report will serve as a somewhat more detailed account of the Council's work. If you can use additional copies, let me know and we will send them promptly.

I enjoyed our conversation at the Commodore in January and hope we will see more of each other in 1959.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures
1959 Request for Aid
SRC Annual Report, 1958
Financial Statement, 1958

A REQUEST TO THE NEW YORK FOUNDATION FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

February 28, 1959

The New York Foundation's 1959 grant of $5,000 to the Southern Regional Council has had special value, for two reasons. First, it came during a period of serious crisis in Southern race relations -- and therefore of unprecedented demands on this organization. Secondly, the Foundation assisted the basic, ongoing program of the Council rather than some limited function. For its generosity, timeliness, and understanding we are lastingly grateful.

It is a peculiarity of most philanthropies that they prefer to designate their gifts for narrow purposes. Thus many organizations are led to contrive one "project" after another, often to the detriment of the overall effectiveness of their programs. The Council has been largely able to avoid such distortion of effort. For this we are indebted to the New York Foundation and a relatively few other contributors who have been willing to invest in the basic operation.

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This request for 1959 is based on the hope that the New York Foundation will again contribute to the central needs of the Council, in the increased amount of $10,000.

Needless to say, we will value the renewed general support of the New York Foundation because of the pressing budgetary need it will meet. But more than that, we know from experience that, dollar

for dollar, investment in central program activities yields far greater returns in effectiveness than support of a more restricted kind.

In advancing this point, we do not mean to lose sight of the contributors' interest in the specific program efforts which they are assisting. Our 1958 Annual Report, enclosed, gives a summary account of the Council's activities during the past year. We should also like, however, to list here several of the major needs which will loom large in the year ahead and which the requested grant will help make possible:

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(2) Publications and information services to the press, television, civic and religious organizations, scholars, and community leaders.

(3) Assistance to such government agencies as the Commission on Civil Rights and the Department of Justice.

(4) Services to more than 100 influential foreign visitors annually.

(5) Aid to beleaguered individuals and groups -- victims of segregationist pressure and reprisals.

(6) Work with citizens' efforts to preserve public education through compliance with court rulings -- an important new expression of positive public sentiment in the South.

Few of the larger foundations are inclined to support organized efforts in so "controversial" a field as race relations, particularly in the South. The New York Foundation is a much-appreciated exception. We earnestly hope the Foundation will feel that the Council's performance merits its support in the increased amount requested during 1959.

PA
MF

NEW YORK FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1909
61 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y. 6

March 12, 1959

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your letter of March 2 requesting a grant has been received and will be submitted to the Trustees at their next meeting. You will be advised of the result in due course.

Sincerely,

Sol Markoff

Sol Markoff
Executive Director

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

April 9, 1959

Mr. Sol Markoff
New York Foundation, Inc.
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Sol:

John Heyman's letter was very welcome news. I am making our formal acknowledgment to him, but I also want to say a word of personal thanks to you for your interest and help.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

April 9, 1959

Mr. D. John Heyman, Secretary
New York Foundation, Inc.
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Mr. Heyman:

On behalf of the Council, this is to acknowledge with warm thanks your letter advising us that the Foundation has approved a grant of $5,000 toward our general budget. This gives us not only important financial support, but also the encouragement of knowing that the Council's work has earned the continued confidence of the Trustees.

We will, as last year, be sending you periodic reports on the Council's program, as well as a final accounting at the end of the grant period.

With appreciation and best personal regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NEW YORK FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1909
61 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y. 6

March 31, 1959

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It gives me pleasure to inform you that in response to your letter of March 2, the Trustees have made a grant of $5,000 toward your general budget.

This sum will be paid in quarterly installments beginning May 1, 1959.

Sincerely yours,

D. John Heyman

D. John Heyman
Secretary

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and to the

Sincerely yours,

May 21, 1959

Mrs. Marie K. Driggs
Executive Secretary
New York Fund for Children, Inc.
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Driggs:

As we approach the second anniversary date of the New York Fund for Children's financial aid to the Southern Regional Council, this is to express our hope that the Fund will feel the third annual grant is merited. Under the terms of your letter of May 17, 1957, the amount of the grant would be $5,000.

Although I believe we have previously sent our annual report for 1958, I thought you might wish to have another copy with this letter, as well as a copy of our audited financial statement.

If you would like any further information about the Council's activities, I shall be happy to supply it.

With kindest regards to you and to the directors of the Fund, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

May 28, 1959

Mrs. Marie K. Driggs
Executive Secretary
New York Fund for Children, Inc.
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Driggs:

This will acknowledge most gratefully your letter of May 21 and the check for $5,000 representing the final payment of the Fund's three-year pledge to the Southern Regional Council.

You may be sure that we will continue to send you periodic reports on our activities and other materials that may be of interest to you. And if any occasion should arise in which we might assist the Fund through advice, information, or other means, I hope you will call on me.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Official receipt)

RECEIVED MAY 27 1959

NEW YORK FUND FOR CHILDREN, INC.
100 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

MURRAY HILL 5-2629

May 21, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are pleased to enclose our check for $5,000 which is the final payment of a three-year pledge made by the Directors of the New York Fund for Children, Inc. at its meeting on May 17, 1957. CR Nha

We have read your Progress Reports with great interest and shall hope to continue receiving Reports from you from time to time.

Sincerely yours,

Marie K. Driggs

Marie K. Driggs,
Executive Secretary

mkd g
enclosure

VIA AIR MAIL

January 11, 1960

Mr. Sol Markoff
Director
New York Foundation, Inc.
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Mr. Markoff:

For some time prior to the end of the year, I had hoped for a chance to discuss with you personally the Council's work in 1959 and our prospects for continued assistance from the New York Foundation.

Unfortunately, I have not had such an opportunity. And, with the turn of the year, I am sure I should not delay any longer in writing you.

In many ways, 1959 was a rewarding year for the Council. The turn of events in the South enabled our work to reach further than ever before into the main stream. As the conservative leadership of the Southern states finds itself face to face with the practical consequences of resistance to desegregation, there is new receptivity to the kind of services and information the Council offers.

Of course, the region as a whole is far from over the hump. The advance of legal pressures for desegregation into the "hard core" states of the Deep South protends

a period of serious difficulties, perhaps even conflict. But, even here, the issue has become an immediate,practical one, which has to be faced; thus the opportunities for solid program effort, rather than mere prophecy or moral exhortation, have multiplied.

The Council's work in this changing climate is summarized in the enclosed report. During 1959, we departed from our usual practice of preparing an annual report early in the following year; instead, the enclosed report was prepared and distributed in anticipation of our Annual Meeting in November. Although a copy was sent to you routinely at that time, I feel it is appropriate to send another with this letter.

Our auditor is at work on the annual financial statement, which I shall forward as soon as it is completed and reproduced. Meanwhile, from the unaudited figures, I can report that we ended the year without a deficit -- thanks in no small part to the assistance of the New York Foundation.

If the timing is appropriate, I should like to submit out request for 1960 within the next week or so. I shall also hope for an early trip to New York that will enable me to see you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
(Enclosure - 1.)

Enclosures: 1 Proposal
1 Bd. List
1 Financial ~~Analysis~~ Analysis (Proposed Budget - 1960)

via air mail January 27, 1960

Mr. Sol Markoff
Director
New York Foundation, Inc.
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Mr. Markoff:

Enclosed is our request to the New York Foundation for assistance in 1960, as well as a financial analysis for the current year and a list of our Board members.

If further information of any kind is needed, please let me know.

An audited financial statement for 1959 is in preparation and a copy will, of course, be sent to you as soon as it is completed.

We are grateful, as always, to you and the Trustees of the Foundation for your consideration of the Council's needs.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

A REQUEST
TO THE NEW YORK FOUNDATION, INC.
FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

January 27, 1960

This is to submit to the New York Foundation the Southern Regional Council's request for renewed assistance in 1960, in the amount of $10,000.

We wish to emphasize the value and importance of the New York Foundation's willingness to assist the central needs of the Council. We make this request for assistance to the central budget since ~~For~~ it is through the general operations of ~~this organization~~ the Council that its basic and most effective work is done. Unlike many organizations, The Council, ~~of course,~~ has no endowment; nor does it have a building program or other purely institutional functions which drain off funds from the general budget. Therefore, general support of the Council is translated almost entirely into meaningful program activity, of the sort described above. For an organization like ours a proliferation of "projects" only serves to fragment and compartmentalize program efforts that are carried out more economically and more effectively as integral parts of the total staff operation.

For these reasons, we are particularly grateful for the New York Foundation's past assistance, and hopeful that it may continue on the same basis.

The Council's aim has been to work on more than an emergency basis, to build program that seeks lasting effects rather than merely improvising to meet short-run crises. Thus our program for 1960 in many respects will be continuous with

the activities of the past year, extending the activities we have already reported to you further and more effectively into the life of the region.

There are, however, various new directions and emphases that we feel the changing situation calls for in the coming year and which may be summarized as follows:

(1) Economic leadership. We have commissioned Professor Donald Dewey, respected Duke University economist, to prepare a report on Negro manpower utilization in the industrializing South. The object of this project is to awaken more Southern business leaders to the importance of incorporating Negroes fully into the work force. Also planned is an analysis of the stake which major American corporations have in orderly transition to desegregation in the South. This publication, it is hoped, can be followed up by face-to-face consultation with national executives of firms with Southern holdings. Several state and local councils on human relations, with SRC's assistance, will promote equality of opportunity in employment with private industries and government agencies in their areas during 1960.

(2) Medical care. Preoccupation with school desegregation has led to neglect of other areas of discrimination which may be attacked with better prospects of early results. One such area, vitally important to the individual and the family, is medical care. We hope to survey physician practices and hospital facilities in detail and to give the findings wide

distribution and publicity. Our exploratory interviews with health and hospital officials have uncovered much interest in such a survey.

(3) The right to vote. SRC's pioneer fact-finding in this field has paid satisfying dividends. We plan next an examination of the literacy test -- now the main discriminatory device in the deep South. The results would have the same thorough public interpretation as our earlier investigations.

(4) The schools. Educational discrimination and desegregation will, of course, continue to demand major attention. We expect to supplement our regular staff resources this year with the part-time services of an able Southern school superintendent, J. J. Brewbaker of Norfolk, who retires in June. Mr. Brewbaker has given outstanding leadership in the desegregation of the Norfolk public schools and is known and respected by school men and public officials throughout the South.

In addition, we will continue to prepare and distribute the frequent reports directed to school administrators, editors, and other community leaders. One subject of special emphasis will be the evidence of sharply improved achievement by Negro pupils and teachers in desegregated situations. It is essential that the negative image of the Negro as a hopelessly downgrading influence to counteracted by factual material disseminated through the press and through strategically distributed publications.

(5) Assisting other groups. SRC is increasingly looked to for guidance by religious, youth, and other special-purpose organizations in the South. We will devote an even larger proportion of staff time and resources to this purpose in 1960. Citizen groups committed to preserving public schools (by compliance with law) will, as last year, have high priority in our program. Added to our cooperation with existing agencies -- whose staff members we convene quarterly -- will be two new staffed efforts, the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity and the National Student Association's Southern race relations project.

(6) Hotels and convention sites. We have had several requests from officers of large professional societies for information about non-discriminatory conference facilities in the South. This is becoming a critical question in many of the regional and national organizations. And, potentially, it threatens a significant loss of revenue to leading Southern cities, as they are beginning uneasily to realize. The Council is favorably considering requests to undertake a systematic program of fact-finding, information, and persuasion in this field during 1960.

Of course, there will be no diminution of our assistance, program and financial, to state and local human relations councils throughout the South. Within the next few weeks, we expect to bring together the personnel of these councils for joint planning.

This partial description of program plans for the coming year may suffice to indicate the variety and scope of the Southern Regional Council's opportunities in 1960. To carry out these plans as well as continuing aspects of its work, the Council must raise $49,000 not now committed or in hand. The enclosed financial analysis shows the general operating budget and expectable income from which this balance is derived.

If further information would assist in the consideration of our request, please call on me for it. Meanwhile, appreciation and kindest regards.

NEW YORK FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1909
61 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y. 6

January 29, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your letter of January 27 requesting a grant has been received and will be presented to the Trustees at their next meeting. You will be advised of their decision in due course.

Sincerely,

Sol Markoff

Sol Markoff
Executive Director

May 23, 1960

Mr. D. John Heyman
Secretary
New York Foundation, Inc.
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Mr. Heyman:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council, I acknowledge most gratefully your letter of April 21. We are deeply pleased that the Trustees of the New York Foundation have found the work of the Council worthy of continued assistance.

We shall continue to send you periodic reports and materials, as well as an overall accounting of program and finances at the end of the year. Meanwhile, with personal appreciation and kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NEW YORK FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1909
61 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y. 6

April 21, 1960

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It gives me pleasure to inform you that in response to your letter of January 27, the Trustees have made a grant of $5,000 toward your general budget.

This sum will be paid to you in quarterly instalments beginning on May 1, 1960.

Sincerely yours,

D. John Heyman

D. John Heyman
Secretary

via air mail

June 4, 1960

Mr. D. John Heyman
Secretary
New York Foundation, Inc.
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear John:

I have just returned to the office to find your welcome letter of June 6. It would be a pleasure to get together with you again over a drink, whatever the subject of discussion.

I have no New York trip scheduled at the moment, but the occasion will probably arise before too long. You will hear from me as soon as it does. Meanwhile, if I can be of any help by correspondence or telephone, call on me.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NEW YORK FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1909
61 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y. 6

June 6, 1960

Dear Harold:

I would like very much to have a chance to talk with you about a situation having nothing to do with the New York Foundation. If you will let me know when you are next coming to New York, I would love to have a drink with you.

Hoping to see you soon, I remain

Sincerely yours,

John

D. John Heyman
Secretary

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

via air mail

July 13, 1960

Mr. D. John Heyman
New York Foundation
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear John:

I need to pay a short visit to New York before the end of this month. Will you be there and have time for a brief get-together on Wednesday or Thursday of next week, July 20 or 21? If not, what about July 27 or 28? I could make it either week.

I'll be looking forward to a word from you. Meanwhile, best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NEW YORK FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1909
61 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y. 6

July 14, 1960

AIR MAIL

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your note of July 13th. Wednesday the 21st of July will be my last day in the office prior to my departure for Europe. If you could save some time in the late afternoon and call me that morning, letting me know when and where, I would be most grateful.

Sincerely,

John

D. JOHN HEYMAN
Secretary

September 30, 1960

Mr. D. John Heyman
Secretary
New York Foundation, Inc.
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear John:

You may have read something about the case of Bob Hughes, director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, who was jailed for contempt by a Jefferson County (Birmingham-Bessemer) grand jury investigating Harrison Salisbury's alleged libel of Birmingham. Enclosed is a fact sheet on the situation.

Bob's decision to accept a missionary assignment in Southern Rhodesia next January removes this from the category of economic victims with which your informal committee is concerned. It is the case, however, that the legal fees incurred by the Alabama Council in Bob's defense are crushing for that small organization; the total costs will add up to at least $8,000. Of course, this was part of the strategy of harrassment by the Birmingham authorities.

In this case, then, it is an interracial organization -- the only one in Alabama -- that is jeopardized by reprisal. The Alabama Council wants to continue, with a new staff person after Bob leaves, if it can avoid total insolvency.

In any case, whether or not this case can be justified in the committee's framework, I thought some of your

sources might be willing to help meet this need.

During the coming months, we will be alert for cases that clearly would be of concern to the informal committee.

My best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

ENCLOSURE - 1. (Background on Recent Events Concerning the Rev. Robert E. Hughes.)

Enclosures: 1 Proposal
1 "Operating Budgets and Income Forecast - 1961"

February 15, 1961

Mr. Sol Markoff, Director
New York Foundation, Inc.
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Sol:

I hope it is timely and appropriate for us to submit the enclosed request for a 1961 grant. I had serious doubts about asking again for $10,000 in the absence of an opportunity to talk with you. Of course, as before, we will be grateful for a lesser amount, if that is the Foundation's decision.

I have an uncomfortable feeling that it must seem monotonous to receive another annual request from the same familiar quarter. Perhaps the good press, in New York and elsewhere, received by our report to the President will cause your Trustees to feel that there is fresh effort afoot and in prospect. We have been pleased by the reception the report has had so far in the new Administration.

Until we get together again, soon I hope, my very best regards to you and to John Heyman.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

A REQUEST
TO THE NEW YORK FOUNDATION, INC.
FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

February 14, 1961

This is to request the New York Foundation's consideration of a grant of $10,000 in support of the central program of the Southern Regional Council during 1961.

We are sensitive to the fact that the Foundation's assistance in recent years represents an unusual degree of confidence in our efforts. We are not only profoundly grateful, but anxious not to presume upon a relationship that we value most highly. This request for renewed support is not submitted routinely, but with confidence that it will be considered on the merits of the Council and its role in the months to come.

In addition to its continuing functions, the Council in 1961 must give high priority to two major developments which will basically affect race relations: the coming of desegregation to the heart of the deep South, and the approach of the new national Administration to civil rights.

In New Orleans, Jacksonville, Atlanta, and elsewhere in the deep South, the advent of the student "sit-in" movement has created new pressures and tensions, psychological and economic. These developments are certain to continue and spread. As a result, the Council's functions of public interpretation and consultation with community leaders have taken on added and urgent importance. There is and will continue to be a great need for the services of the Council in these troubled communities, where a broad range of skills and materials must be brought to bear.

During the past year the Council's materials interpreting the student protest movement and analysing the instances of successful negotiation have been used in a number of the more "moderate" areas. In several instances in North Carolina

and Tennessee, public officials requested Council materials and consultants as they sought means of resolving difficulties. In Florida, the Governor's Commission on Race Relations distributed Council reports to over 200 community leaders throughout the state; our staff members worked closely with the commission and in several Florida communities. These experiences and skills must now be drawn upon and expanded to meet the difficult period ahead when the challenges to the old order are sure to reach into every part of the region.

The first court-ordered school desegregation in the deep South, in New Orleans, has attracted national attention and concern, and is still far from resolved. In this situation, intimidation and mob action go far beyond the immediate issues involved; they threaten the basic values of our society. Here the Council must continue to seek support for courageous individuals in the pioneering role, while prodding the established leadership of the community to maintain order and reason.

The Council has been active on these various levels in New Orleans with services ranging from detailed assistance to the save-the-school groups to bringing into that city consultants such as the director of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce and the former superintendent of the Norfolk, Virginia public schools. The Council was approached by responsible private leadership in New Orleans with the request that we quietly coordinate citizen efforts in that situation. Regrettably, the request and the ensuing cooperation came after the tragic course of events was all but inevitable.

As the new Administration begins to function in Washington, the Council is giving high priority to the role of national leadership. We have long worked closely with the Federal agencies charged with civil rights responsibilities. In the months ahead, we foresee many more requests for such advice

and cooperation. It is equally important for the Council to make the best recommendations it can for greater effectiveness of the Executive Branch in the civil rights field. As the leading Southern organization of its kind, the Council has a unique obligation to exert a positive and helpful influence on the planning of the President in this field.

As a first step, the Council prepared a report on The Federal Executive and Civil Rights. This document has been transmitted to President Kennedy, appropriate members of his staff, and agency heads. We are encouraged by the reception of these recommendations thus far, in the press and in the new Administration.

Quite apart from this special effort, we hope that the Council will have unprecedented opportunities in 1961 to work in detail with the new Administration in whatever approaches to racial problems it may adopt.

In order to carry out these and other essential efforts, the Council must raise for general operations approximately $75,000 from uncommitted sources. A copy of the Council's operating budgets and income forecast is enclosed. The 1960 audit, which has been delayed by the illness of the Secretary-Treasurer, will be forwarded shortly.

We express once again the gratitude of the Council's policy leadership and staff for the New York Foundation's generous assistance in the past. It is our hope that the periodic reports and other communications from the Council convey something of the challenge and excitement of the work which the Foundation has helped make possible.

November 30, 1960

Mr. D. John Heyman
Secretary
New York Foundation
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear John:

I am grateful for your efforts on behalf of the Alabama situation and hope you won't feel too discouraged by the closed circle you found yourself in.

We've made some progress in meeting the Alabama Council's legal costs, and I dare say they will be fully settled in time. Of course, if you should run across a newly interested party, that would be fine.

With thanks and best regards,

As ever,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NEW YORK FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1909
61 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y. 6

November 9, 1960

RECEIVED
NOV 14 1960

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of September 30 regarding the problems of the Atlanta Council.

My story is sad but amusing. I had two ideas as to possible sources of funds and met with both of them, namely, Jane Lee Eddy and Vernon Eagle. I am afraid it looks like we are all running around in circles recommending each other to you. We'll all get together soon and see if we can widen our circle. Meanwhile, we'll keep trying.

Hoping all goes well with you and wishing you continued success, I remain

Sincerely yours,

John

D. John Heyman
Secretary

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

March 17, 1961

Mr. D. John Heyman
Secretary
New York Foundation
61 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Heyman:

Many thanks for your kind letter of March 13 advising us that the Trustees of the New York Foundation have approved a grant of $5,000 toward the Council's general budget.

The Foundation's continuing support of this work is of incalculable value to the Council and to the purposes which it is seeking to advance in the South.

With appreciation and kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NEW YORK FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1909
61 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y. 6

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1961

March 13, 1961

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It gives me pleasure to inform you that in response to your letter of February 15, the Trustees have made a grant of $5,000 toward your general budget.

This sum will be paid to you in quarterly instalments beginning May 1, 1961.

Sincerely yours,

D. John Heyman

D. John Heyman
Secretary

via air mail

April 16, 1962

Dr. Kenneth Clark
Northside Center
31 West 110th Street
New York, New York

Dear Ken:

Harold Fleming has just passed on your information and suggested that a letter like the enclosed be sent immediately. The facts are that an unusually heavy burden of work, plus a back injury for Leslie Dunbar has held us up from preparing a thoughtful request though in draft the first effort exists. And, we did want a good request submitted since we not only value the support of the New York Foundation but need it. We also value your continued interest and help.

I hope an early opportunity will allow you to visit Atlanta and renew acquaintances here -- or if that is impossible -- that some of us can at least catch you in New York on infrequent visits on the exciting and remarkably changing times "down South."

A brief you

Again, many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

via air mail

April 16, 1962

Mr. Sol Markoff
Director
New York Foundation, Inc.
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Mr. Markoff:

We hope to submit a request to the New York Foundation at an early date and are aware that we are unusually late in doing so. In fact, we have prepared in draft a request that has been held up because of an accident which has kept Leslie Dunbar out of the office. It is likely that he will begin coming to the office for brief periods this week. In this event, our request will be forwarded promptly.

We are deeply grateful for the assistance and consideration of the Foundation. We hope this delay has not inconvenienced you and that our request can still be considered.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mmj

May 3, 1962

Mr. Sol Markoff, Director
New York Foundation, Inc.
61 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Mr. Markoff:

We are submitting the Council's request for support during 1962 from the New York Foundation. We have asked for $10,000, although the Foundation's support has been less for the past several years. This was done because we need a firm balance of approximately $40,000 to meet minimum commitments of the year. We hope, however, that if the trustees cannot grant the amount requested, they will sympathetically consider a grant of such funds as may be possible.

The request is longer than we would like to submit. We thought that, after several years of our association, you might find useful a rather detailed explanation of our programs and plans.

I hope that sometime when I am in New York I may have the pleasure of meeting you.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
enclosures: 1 Request
1961 Annual Report, Financial Statement, 1961;
1962 Budget
BC: Dr. Kenneth Clark

A REQUEST
to the
New York Foundation, Inc.
from the
Southern Regional Council

May 1, 1962

This is to request that the New York Foundation consider a grant of $10,000 to the central program of the Southern Regional Council during 1962.

In order that this proposal not be unreasonably long we have enclosed the Annual Report of the Executive Director for 1961, the financial statement of 1961 operations, and the approved budget for 1962. Beyond funds now in hand, committed, or anticipated, the Council must raise approximately $40,000 to meet its minimum needs for 1962 operations.

So much has been written about race relations in the South that a lengthy essay here would be uncalled for. The South today is no longer "solid," either politically, culturally, or emotionally; it is full of hopes, bright yet realistic, and also of deeply embedded troubles. We believe that the present situation and prospects of the South impose high responsibility on the Southern Regional Council. As the only wholly southern, bi-racial group with long experience, professional skills, and reputation in the field of race relations, it has had to operate more broadly and effectively than ever before, recognizing that it is dealing with causes and effects that are nationwide in scope. We have attempted, therefore, to assume more leadership in educating and rallying those regional -- and sometimes national -- forces whose action or inaction at this time is critical.

Because for several years the Council has had the confidence and the financial support of the New York

Foundation, we think it would be appropriate this year for us to put before you a resumé of our principal programs and activities, as well as plans for the future.

(1) Research

The Council's reference library, made up of clippings, pamphlets, books, and masses of other materials, serves as the center for fact-finding and research. These resources permit the Council to issue a number of "Special Reports" each year, plus frequent "L-Reports" on the educational and economic issues of desegregation. During the past year, our Special Report on the Freedom Ride and on Albany, in particular, received wide attention.

Larger studies are conducted in areas of special concern or long-time need. In 1961, we undertook studies of employment opportunities for Negroes in selected southern cities. Two of these (on Houston and Chattanooga) have been published as pamphlets; a third (on Atlanta) is now at the printers.

The federal administration is now supplying much needed leadership for the South out of its racial troubles. This gives the Council both the opportunity and the obligation not simply to support federal initiative, but to do so in useful ways. Conversely, increased federal activity means an increased need for independent, objective evaluation of the government's aims and methods. Early in 1961, we released The Federal Executive and Civil Rights; this was an analysis of executive powers in the field of civil rights, and recommendations for their use. In March 1962 we followed this with a description and evaluation of the Administration's first-year record, titled Executive Support of Civil Rights. These two reports have had wide

press coverage and comment. Equally important, they have been seriously studied by members of the government, and in some cases have resulted in specific actions.

(2) Information Services

Our research facilities serve not only our own publications but, just as importantly, are freely and frequently used by others. The working press is our constant visitor, seeking both information and objective interpretation. Students and scholars write or call for information. Governmental agencies of all levels find our files a valuable resource.

(3) New South

Published eleven times a year, New South includes both comments and factual articles. Under new editorship this past year, it has published articles by Lillian Smith, Louis Lomax, and Nedra Tyre, while continuing to present factual background on the current problems of the South.

(4) Southern Leadership Project

The objective is to present to southern leadership the case for law compliance and progressive reform of racial practices. Besides the distribution of publications and materials, the Project offers, on a regular basis, the counsel of two Virginians -- Colonel Benjamin Muse of Manassas and the past superintendent of Norfolk schools, John J. Brewbaker -- to public officials, businessmen, editors, and school authorities. Other consultants are brought in for special situations.

The states of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina remain overtly defiant of Constitutional rights. Each of these states is, moreover, already involved in some stage of a crisis situation. Others just as

critical will, undoubtedly develop. There exists today only the first stirrings of a new climate within these states; there can be, therefore, no prudent expectation of reform or, for that matter, of prevalent respect for law and order. The weight of state authority remains committed to resistance. The Council will, therefore, in these Deep South states place considerable of its program emphasis on the theme of law and order, and on efforts to reach the business and political leadership.

In addition, we have in planning two programs directed toward the rural Black Belt, where civil rights demands will become increasingly strong. In cooperation with the Friendly World Broadcasting Company, we are experimenting - first in Alabama - with radio programs designed for rural listeners. In cooperation with the National Council of Churches, we are considering the appointment of a Protestant minister to counsel with rural clergy.

(5) The State Councils on Human Relations

Established by SRC in 1954 and 1955, and made autonomous in 1957, state Councils exist now in nine states; there are none in Louisiana, Mississippi, or Texas, although there are local Councils in Austin and Houston. At the end of 1961 there were 6,400 members in all, and 65 local Councils. SRC works closely with these groups and support them financially (at a recent rate of $50,000 a year); from local sources (exclusive of any foundation grants) the groups raised $56,626 during 1961. Efforts are underway to re-establish a Mississippi Council, and first steps toward the same end have been taken in Louisiana.

The goal for the South needs to be finer human relations, not simply acknowledgement of civil rights.

The realization of a true community of persons in the South requires the constant cultivation of bi-racial experiences through shared achievements and continuous discourse. The state and local Human Relations Councils, associated with the Southern Regional Council, are the only lay, bi-racial groups widely active. Their organizations must be strengthened and their outreach extended.

(6) The Fellowship of the Concerned

A loosely organized assemblage of southern churchwomen, led by Mrs. M. E. Tilly, our Director of Women's Work. The Fellowship meets annually in Atlanta, and state meetings are periodically held. Members of the Fellowship are leavening spirits in a great many southern localities.

(7) Consultant Services

No longer carried as a regular project, the dispatch, on request, of consultants drawn from the social sciences into southern communities for conferences with officials, business leaders, or human relations groups is still an occasioned practice.

(8) Voter Education Project

A two-year program beginning in 1962, the Voter Education Project is perhaps the largest single undertaking in SRC's history. Through this Project, SRC will conduct research into the causes of non-voting in the South and the best means of overcoming it. Data will be gathered from observing the voter registration programs of other agencies and groups. To the extent that such agencies and groups undertake non-partisan programs of research interest to SRC, funds, specially contributed by foundations for this purpose, will be allocated to them. SRC will control the terms and supervise the use of the grants,

and will effect joint planning of these registration programs. Expenditures at an annual rate of $325,000 - $350,000 are planned, of which $200,000 is now available. (This Project is not included in the enclosed 1962 budget.)

(9) Southern Interagency Conference

SRC is the convener and secretariat of a quarterly conference of the civil rights and human relations agencies conducting regional programs.

In addition, the Council works closely and on a continuing basis with the important, predominantly Negro organizations in the South. For, the chief stimulus of southern change is the Negro movement itself. Within the movement there is today an impressive unanimity regarding directions and ends, and unsettled consensus as to methods, and the real chance of organizational confusion serious enough to dissipate past gains and imminent opportunities. It is of the utmost importance to the nation and to the South that the health and practical unity of the Negro movement be maintained. The Council, as a bi-racial body of southern liberals, is uniquely capable of contributing to the stability of the movement, and recognizes its responsibility to do so, through counsel, through its press relations, and through objective reporting and interpretation of events.

(10) Foreign Visitors

During 1961, over 250 foreign visitors were received by SRC, and given orientation about the South and racial problems. Nearly all of these visitors were referred to us by Washington offices.

(11) Southern History Project

The Council is sponsoring certain studies in southern history by James McBride Dabbs.

(12) Research in Student Adjustment

The Council is sponsoring psychiatric studies by Dr. M. Robert Coles of children in the desegregated schools of Atlanta and New Orleans.

(13) Other Activities

In the recurrent racial crises which have plagued the South, the Council not only keeps closely informed but, when it can, contributes to solutions. During the past year, our staff has been especially active in the school crises of New Orleans and Atlanta, and in the Albany disorders of the Winter of 1961-62. We are at present, closely engaged in the events of Birmingham. Also during the past year, staff members were repeatedly in consultation with federal government officials.

The growing separation of the upper and urban South from the Black Belt can mean the end of southern monolithism in national politics, and this would be a greatly welcome development. For the Southern Regional Council, the separation has other and difficult implications. Care and skill will be required to avoid conflicting postures. To be effective in the dense, slow moving currents of the hard core while, at the same time, working constructively in the fluid life of the rest of the South, will require flexible, imaginative programming. In addition, therefore, to its work in the Deep South, the Council will be engaged in advancing goals now obtainable in the upper and urban South, such as merit employment and the unfettered use of community facilities.

The above is the barest outline of activities. We shall be glad to supply any additional information you may need, and hope that you will feel free to call for it.

Toward a total budget for 1962 of $287,895, for both general operations and projects, a balance of approximately $40,000 has yet to be raised. Of this balance $36,395 is needed to meet the general operating budget of $175,395. This is the rate of expenditure maintained by the Council for the past several years.

In the light of these budgetary needs, we hope the New York Foundation will favorably consider a contribution of $10,000 for our general operations in 1962.

We hope these comments, and the enclosed Director's Report of program for 1961 will convey to the Foundation in some measure the stimulating and positive events which the Foundation has substantially helped to make possible. The Members and staff of the Council are deeply grateful to the New York Foundation for this assistance and trust that our programs will merit your consideration for continued support.

NEW YORK FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1909
4 WEST 58TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

November 7, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter in connection with the New York Foundation anniversary dinner. It was thoughtful of you to write, and I appreciate hearing from you.

Very sincerely yours,

David Hunt Heyman

President

March 5, 1963

Mr. Sol Markoff
Executive Director
New York Foundation, Inc.
4 West 58th Street
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Markoff:

The documents sent on February 22 were a routine submission, sent for your information and files. We would, however, be pleased for you to regard them and this letter as an application for renewal of the Foundation's grant. I assume from your letter of February 25 that this may be in order.

Last year we submitted to you a fairly lengthy statement in support of our application. This included a brief sketch of each of our program activities. To do so again at such a short interval would be burdensome on you, especially as you have in hand our program report for 1962. We would, of course, be delighted to answer questions you may have or to discuss more fully particular matters that may interest you. In general, however, our programs have not changed, except to become steadily more demanding.

We keenly need the continuing support of those, such as the New York Foundation, who have been associated with us in the past. We

hope, therefore, that the Trustees will renew their assistance to us for the calendar year 1963.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

NEW YORK FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1909
4 WEST 58TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

February 25, 1963

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have your letter of February 22 addressed to Mr. D. John Heyman, secretary of the New York Foundation, enclosing your 1963 budget and financial report for 1962 and report of your program activities for last year. Is it your wish that the New York Foundation consider this material as an application for another grant?

Sincerely,

Sol Markoff

Sol Markoff
Executive Director

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

NEW YORK FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1909
4 WEST 58TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

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MAR 28 1963

March 27, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Your letter requesting a grant has been received and will be considered carefully by the Trustees at their next meeting. You will be advised of their decision in due course. If additional information should be required, we will communicate with you.

Sincerely,

Sol Markoff

Sol Markoff
Executive Director

May 2, 1963

BP & MG MMJ

Barbara and Mary,

It has just come to our attention that Mrs. Marie Driggs, who was at one time Executive Secretary of the New York Fund for Children, is no longer there. Her successor is:

Mrs. Francis C. Beck

Would you, therefore, substitute Mrs. Beck's name for that of Mrs. Driggs.

NOTE: I'm positive that Mrs. Driggs is on our FCR list; I'm not quite sure about NEW SOUTH. If so, Mary would you also make the required change.

Cy. sent
B. Coles

May 14, 1963

Mrs. Francis C. Beck
New York Fund for Children, Inc.
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Beck:

Thank you for your letter of April 29. I did call your office while in New York, but you were not in. I would be very glad to hear further from you after you have had a chance to speak with Mrs. Ascoli.

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed news clip.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
(Atl. Journal, May 6, 1963: "Emotions of Desegregation Outlined by Psychiatrist") by Fred Powledge on Bob Coles's St. Louis speech to Amer. Psychiatric Assn.

NEW YORK FUND FOR CHILDREN, INC.
100 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

MURRAY HILL 5-2629

Recd 5/1/63

April 29, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have not yet had an opportunity to talk with Mrs. Ascoli about your recent letter addressed to my predecessor, Mrs. Driggs.

My chief purpose in writing at this moment is to tell you that I do not know whether I shall be able to tell you anything more on May 6th when you evidently expect to be in New York. If you wish, you may telephone me when you are here and I shall be glad to discuss with you whatever I may learn in reply to your query between now and your arrival.

Very sincerely,

Mildred B. Beck

(Mrs. Francis C. Beck)

She should replace Mrs Driggs on our mailing lists. Do I'm doing this today [illegible]

MBB/vk

April 22, 1963

Mrs. Marie K. Driggs
Executive Secretary
New York Fund for Children, Inc.
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Driggs:

I inherited from my predecessor, Harold Fleming, gratitude for the aid which the New York Fund for Children gave to the Council in the past. I hope that during intervening years, as our work has come to your attention, it has merited your confidence in us.

For nearly two years now we have been engaged in a project which we would like to ask your consideration of. Dr. M. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist, has been attached to our staff since August 1961 engaged in studies of the Negro and white children in school desegregation in Atlanta and New Orleans. Dr. Coles is seeking to learn more about how these children react to the specific challenges and turmoils that confront them, and to learn generally something more about reactions of people to community stress. Some of his preliminary findings were set out in his article, "In the South These Children Prophesy," in the March issue of the Atlantic Monthly. He will present a more extended discussion of his findings in a paper, "Southern Children Under School Desegregation," before the American Psychiatric Association in St. Louis, May 6. We shall, within a few weeks, be publishing in pamphlet form a third article of his. These are all preparatory to a book on which he is well advanced.

In a tangential field, Dr. Coles has written an account of his observations of some of the student desegregation workers affiliated with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. This has been published as a chapter in Youth: Change and Challenge, edited by Erik Erikson.

Dr. Coles is eager to continue for at least a third, or possibly a fourth year, his studies of the school children, and at the same time to broaden his area of concern with people under stress by intensive work with children of migratory farm workers. To this end, he has already visited the migratory camp at Belle Glade, Florida once, and will be going back soon.

His research was supported during the first year by the New World Foundation, and during this year by the General Education Board. At the Southern Regional Council we have come to have a great interest in and respect for the work he is doing, and would very much like to see him enabled to continue it.

I am writing to inquire whether you think the New York Fund for Children might be in a position to assist. If you do, we can send you a full description of Dr. Coles's plans and other pertinent information. I shall also be in New York May 6 through 8, and if you would care to discuss the matter, I would be delighted to come by your office either on the morning of May 6 or at some other time to suit your convenience.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Cc: Mr. R. Coles

June 5, 1963

Mrs. Francis C. Beck
New York Fund for Children, Inc.
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Beck:

Thank you for your letter of May 21. We are enclosing a tentative proposal to the New York Fund for Children in behalf of the psychiatric study being conducted by Dr. M. Robert Coles.

If the Screening Committee would care for other information in making its review, I hope that you will let me know.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
enclosure - 1. (Proposal)

P R O P O S A L

June 5, 1963

Dr. M. Robert Coles has been engaged in studies under the sponsorship of the Southern Regional Council since August 1961. During the first 12 months, his work was supported by a grant from the New World Foundation. During the second year, support has come from the General Education Board. The Southern Regional Council has contributed also from its own funds each year.

A curriculum vitae for Dr. Coles is attached.

The general concern of the study has been a psychiatric exploration of how individuals respond to and are affected by acute tensions within their community, such as the racial controversy of the South. Coles's primary work since August 1961 has been with the school children, Negro and white, involved in school desegregation in Atlanta and New Orleans.

Much controversy has plagued these children, their families and teachers and schools. It is obvious that desegregation of southern schools has caused strains, but not clear how those involved respond to them. We need knowledge of this, and such insights as are obtained will be increasingly useful as school desegregation moves from the control of politics and into the control of professional educators.

This research, furthermore, adds to our knowledge of how children react under stress, and how social stresses affect individuals.

His procedures are described more fully in one of the enclosures. Briefly, he has since August 1961 held regular conversations with all the Negro children taking part in the original desegregation of schools in the two cities, with a group of the Negro children entering "white" schools in the second and third years of desegregation, and with an equivalent number of white classmates. In both cities he has established study relationships with some of the children's families. Many conversations have been taped, and in New Orleans he has extensively used the technique of having the children make drawings, which he has collected and analyzed. The Atlanta children have been 11th and 12th graders; the New Orleans children, 1st, 2nd,and 3rd graders.

A report of his findings was read as a paper at the 1963 annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association: "Southern Children Under Desegregation." A second report, titled The Desegregation of Southern Schools, will be published in pamphlet form by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League; the manuscript is now at the printers. A less technical essay along the lines of

the A.P.A. paper was published in the Atlantic Monthly, May 1963: "In the South These Children Prophesy."* These pieces are steps toward the completion of a book, for which Atlantic Little-Brown has given him an option. This book will deal with the problems of the individual in the midst of such social stresses as desegregation, and most likely also the (see below) the stresses caused by the extreme poverty endured by migrant workers. In addition to the book, Coles is currently engaged in writing several other articles for both professional and lay journals. His book, in addition to the use of case histories, will undoubtedly include considerable comment and theoretical discussion. To help in developing the latter, he has made plans to study during the fall 1963 with Erik Erikson, Professor of Human Development at Harvard University.

Besides these systematic studies, Coles has sought and accumulated much material aiding him in understanding and interpreting, through extensive travel into localities of all of the southern states. He has in these places interviewed school children, teachers, and administrators, and members of beleaguered Councils of Human Relations. To understand better the teachers of the children whom he is studying, he has taught without compensation sections in an education course at Emory University.

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*Copies of the Atlantic and APA papers are enclosed, as is also a short article by Dr. Coles printed in New South, September 1962. The SRC-ADL pamphlet will be forwarded later.

Outside this primary investigation of the school children, Coles has completed to date one paper, published as a chapter of Youth: Change and Challenge, edited by Erik Erikson. This paper, titled "Serpents and Doves," reports certain tentative psychiatric findings about the experiences and responses of field workers of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

For several months now, Coles has been holding regular conversations with several hyper-active segregationists of New Orleans.

Finally, we would like for Dr. Coles to undertake with a second group of children the same kind of intensive study he has made of the Atlanta and New Orleans school children. The children of migratory farm works live apart from the overpowering controversy of the civil rights struggle. They have, instead, their own world of unfriendliness to cope with. Coles has already visited for several days on two occasinns the great migrant camp at Belle Glade, Florida, and has begun talks with a group of children. He plans, if funds are available, to follow the workers north for two seasons. He will, at the same time, maintain an irregular contact with the school children he has worked with since 1961.

For Dr. Coles's salary and travel, and for SRC overhead, $15,000-a-year is required. A grant of $30,000, supporting the study for two years, would make possible the completion of all field work and most of the writing.

Enclosures

NEW YORK FUND FOR CHILDREN, INC.
100 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

MURRAY HILL 5-2629

RECEIVED
MAY 24 1963

May 21, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am sorry that it was not possible to talk with you when you were in New York recently. In any case, I talked with Mrs. Ascoli and the following is, in effect, what she asked me to tell you:

For some months now the New York Fund for Children has been involved in a review of its work for the past fifteen years. Out of this study the Fund hopes, among other things, to determine the kinds of activities it wishes to undertake with its remaining assets. However, no new projects are to be acted upon by the Board until the fall of this year.

If you would like to present a tentative proposal that you may wish to have reviewed by the Screening Committee of the Board, I would suggest that you submit a memorandum to us for preliminary study. I believe it may then be possible to let you know, though without committing the Fund in any way, whether the project proposal is likely to coincide with the criteria that the Fund will apply in its appraisal of new applications in the fall.

Very sincerely yours,

Mildred B. Beck

(Mrs. Francis C. Beck)

MBB/vk

July 1, 1963

Mr. D. John Heyman
Secretary
New York Foundation
4 West 58th Street
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Heyman:

In the absence of Leslie Dunbar, who today commenced a well-earned vacation, may I express the sincere gratitude of the Council for the generous grant of $5,000 from the New York Foundation to the general operation of our program.

The continued interest of the New York Foundation in the Council insures our efforts toward an effective and meaningful work in the South.

With our very best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:Jr/nm

June 26, 1962

Mr. D. John Heyman
Secretary
New York Foundation
4 West 58th Street
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Heyman:

On behalf of the Council I wish to extend our deep thanks to the New York Foundation for continuation of its generous support. Because our program is somewhat out of your explicit frame of interest we are all the more grateful to you for your aid and confidence. Your support of southern program evidences an awareness of how interrelated are our nation's racial difficulties.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

NEW YORK FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1909
4 WEST 58TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

June 22, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

It gives me pleasure to inform you that in response to your letter of May 3, 1962, the Trustees have made a grant of $5,000 toward your general program.

This sum will be paid to you in quarterly instalments beginning on August 1, 1962

Sincerely yours,

D. John Heyman

D. John Heyman
Secretary

NEW YORK FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1909
4 WEST 58TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

June 19, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

It gives me pleasure to inform you that in response to your letter of March 5, 1963, the Trustees have made a grant of $5,000 toward your general program.

This sum will be paid in quarterly instalments beginning on August 1, 1963.

Sincerely yours,

D. John Heyman

D. John Heyman
Secretary

NEW YORK FUND FOR CHILDREN, INC.
100 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

MURRAY HILL 5-2629

file

July 22, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I just want to let you know that my failure to reply to your letter of June 5th is due to the fact that several members of the Screening Committee will not return to the City until after Labor Day.

I shall, however, be in touch with you as soon thereafter as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Mildred B. Beck

(Mrs. Francis C. Beck)

MBB/hr

[illegible] come to have [illegible] as organizationally, I the value of his work; I have a little more than the usual desire, therefore, to see this project continued.

Our very best regards, and I hope that you will call upon us anytime we may be of service to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 4, 1963

Mrs. Francis C. Beck
New York Fund for Children, Inc.
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Beck:

I am, of course, disappointed over the decision conveyed to us in your letter of August 26, but I understand fully and sympathetically the reasons for it. And I am grateful to you for your warm letter.

We are hopeful that financing will be obtained to continue Dr. Coles's research, though it does not pay to be very optimistic about these things. Speaking personally as well as organizationally, I have come to have a deep regard for Coles and the value of his work; I have a little more than the usual desire, therefore, to see this project continued.

Our very best regards, and I hope that you will call upon us anytime we may be of service to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

NEW YORK FUND FOR CHILDREN, INC.
100 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

MURRAY HILL 5-2629

August 26, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The Screening Committee, after studying the tentative proposal you submitted, has declined the request for a grant with very sincere regret.

I believe you know that the New York Fund has, in the main, confined its work to the Greater Metropolitan area of New York City. Occasionally, exceptions were made in the instances where the work of an organization affected directly or indirectly the well-being of this City's children. However, the Fund is now drawing to a close the grant-making phase of its work. Its limited remaining assets are currently reserved for very circumscribed activities and your application does not fall within that area.

The Screening Committee was very much interested in the material you sent and hope you will succeed in raising the funds you need from other sources.

Sincerely yours,

Mildred B. Beck
Mrs. Francis C. Beck

MBB/hr

File

REPORT TO THE NEW YORK FUND FOR CHILDREN

(not sent)

On May 17, 1957 the New York Fund for Children made available to the Southern Regional Council a three-year grant totaling $22,500. The following report indicates, to some degree, the projects and programs particularly related to Southern youth which have thus far been made possible by this invaluable aid.

During the summer months of 1957 there were numerous changes in the South relative to the desegregation controversy. In the deep South (South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana) these changes were largely negative in nature. Inflamed by demagogic politicians and a distorted press intemperate attitudes became more hardened, moderate agency and church programs became even less conspicious, and violence and threats of violence showed a definite growth.

In the upper South numerous changes, sometimes based on months of planning and groundwork, were encouraging. There were indications of a breakthrough in Virginia where court orders were favorable and at least one community, Arlington, actually desired to begin the desegregation of its schools. The major cities of North Carolina carefully began to plan a method of token compliance. Nashville, the capital of Tennessee, announced a program of integregation beginning with the first grade. And, in Arkansas several city and county school systems made plans to follow other areas of that state which had already begun to integregate the public schools. Later, of course, the events arising from Little Rock were to change much of this border-states progress and create even greater tensions in the deep South. However, earlier

events and consequences should first be considered.

The summer months are normally marked by a number of youth conferences and meetings. With this idea in mind the Council prepared several packets of materials dealing with race relations. This material was designed to be useful to young participants as well as for instructors and adult leaders. As was already known, Southern youth leaders of good-will have great need for this type of material and frequently they are unable to fill that need. Southern youth, who are seldom exposed to such material, generally respond when the opportunity arises with admirable and encouraging openmindedness bordering on acute mental undernourishment. Sample study and information packets prepared by the Council were widely distributed to church and agency leaders. Subsequently the materials enjoyed considerable use among YMCA and YWCA groups and church groups, notably the Methodist youth conferences and camps. In fact, information requests currently being received from individual students and teachers continue to reflect the impact of these summer distributions.

The Council staff, through its own work, reached some twenty youth groups and conferences during the summer months, filled twelve scholarships for the Encampment of Citizenship from the various Southern states, cooperated with the American Friends Service Committee in promoting summer projects affording interracial experiences for high school and college youths, and encouraged the staffs of the various state affiliates to seek out similar opportunities. Of particular satisfaction to the Council was the number of invitations to meet with and advise adults who would be dealing with young people. In one incidental, but encouraging, instance a group of teen-agers meeting under church auspices at a small

college in Alabama literally presented to the conference leaders a mandate for factual information on racial matters. At the request of these leaders the Council happily supplied a staff member for the group.

Of equal value, though unfortunate in implication, the Council was called on in several instances to provide help when agencies were under attack because of their sponsorship of interracial meetings. This type of help was, of necessity, given quietly and without fanfare.

All of these services, unfortunately general in nature, are necessary in the deep South. Actual strategy, of the border-state type, has little value in this area. Rather, programs must concentrate on attitudes and understanding wherever the opportunity presents itself. This is especially important in relation to Southern youth where efforts must be made to counteract the influence of much of the general adult world around them. Adult leaders, too, especially chruch and agency people, need to receive a stady flow of help-a combination of encouragement and professional services - to continue their work in a basically hostile atmosphere.

The types of programs described above also were available in the border states of Kentucky, Arkansas, Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina. In addition, however, the Council was able to concentrate on specific programs where the need seemed greatest.

During the summer months the Consultant Service Program was able to develop and hold workshops in Charlottesville and Hampton, Virginia, and to give preliminary workshop-planning assistance to groups in

Norfolk and Arlington. Within each of these Virginia communities, the local boards of education are under court order to desegregate and judicial and legislative maneuvers to circumvent the desegregation decision have been nearly exhausted. The object of these workshops has been to bring together local leaders of the two races and three faiths who will make specific and thorough plans toward assisting their communities in this important transition. Through this planning it is hoped that the Consultant Service Program can assist community leadership in so anticipating the hazards of transition and planning their specific courses of action that they may minimize, if not avoid, the acute pain and high cost of desegregation so recently witnessed in Nashville and Little Rock. (And, incidentally, these and other Virginia communities are much in need of such planning.)

Similar work, for a more immediate need, took place during the summer months in Charlotte, Winston-Salem, and Greensboro, North Carolina; Nashville, Tennessee; and Little Rock, Arkansas.

The director of the SRC Consultant Service Program, John Hope II, of Fisk University, Race Relations Department, lives in Nashville and thus, in effect, the Council was able to offer to that city and its leadership a consultant-in-residence. SRC work in Nashville centered on measures designed to avoid another Clinton, especially in regard to nullifying the influence of outside agitators who threatened to descend on the city in considerable numbers.

The North Carolina work was done in cooperation with the North Carolina Council on Human Relations and the American Friend's Service Committee office of that state. A considerable attempt was made to seek out community, private and official, leadership to achieve support for transition marked by calmness,

law and order. Later work centered on helping students, Negro and white, involved in the transition. The efforts in both Tennessee and North Carolina were considered worthwhile and generally successful, though in both Nashville and Charlotte later developments left much to be desired.

The Council's work in Arkansas, in cooperation with the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, was divided into two areas; (1) work with school systems planning to desegregate in September and, (2) work with school systems which planned later desegregation and needed professional help on preliminary steps to be taken. In the latter category SRC arranged for a meeting of seven superintendents of county school systems with an SRC staff member and three outside consultants. Two of the consultants were superintendents from Missouri and Oklahoma who had directed the school desegregation moves in their own districts.

The second area of work was with the planned integregation at Central High School in Little Rock. An SRC staff member worked in Little Rock with, and at the request of, the Arkansas Council and local community leaders. Ironically, much time was spent in determining the extent of, and preventing, undue trouble from developing when the school opened in September. An analysis of this work and the atmosphere of the community indicated that, on the basis of the preventative and constructuve measures taken, major trouble or violence was most unlikely. The actions later taken by the Governor were not anticipated and, in the main, they nullified a great deal of admirable work which had been done by the responsible elements, both public and private, of that community.

In the original request which SRC made to the New York Fund for Children there was the statement: "Little of the Council's work reaches children directly." This remains generally true, though the planning for, and conditions since September, have altered this fact somewhat. The one element

which has largely been overlooked in the midst of the more spectacular clashes of moral and constitutional issues in Little Rock, Nashville, and Charlotte, is that individual children actually bear the brunt of these disturbances. The restraint and conduct of the Negro children involved in the distasteful spectacles of these cities has been truly remarkable. The aftermath of these affairs and the psychological damage done to the young individuals involved could indeed be tragic.

While its help has been most modest the Southern Regional Council is especially proud of the work it has done, directly and indirectly with these children. Especially in Little Rock and in Charlotte, the Council and its affilitated agencies in those cities worked with the Negro parents and children in preparing them for their coming experience. After this experience became an ordeal this work was increased, especially to give moral support to those who faced so much from so many hostile whites. Work was also done with individuals and with small groups of white students to help them in accepting their new classmates. The overall results were all too little on the positive side. But, it should be emphasized, that in the midst of the most headline catching of dispicable events there were numerous whites, adults and children, who acted with the best of decency and responsibility.

The Council has arranged for the social psychologist, Dr. Kenneth Clark, to visit the Negro community in Little Rock in December to determine the effects of that critical situation on Negro children and Negro parents. Out of this study we hope to find new and better ways of preparing Negro youth to meet this situation. A similar study of white youth is being given serious consideration, but the proper white social psychologist is yet to be found.

The incidents arising from Little Rock, have, of course, reverbriated throughout the entire region. It is not the purpose of this report to analyze those causes and effects. However, it should be pointed out that whole new patterns of action and reaction have begun to take place. In this type of atmosphere it becomes increasingly important for an agency of good-will within the region to expand all of its efforts, to achieve the maximum results from its energies, and to emphasize to an even greater degree the inevitability and rightness of an equal and democratic society. To this end the Council dedicates its efforts.

The Southern Regional Council is deeply and sincerely grateful to the New York Fund for Children for its substantial support.

FILE COPY

EXPENDITURE OF FUNDS — CONSULTANT PROGRAM

Grant from New World Foundation (1956)			$17,000.00
Expenditures:			
Administrative Costs:			
*SRC Overhead Charge 10%	$1,700.00		
Direct Supervisory Services	$3,380.00		
Communications (Estimate)	$ 324.37		
Sub-total		$5,404.37	
Consultants' Costs:			
Fees Paid for Cons. Serv.	$3,395.00		
Consultant Serv. Travel	$3,049.61		
Sub-total		$6,444.61	
Reserve:			
*State Staff-Cons. Conf.	$2,500.00		
*Consultant Workshop	$2,500.00		
Sub-total		$5,000.00	
Total Expenditures and Reserves			$16,848.98
Balance 1/31/57			$151.02

* See explanatory notes on attached sheet.

cc Vernon Eagle
Katherine Taylor
John Hoyt II

Make folder
Payne Fund
(file in Foundations)
cr. rep.
Rural Advancement Proj.

July 31, 1964

Mrs. Frances Payne Bolton
President
Payne Fund, Inc.
350 Fifth Avenue, Room 7706
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Bolton:

This is to place before the Payne Fund a joint proposal of the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Southern Regional Council, and the state Councils on Human Relations that are affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

The sponsors of this proposal have faced an area of urgent problems, and have decided that they can contribute best to their improvement by a joint effort. We hope you will find that the proposed Rural Advancement Project merits your support.

Because of the sum involved, we are presenting this proposal to several foundations. As is explained in the proposal, the program is flexible, and depending on funds could be carried on in any number of states up to eleven. We ask, therefore, that you consider it in that light, and we shall, of course, be prepared to keep you advised of fund-raising progress. It is hoped that grants may be for a three-year period, or that, alternatively, renewals up to a third year may be considered.

The proposal is based on experience gained by the sponsors over the past two years in South Carolina. It has, therefore, been tried out, and we think has proved its effectiveness and value.

In addition to the proposal itself, several other documents are enclosed. These are:

1. A descriptive report of the South Carolina project.

2. Copies of programs of conferences held in Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, illustrating the concerns and resources which the Rural Advancement Project will draw on.

3. A memorandum on the program use made of a Southern Regional Council research study, to illustrate opportunities for cooperative use of research findings.

Both Miss Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund (112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York), and I will be pleased to discuss with you any questions you may have regarding this proposal.

We can only hope that the proposal conveys clearly some of the sense of deep need felt for this program by the sponsoring agencies. This is a very special period in American history, where a keen awareness is supplanting past indifference for the human resources -- for the people -- of the country. Nowhere is attention and intelligent help more imperative than in the rural South, where an over-supply of people (on the basis of present economic realities) will either be re-directed toward useful and dignified pursuits, or will inevitably carry their handicaps with them to already overburdened cities of the South and the North.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/rph
Enclosures

February 19, 1965

Mrs. Frances Payne Bolton
President
Payne Fund, Inc.
350 Fifth Avenue, Room 7706
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Bolton:

Some time ago we placed before you a request for consideration of assistance to the "Rural Advancement Project," to be sponsored by the National Sharecroppers Fund, the state Councils on Human Relations, and the Southern Regional Council.

There has been some progress with this project. A grant has enabled us to initiate the program in South Carolina under the supervision of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. In addition, we have on hand approximately $5,000 toward the cost of the program in Georgia.

As the programs of the federal government continue to develop we see an increasing need for this kind of assistance. At best, the success of these programs will rest on a partnership between the government and the people. This partnership is not possible for those who most need it without considerable assistance. There is a great need for information, for guidance on organization, for competent observers to determine that the disadvantaged share in the planning and eventually become the recipients of the benefits of these programs. At this point few of these needs are being met. Also at this early stage, there are distressing signs that programs are not being properly developed and will not generally benefit those most in need.

The inability and determination of the poor and disadvantaged to help themselves is incredible. The publicity about the national "war on poverty" has given these people tremendous hope, which is now a stimulus, but which could become a cruel disappointment.

In the final analysis there is no way to break the cycle of poverty or to eradicate 300 years of discrimination but to take people where they are, individual by individual and hamlet by hamlet, and help them to help themselves. We believe the Rural Advancement Project is one means toward this and that the returns will be very great for the investment. Therefore, we do appreciate your consideration of the request which you have before you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mm

Gentlemen:

We would appreciate receiving a copy of your publications list and any other descriptive material of current issue on the nature of your organization and the programs you operate.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Gwen T. Jennings

Gwen T. Jennings
Secretary to John P. Davis,
Editor of Special
Publications

7/17/67

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
22 East 54th Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

July 31, 1967

file request for publications

Mrs. Gwen T. Jennings
Secretary to Mr. John P. Davis
Editor of Special Publications
Phelps-Stokes Fund
22 East 54th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mrs. Jennings:

Thank you for your request for materials to be mailed to Mr. John P. Davis. We are today, under separate cover, mailing Mr. Davis a Publications List and a current issue of our quarterly publication, NEW SOUTH.

The Phelps-Stokes Fund, and Mr. F. V. Patterson of Phelps-Stokes Fund receive our NEW SOUTH publications and are on our mailing list to receive other publications.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

file Phelps Stokes

July 31, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Mailroom

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please send the following person (1) a Publications List (2) the last issue of NEW SOUTH. Label is attached.

Mr. John P. Davis
Editor of Special Publications
Phelps-Stokes Fund
22 East 54th Street
New York, New York 10022

PA/km

Capahosic Jr

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PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

Education: EMORY ROSS
Housing: MRS. DYSON DUNCAN

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578

CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

June 4, 1957

To those who plan to attend
The Capahosic Conference

All those who plan to arrive in Richmond, Virginia, on the afternoon of Friday, June 21st, or the morning of Saturday, June 22nd, will be met by car for the drive to Capahosic.

Please indicate on the enclosed card the date and exact hour of your arrival, and whether by plane or train. If by train please check the station.

In order to be able to plan for your transportation, please return the card at your early convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Rachel L. Huntington

Secretary to Dr. Patterson

RECEIVED JUN 3 - 1957.

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TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578 (New York).
CABLES: "Stokesfund"–New York.
EUROPEAN ADDRESS
2, Eaton Gate, Sloane Square, London, S.W.1.

May 31, 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming

I enclose herewith suggested topics or points for consideration.

We hope you can plan your trip to reach Richmond, Virginia on the afternoon of Friday, June 21st.

If you will state the time and place of arrival -- railroad station or airport -- you will be met and motored to Capahosic.

We shall have an attendance of about 18 persons.

We are delighted you plan to be with us.

Our telephone in Virginia is Gloucester 3-1233 in case of delay.

Very sincerely,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson
Director

FDP:wrw
Encl.

RECEIVED JUN 3 1957

CAPAHOSIC CONFERENCE

JUNE 22-23, 1957

SUGGESTED POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Opening channels of communication.

2. How can Southern white leadership (industrialist, ministers) be reached and encouraged to exert positive leadership?

3. Status of franchise.

4. Role of private colleges (white and Negro) as local and regional influences.

5. Race and international relations.

6. What can the Phelps-Stokes Fund do in the form of studies? i.e., Pamphlets, etc., to service groups and agencies with action programs dealing with specific phases of race relations:- education, church, jobs, accommodations.

7. Series of leaflets delaing with the liabilities involved in segregation and racial strife in the areas of economics, national preparedness, delinquency, crime, disease.

5-31-57

PROPOSALS AND COMMENTS OF CONSULTANTS AT THE
CAPAHOSIC CONFERENCE OF THE PHELPS-STOKES FUND
HOLLY KNOLL, CAPAHOSIC, VA.
JUNE 22-23, 1957

(Confidential)

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C. Role of the Press and Other Mass Media

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A. Participants at Capahosic Conference

Proposals and Comments of Consultants at the
Capahosic Conference of the Phelps-Stokes Fund
June 21-22, 1957

In order to: (1) extend the privileges and responsibilities of democracy to all citizens,

(2) improve the moral position of the United States in world affairs,

(3) make maximum use of human resources in an advancing technological society, and

(4) to stimulate a release of productivity and creative energy from both whites and Negroes,

the following courses of action were proposed for consideration by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and subsequent persons and agencies concerned. These informal recommendations touch upon the inter-related activities of persons in Law, Religion, Business and Industry, Higher Education, Labor, Foundations, the Mass Media, and Government.

I. GOVERNMENTAL APPROACHES TO THE GOAL OF INTEGRATION

A. Proposal for a Presidential Commission

In the event of Congressional failure to pass civil rights legislation, it is proposed that the Phelps-Stokes Fund study ways and means to initiate a Presidential Commission. Its chief purpose would be to help various social institutions adjust to the new legal requirements of the Supreme Court, and at the same time to re-define the Court's mandate in terms of national interest.

1. The Need: At present, no forum exists to provide participation and communication between all groups affected by the Court decision.

   Accordingly, there is no body with sufficient status or prestige to give facts and leadership necessary in making the new adjustments. "Southerners are on a limb, and we have to get them back off of it." "Southerners want something positive to identify with." "Ike's silence has left it as a private black and white struggle...We should think of a Commission as a kind of adult educational agency, emphasizing symbols which could lead to national unity: "defense against communism," "full employment," "better education," or a device to point out the costs to the nation of recalcitrance before the law."

2. Title: The Commission might be called a Commission on Human Rights, or Human Resources, or National Unity. Whatever it is called, its purpose should clearly include a search for, and public declaration of, the self interests which are common to both racial groups. Hopefully, this should be implied in the title of the Commission in order to achieve its full educational value.

3. Functions: The Commission's duties and activities should be delimited, concentrating on achieving law and order. Its overriding duty to the nation should be to get facts available on which (personal and organizational) decisions could be made to speed the participation of Negroes in national life, and to release whites from the moral and financial costs of segregation. "The Commission's duties should recognize the advantages of the stick and the carrot in removing blocks to integration." Activities of the Commission might relate to: (1) Employment, (2) Busses, (3) Restaurants, (4) Franchise, (5) Churches and (6) Schools.

4. Precedents: While no exact precedent exists for such a Commission, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, in presenting such a plan to the President, might review the past experiences of: (1) the Fair Employment Practices Commission; (2) the wartime Labor Mediation Boards, representing the notion of a semi-governmental approach to problems, involving quick investigations or trouble-shooting which would be subject to later court review; (3) the experience of the Presidency in the 1930's when the Executive Office was used to influence the South to radical departures in human relations through "the discovery of the common man," and "economic programs to bring abundance to the South;" (4) the communication previous Presidents had established with such Negro leaders as Booker T. Washington and Dr. Moton who served as a kind of clearinghouse for locating Negroes with executive, diplomatic, military, industrial, educational, and other talents.

5. Arguments Favoring Exercise of Federal Responsibility: Taking full account of the "stigma of federal interference" inherent in implementing the Supreme Court decision, it is nevertheless recognized that:

Protection of Minority Rights	a. Government should not be seen as a penalizer, but as a liberator capable of extending the privileges and responsibilities of a democracy.
Government as Innovator	b. "History shows the need of a big stick to get involvement."
Can Appeal to Respect for Law	c. Though the problem is national (and international) and not merely a regional or Southern one, the federal government needs to take fuller advantage of respect for law held by many white Southerners, and to make appeals for change with this in mind, the present legal subterfuge notwithstanding.
Local Lethargy Without Outside Stimulus	d. "Leaving action to local leaders produces nothing but the status quo."
Potential Economic Sanctions	e. Government can wield important economic sanctions to stimulate compliance with Court decision. (Examples: Government Contracts Committee, headed by Vice-President Nixon; the threat to withdraw federal installations (e.g., Maxwell Field) on which some local economies are built).

Shortage of Scientists, Technicians, Skilled Manpower	f.	Civil rights and improvement of quality of education for Negroes are intimately related to national economic and defense questions about which federal responsibility is clear. (Examples: development of technical and scientific "brainpower;" the St. Lawrence Seaway development which ultimately will tap Negro manpower potential).
Economic Development	g.	"The South is the United States' No. 1 Economic Problem," and the Government should lend its authority and influence to dramatize potential Negro purchasing power.
Voluntary Efforts Not Sufficient	h.	The sanction and prestige of the federal government is needed to add to voluntary movements toward integration. Church proclamations, activities of an NAACP, or private schools, a Southern Regional Council, or attempts to assemble "men of good will" are not sufficient in themselves to produce desired social change in keeping with Supreme Court decision.
States' Rights and Decentralization	i.	A Jeffersonian belief in states' rights and decentralization of decisions in public policy do not preclude Hamiltonian view of federal leadership.
Domestic Responsibilities of the Maker of Foreign Policy	j.	The international implications of continuing the barriers against the Negro franchise, and keeping segregation, are so grave that the President, as maker of foreign policy, needs to intervene to restore the U.S. to moral leadership in world affairs. ("There is too little time in our national struggle for existence for us to continue, at this moment of 'Bandungism,' to let our race relations practices aid and comfort Communists in Africa, Formosa, the Middle East, Indo-China, India, and Latin America.")
Moral Decay Within the Nation	k.	The past use of the Office of Chief Executive for leadership in strengthening national morality (the President as a personal example of a church-goer, and leader of "a nation under God") suggests further recognition of its power in making the public aware of: (a) the demoralization and social costs of double standards vis-a-vis Negro and white citizens (e.g., "The Subtle Hypocrisy of Delay"); and (b) the hope for increased national productivity through freeing whites of "the paralysis of constraining effort," and the freeing of Negroes from the struggle to combat these constraints.
The Negro Vote	l.	In addition to potential Negro purchasing power, the migration of Negroes to states with fewer impediments to the franchise, is another important factor in the nation's political life. "The Negro vote in a national election may be so great that the Republicans might use any weapon to get it." "If we Negroes get votes they can talk our language."

B. Suggested Strategy for Setting Up Commission

Commission On National Level

1. The Presidential Commission should be established only on the national level. Operation of a Commission with federally-paid staff members within individual states would run the risk of producing resentment and resistance through "outside meddling." The Commission should have its paid staff in Washington.

Possible Appointees

2. Prominent Southerners in business and industry should be appointed by the President to serve on the Commission with other "prestige figures" from other regions. Though their "prestige capital" might deteriorate by service on a Commission which aims to promote "bi-racialism," this could be avoided by soliciting their services and influence for such transcendental and less controversial goals as: manpower development, productive uses of human resources, improvement of national security, and economic development. That is, improved race relations, better use of Negro talent through employment and political participation, would come as a by-product of trying to achieve "larger" goals.

Approaches to the President

3. Approaching the President on the subject of a Commission is a delicate matter, and should be handled with great care through "the personal touch." It should clearly be explained that such a Commission would not aim to duplicate the efforts of the NAACP, but on the contrary to bring influential persons into planning for the changes which they are now resisting, either actively or passively.

"The President is in more of an attitude now to receive suggestions..."

"Many such ideas have been pressed on the President in the past without success."

"We could go to see Rabb or Sherman Adams...We need to assure the President we ask for a Commission as 'friends of the Court,' and are not a group inciting to riot."

"It is important to impress upon the President the origins of these suggestions, that they come from an informal group of largely Southern Negroes and whites, and that the discussions leading to the suggestions occurred in the South..."

Coordinating Efforts

4. "We need to consult organizations with similar interests before acting."

Consulting Industrial Commissions

5. Recognizing the need to work through existing institutions as the best leverage for introducing change, it is proposed that the formation of the Commission be related from the outset to the present work of the state industrial development commissions. These boards

already are part of a "communications network" which connect Southern and Northern industrial, banking, and governmental circles. Moreover, they already are skilled with public relations practices and slogans, e.g., "The New South." Being part of the existing power structure, they are the most natural transition from "the conservative fifth column" in the South to a 20th century industrial point of view which requires maximum use of human talent, including Negro. Leaders of the Commissions may be the best teachers of "how to behave in an industrial society." Though some industrial commissions lure Northern industry with promises that the newcomers "have nothing to fear from race relations problems," these persons need not be dismissed as incurable white supremacists. Such persons who would say "I cannot afford to be identified with the Southern Regional Council," might easily be persuaded to participate on a Presidential Commission. (Possible "resource persons:" Boyd Campbell, Jackson, Miss., former President, U. S. Chamber of Commerce; and Winthrop Rockefeller, Little Rock, Ark.)

Find Leadership in Economic Areas

6. "We need to dissect the leadership problem...and realize that we face the job of making a 20th century adjustment out of an outmoded, 19th century political structure...The trouble is that all the self-interest of the controlling group is working on the negative side of the question...The greatest potentiality (for change) lies in the Southern economy, which can neutralize existing power. In economic realms we do find the hopeful area....unexplored, and ripe for attitude molding and leadership."

II. NON-GOVERNMENTAL APPROACHES TO PROBLEM

Realizing that a Presidential Commission would not be sufficient to bring about all the desired changes, it is proposed that the Phelps-Stokes Fund gather information and set up communication between individuals and voluntary agencies interested in various aspects of integration, and to proceed simultaneously along different fronts. It is recognized that the Phelps-Stokes Fund is not an operating agency, but that it can serve an important function as an "intelligence center," a clearinghouse for research and information, channelling data and consulting services to a number of audiences.

A. Continuation of the Capahosic Conference

Face-to-face meetings of individuals interested in improving race relations is highly desirable, and should be continued in the form of the Capahosic Conference, and other ways as well.

"I am sold on this approach: a meeting with friends, informal, with no record-keeping, declarations, or resolutions."

"There is much room for the middle-man function, getting people together who otherwise could not meet."

"We are not a mission group; we are a group of individuals; we do not expect consensus; we should avoid a self-halo as a group; we are not a solid front; we should not inhibit free give-and-take; we should not build our tabernacles too soon; we are not ready for a formal organization; we should keep ourselves merely as a consultative body; keep it away from 'representation.'"

"Phelps-Stokes Fund could do what has been tried at the Highlander center: invite the bright young Northerners who come to the South for industrial and executive jobs, and let them meet some of the 'natives'--the Southerners who think in national and international terms about the race question. Many of these newcomers to the South don't know we exist. Getting them involved in meetings like this might prevent the new managers from 'becoming more Southern than the Southerners.' Help them to identify with liberal Southerners, not the reactionaries."

"The Cleveland Conference might serve as a kind of model for what we have in mind. It is a forum, with no program and no publicity, to discuss issues in education. It brings in new people, keeping a balance between administration and teaching. Informality is preserved. There is new blood and continuity at the same time. The Conference also produces results, e.g., Ruml's views on college salaries were expressed at Cleveland."

"The Capahosic Conference represents the kind of informal discussions that are needed in other states--places where leaders can meet socially, as at a Texas barbecue with a Bob Smith as host..."

"The Phelps-Stokes Fund has been prophetic of the American outreach into international affairs; its early interest in Africa and Negro education in the South helped the Fund recognize early the international implications of domestic practices. The Fund has a communications role to play in this close-knit world when our generation has new and impossible tasks...For future conferences, we might invite some overseas representative, such as Sir Andrew Cohen of the British Colonial Office, ex-governor of Uganda..."

Foreign Visitors

"We need the candid comments of foreign visitors... Africans coming to the U.S. are sent to Chicago and other Northern places by the Department of State or Labor; they avoid the South, but it is there that they need to see the colleges and extension work which have much more applicability...Perhaps the Fund could help with this kind of liaison..."

Invite Disagreement

"We ought to invite people with whom we do not necessarily agree, but who we know to be sincere..."

"We need to pull individuals out of their own institutional contexts (e.g., John Wheeler of Durham) and let them chew on each other for a while..."

Industrialists as Members

"Such a Conference group can be advisory for both Phelps-Stokes and the Southern Regional Council...it can carefully and slowly invite those it wishes, without getting an indigestion of industrialists at the outset...Besides, the industrialists may prefer to join a group which already has its bearings."

Communication with Churchmen

"Churchmen ought to be involved in such conferences...It is important that they meet in some non-ecclesiastical context, where they can talk with others outside their normal church channels...Phelps-Stokes Fund should address such churchmen through a direct mailing list, and not try to convene them through National Council of Churches, or through denominational headquarters..."

"Church leaders need encouragement from people who have given serious thought to race relations..."

"Like-minded Christians often do not find ways to meet each other..." "Southern Baptists do not belong to the National Council, nor the State Councils, yet they have a department studying race relations, and are great supporters of missions to Africa." "A. C. Miller's statement adopted at Chicago."

"Churchmen who stand out alone (e.g., the Rev. Carol Brooke of Staunton) need to be supported, to let them know they 'are not alone.'"

"The Phelps-Stokes Fund might help the Southern Regional Council to convene religious leaders."

Establishing Lines Between Businessmen and Politicians

"Either through conferences, informal meetings, or through printed matter, the apathetic businessman in the South needs to be better informed about the threat to his income if he supports policies injurious to Negroes...Some businessmen who have found this out could give excellent testimonials to others who do not know it yet...(e.g., a trade boycott may be developing in Tuskegee as a non-violent response to gerrymandering)...This is a country where the dollar value talks...so when local small businessmen find

out that resistance to the Supreme Court rule can hurt business, they ought to have a chance to get this message through to the politicans...who pose as the only patriots...Businessmen are apathetic and need information on Negro purchasing power..."

"Sometimes these businessmen can be approached through the church...they can therefore be subject to both moral and economic 'sanctions.'"

"If politicians have a chance to keep their ears atune to new attitudes in the business community (power groups), their public statements may be less sympathetic to the status quo..."

B. Role of the Negro Colleges in Period of Transition

The Negro colleges still have an important part to play in serving as oases or islands in the South where consequences of the Supreme Court decision can be discussed rationally and objectively by both whites and Negroes.

The Beaumont, Texas, Lamont College, and Texarkana Junior College incidents, apart from the Autherine Lucy affair at Alabama, are dramatic detours from positive trends that have been developing in other institutions of higher learning.

"Faculties of Negro and white colleges who are sympathetic to integration in the higher institutions need to hold up moderate, liberal politicians who need knowledge of the support of editors, teachers, and other educators..."

"Negro colleges can help create a better climate by maintaining their degree of respectability...Their problem is to decide how this can best be done: by initiating and promoting action, or to keep a firm position, aloof from social action, and conveying the impression of objectivity..."

"Two fundamental issues affecting Negro colleges are: (1) the demands of accrediting associations make good arguments for fund-raising, and (2) "Separate-but-equal" thinking serves to keep Negroes out of state universities.."

"There are two reactions in political life vis-a-vis Negro educators... (1) There is no longer overt pressure from the top politicians for Negro educators to be spokesmen for the status quo--to continue to make public statements, as in the past, that "everything is all right;" and (2) Politicians may become increasingly dependent on the Negro intellectual as researcher and data-gatherer on issues of public policy..."

The place of Negro institutions in economic and industrial development programs in the South needs to be emphasized: basic research on new products (e.g., pine by-products, cotton, etc.) and experience in agricultural extension and vocational training in the past all promise continued need for using existing facilities and educated talent.

Just as in other parts of the country, colleges and universities are having to face up to a need to divide their labor, to pool their resources, to

prevent wasteful duplication, and the fruitless attempts to make every college into a university...Thus Negro colleges need not develop schools of architecture or engineering, but need to concentrate on doing well what they have already begun (e.g., preparation of building-trades specialists at Hampton). With freer admission policies in the state universities, Negroes can enter professional training from Negro colleges, which can be preparatory or terminal, depending on individual students.

C. Role of the Press and Other Mass Media

"A handicap (in creating a favorable climate for change) is the press of the nation...Newspapers seem bent toward the pressure of the White Citizens' Councils...Even I.N.S. and the U.P. reports seem slanted (e.g., "The legislation...passed the House, but appears doomed in the Senate.") There is no way to get Negro opinion in the Southern press, and this is greatly needed... The late Charles Johnson's column was once syndicated...Some Southern newspapers put the column into "Letters to Editor," though some lifted out some of Johnson's ideas, and put them into their own editorial columns..."

Access to Editors

"The Association of American Advertisers might be useful as a control in getting materials to go to newspapers..."

"Editors need to know the connection between the Supreme Court decision, and the consequences for improving a future mass market plus the general 'good of America.'"

Content

"Also, editors need to give much more play to the international implications of unfavorable developments; Southern politicians need to be told by powerful editors that they suffer from a kind of schizophrenia: helping support the U.S.I.A. on one hand, with its struggle for Africa just beginning, and not realizing that information about the purposes of foreign aid goes on deaf ears when foreigners hear about overt and subtle resistance to the Court decision on the part of these politicians' constituents... Indeed, the very politicians may be a part of the resistance movements, and be completely unaware of their inconsistencies..."

"How much is known, for example, that the government of Bolivia hesitates to accept U.S. aid for fear that Bolivian Indian integration will be halted, and that Indians will get treated like Negroes in the U.S.?"

"Newspapers and magazines can help to make U.S. economic leadership perceive its own self-interest. The South has a built-in contradiction, or dilemma: (a) with the industrialization boom, Southern governors fly off to Detroit or other places to try to induce more industry to come South; and (b) because such leaders are less foresighted about social questions, they fail to see that Southern manpower is being used up, that white labor, now trained in skilled production, is moving North, that mechanization is turning farm labor loose, and that the principle supply of labor is the Negro in the South--the Negroes they now keep out of skilled trades..."

"Part of the educational job to be done involves publishing scientific data on I.Q. and race...We're being stung for too much emphasis on education, because the vacuum (no leadership at the time of the Court decision) is now being filled by myths which are at odds with the findings of psychologists and anthropologists." "But we should not believe that those who resist change can be persuaded to change through rational or scientific arguments."

"Do editors know that job placement is as unjust as segregation in the schools, though school issues are what fill the press?"

Is There a Blanket of Silence?

"The Phelps-Stokes Conference at Hot Springs, on Negro Education was thought not significant by the press services...The United Negro College Fund forum, "The Negro Southerner Speaks" was attended by 3,000 people in New York, and no mention of it was made in the New York press..."

"It should be remembered that there is no deliberate blanket to suppress such 'good' news...Those who know the newspaper business would not get too sensitive about such omissions...Editors want 'blood and conflict' because that is what the readers want...Peace is not news, though some editors, when presented with the information, are glad to report a Southern Regional Council finding that 27 Southern cities have desegregated busses with no violence... The U.S.I.A also is happy to get such information for broadcast overseas."

D. The Role of Church Women and Others of Good Will

Apart from the involvement of churchmen in possible future conferences of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the potentialities of religious leadership on all race relations fronts is great, and should be encouraged.

"We need other groups apart from the NAACP to take the pressure off the fringe groups."

"Normally, one cannot expect enough white Southerners to volunteer in 'working the problem out.' Such volunteers as do exist are to be found within the churches."

"We need moral and legal force to supplement the NAACP."

"I see little hope in assembling people of influence from the power structure. And I have little faith in trying to assemble men of good will. What we need to do is to point out to men in power how they are losing out."

"Men of good will in the past did not have the present problem... Equality was not an issue before (the Court decision), and those of good will could be satisfied that they were improving somebody's condition whose condition 'was worse than mine.'"

Historical Importance of Church Women	"Southern church women have been historically significant in social action on moral issues (e.g., anti-lynching crusades, the services of such women as Mrs. M.E. Tilly, Atlanta, Methodist, former member of the President's Civil Rights Commission, and Director of Women's Work of the Southern Regional Council).
	"Church women have an important role still to play in serving as the keepers of justice, and to expose troubled consciences..."
	"Church women, however, face a dilemma, and need guidance. Their activities can bring economic reprisals against their husbands...Some Methodist women in Mississippi have sought advice for what they might do by writing to Dr. Dan Dodson of the New York University Center for Human Relations...He could not advise them on how they might work silently without 'hurting' their husbands."
Moral Pressure	"Perhaps no other people have been under such moral pressure as are Southerners today...The question is whether they will harden or soften under such pressure."
Strength for Unpopular Positions	"We should use religion, good will and morality as far as possible...In the Raleigh school bus incident, I was not re-appointed (to the school board) because of an unpopular stand...My position was motivated because of moral reasons as well as a respect for the law."
	"Churchmen have 'secret resources' which can protect them when others are driven underground by politicians' intimidation..."
	"People with moral commitments in the South must prepare for and accept the threats and charges that they are Communists, and submit to telephone annoyances..."
Segregation in Churches	"The last bulwark of segregation is likely to be in the churches. How can we get pressure from Washington applied to this area?"
Prayer	"The weapon of prayer, and praying for those who oppose you, has already proven valuable to Negroes engaged in the Montgomery bus boycott...Whites, too, can employ such methods to appeal to non-violence during this period of change..."
Missions	"Women's support of foreign missions shows how attitudes can change when problems are seen in another matrix... Southern Baptists, for example, have begun to wonder why so much (mission money) for Africa, and so little at home (for Negro work)."

Suggested Strategy and Approaches

"The Phelps-Stokes Fund should convene a conference of church women comparable to the present Capahosic conference for men."

"In such a task, the Fund could work closely with the Southern Regional Council."

"We need to tie our aims to a national urgency, or crisis, and appeal less to morality and righteousness."

"Playing on 'the guilt of the white man' can be a dangerous thing."

"Instead of talking so much of race, talk of the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights--to show what holds us together as a Nation."

"Job placement is a problem as unjust as segregation in the schools...a problem which the churches might well attack."

E. The Role of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in Providing Research Data and Educational Materials to Various Audiences

International Implications

"The Southern Regional Council is identified with a certain program, which is good for some purposes...But SRC does not exhaust all approaches...The Fund could serve an important function, for example, in providing Southerners with data on the international implications of continued resistance to change...The South would be sensitive to such information."

"Besides helping Southerners realize the serious international consequences for the United States of keeping segregation, there is something else the Fund can do... Case studies of race relations practices in other parts of the world might be useful in order to see our own problems in perspective. For example, the kind of information one might find from the Society for the Scientific Study of Race Relations, in Vera Micheles Dean's The Nature of the Non-Western World, or in E. Franklin Frazier's Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World..."

"Foreign visitors are often opinion-leaders even while in the United States, not merely when they return home...What do they find heartening or shocking about the conditions they see here? Perhaps the Fund could get this information."

Self-Interest Theme

"Educational materials should aim to help people to see their own self-interests in a new perspective."

"The South as a region needs to be made to see its own regional self-interest, as well as how such an interest relates to our national and international welfare. We

need research on 'an anatomy of the South' to show what are the sources of people's regional identification, and then we could use such information to get people to work for regional goals, such as increased industrial productivity, which involves making full use of all human talent and skill. Perhaps a Southern Regional Council on Productivity could coordinate the various efforts of industrial commissions in individual Southern states..."

"Times are changing...People formerly tried to make Negroes believe that 'self-interest' meant staying out of unions..."

"It is 'good education' for bankers when they realize where their 'self-interest' lies...In Atlanta, a vice-president in charge of public relations was made treasurer of a White Citizens' Council--apart from his bank duties. An ad hoc 'finance committee' of Negroes helped reduce the number of Negro accounts in the bank...Now the president and his board are trying to get the accounts back."

Finding Receptive Audiences

"In preparing materials for certain target groups, the Phelps-Stokes Fund should know in advance whether there is going to be receptivity...One needs to create a need for certain kinds of information, almost to the point that people will be looking for it...For example, if the Presidential Commission is appointed, the questions it might deal with should have good research background from an objective source, and Commission members thus might turn eagerly to the Fund for help..."

"Managements consultants are good transmitters of ideas to industrialists...Perhaps they should have research to pass on about the manpower potential in the South, how Negro manpower is trained in the South, and then used other places...Industrialists need to learn, too, about the vast potential earning and purchasing power of Negroes now moving into more skilled jobs, and in the professions...If consultants don't have access to existing market research in this area, perhaps the Fund could locate such data and call it to their attention..."

"The Fund ought to be in touch with the National Planning Association in Washington which has a lot of good prognoses of economic development involving 'labor migration' (e.g., Southern Negroes going to work in the expected Chicago boom resulting from the St. Lawrence Seaway)."

"Getting people to help themselves is one of the best ways to change attitudes...At the Highlander Folk School, people soon accept a new status quo if they are given a chance to experience a new technique or an idea...We don't ask farmers first if they wish to attend an interracial meeting; we invite them to find out something about agricultural cooperatives..."

"Even if peace is not as good for headlines as conflict, there is an audience for facts which show progress toward integration...An SRC survey shows that 20-odd Southern cities had successfully desegregated their bus systems; this has been picked up by the AP, UP, and national magazines...Also, the U.S. Information Agency has given wide international circulation to this fact...Such information helps offset the myth of 'inevitable conflict.'"

Need for Summaries

"What is needed is for some agency, using objective social science research, to draw up statements about trends... Very often many publics do not see the forest for the trees...The bad news overwhelms the less dramatic good news...Such summaries of developments have social consequences, inducing some people to resist change all the harder while others want to get on the bandwagon...For example, it's interesting to have known that Dr. Johnson (Guy), a sociologist of race relations, thinks that we have undergone a remarkable revolution in the last ten years... Such statements give hope even when there is a lot of work remaining to be done."

Non-Rational Behavior

"Scientific knowledge will not be persuasive in itself... One always has to recognize the non-rational factors in behavior, and not be disappointed when certain facts do not appear to others as self-evident...The same is true of trying to get people to see their inconsistencies, the 'schizophrenia' of Southern politicians, for example, who will vote foreign aid money on one hand, and block integration on the other without realizing how the latter can cancel out the good will we might earn from the former."

Data on Successful Legal Cases

"We need a clearinghouse for data on successful legal cases involving steps toward integration."

Information Services to Industry

"We need a reporting service on industrial experience in integration (both in executive jobs for Negroes, and in jobs on the line) comparable to the Southern School News..."

"The Fund might look into the Quaker experience in passing on information about successful cases of integration in industry...There was no identification of plants; they learned that direct publicity could be harmful; they provided a link between plants of similar experiences..."

"Business Week and the Wall Street Journal would be among the media that would give a good reception to such facts..."

"Talent Search" Project

"The Phelps-Stokes Fund has already started a 'Talent Search' project with the help of the General Education Board. The Project Director, Dr. Raphael O'Hara Lanier, is following up an interest of Dr. Dean Rusk of the Rockefeller Foundation in making efforts to discover Negroes who are

presently underemployed, and could make contributions in the international and industrial fields...e.g., the discovery of Negro technicians to work in Africa...Dr. Rusk was surprised and pleased to find in India a Negro technician, once on the staff of California Institute of Technology...The Fund is going to try to locate others; Negroes are not found in the normal channels where employers look for talent...This project does not propose to duplicate work of the Urban League, which is interested in an industry-wide or mass approach to employment of members of minority groups. On the contrary, the project aims to provide liaison services for individuals who are outside the organized placement agencies--those specialized individuals who can be useful in top echelon positions. The Fund does not act as a placement agency, but will refer and recommend qualified Negroes to such groups."

Mental Health Research

"The anxiety and strains which go with the social change in the South are subjects for mental health research which the Fund might well look into...The National Institute of Health, foundations, and state governments have a lot of money to spend on such research...The Fund might try to locate what is being done which applies to race relations, and make this available in condensed form to social scientists, psychiatrists, and the various voluntary organizations...The Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry at the Menninger Foundation already has some data that would be useful for including in a pamphlet...This, too, is obviously an era of unreason, sickness, and hysteria...We need to know how to interpret the bitterness of the conflict as perhaps a sign that we are getting someplace, getting to the heart of the matter."

III. MISCELLANEOUS COMMENTS ON "THE STATE OF THE NATION"

1. "There has been a tendency to go backward, to suppress, to get people to conform by harrassing and intimidating people on the liberal side."

2. "When I talked on TV about 'An Anthropologist Looks at Race,' I was told that I needed a psychiatrist rather than be hanged."

3. "The communication breakdown in the South is tragic."

4. At the present rate, if we wait a few months, perhaps we will have a school for each child in Alabama."

5. "A New Orleans industrialist gave $350,000 to the university, and was made King of the Carnival...He fought the Urban League, but said 'If I were a Negro I would be for it, too, but in my position I cannot.'"

6. "The NAACP was more effective at raising money when it had to work 'underground' in Louisiana...It is at a disadvantage now that it is legal."

7. "Good lawyers could not be found to argue the case for equalization of teachers salaries...They feared that Thurgood Marshall would make a fool out of them."

8. "Southerners need to be taught how to behave in an industrial society."

9. "Registering and voting are possible, even in the Deep South."

10. "We need to see race relations problems in the U.S. as one aspect of much larger social changes in the world: urbanization and industrialization everywhere are producing changes in human relationships as formerly submerged individuals and groups develop talent, earn money and prestige, and become part of the modern generation...Those who resist such changes are those who find no substitutes for their old equilibria..."

11. "Negroes are the one hope of creativity left in an age of conformity--the 15 million in this country representing a resource that has never been properly tapped...The release of their social productivity would give us new vitality, a much needed injection...Their patience and wisdom are greatly needed by us."

12. "A Negro in Montgomery told me he did not know until recently to what extent white folks were afraid of each other."

13. "The restraining actions in Virginia should not be too surprising...North Carolina can be more liberal...Virginia has exhausted the concept of the cavalier and the aristocrat, and yet has a good background for caste and class regardless of race...Aristocratic societies have not been concerned historically with public education...So, in Virginia, when the Supreme Court Decision comes, it gives a good excuse for not supporting education.. Virginia is where the South begins. So when the governors meet in Virginia, some Southerners see this as a place 'to hold the line'--at the point (of the South) nearest to Washington, and they arrive as 'reinforcements' from the rear to try to re-create a solid front."

14. "Race prejudice and anti-unionism are part of the same phenomenon in the South."

15. "Since Martin Luther King's meeting in Ghana with Vice-President Nixon, requesting that Nixon invite Ike to the South, King and Abernathy (The Rev. Ralph) have been to Washington to get a promise to work through the Government Contracts Committee of which Nixon is chairman."

16. "American foreign policy must get rid of the crippling effect of our color situation at this moment of Bandungism...when 'colored' people all over the world challenge and suspect us of holding some human life as cheap."

17. "We are talking of a pre-stage in the history of a social movement...which will need to be built up so that respectable people can be its leaders."

18. "The Urban League is taking a squeeze...It is most vulnerable in cities such as New Orleans and Jacksonville because of its Community Chest-related status."

19. "Dependence on the Federal Government is Hamiltonian while adhering to states' rights is Jeffersonian...Our task should not be limited to choosing 'either/or'--but to recognize the need to abdicate some services to the Federal Government."

PERSONS ATTENDING CAPAHOSIC CONFERENCE
JUNE 22-23, 1957

Barnett, Mr. Claude A. Associated Negro Press 3531 South Parkway Chicago 15, Ill.	Founder and Director of the Associated Negro Press.
Bledsoe, Mr. S. B. Selvage & Lee, Inc. 1625 Eye Street, N.W. Washington 6, D. C.	Public Relations. Former Special Assistant to Secretary, U.S. Department of Agriculture; served Wallace, Wickard.
Childers, Mr. James Saxon 8200 Jett Ferry Road Dunwoody, Ga.	Author, Tomorrow We Shall Reap (1949) and other books. Former editor, Atlanta Journal.
Clark, Dr. Joseph D. 15 Furches Street Raleigh, N. C.	Professor, School of General Studies, Department of English, North Carolina State College.
Daniel, Dr. Robert P. President's Office Virginia State College Petersburg, Va.	President, Virginia State College.
Dent, Dr. Albert W. President's Office Dillard University New Orleans, La.	President, Dillard University and Vice President, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Dillon, Mr. Wilton S. Phelps-Stokes Fund 101 Park Avenue New York 17, N. Y.	Executive Secretary, Phelps-Stokes Fund.
Dobbins, Mr. Charles American Council on Education 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington 6, D. C.	Staff Associate, American Council on Education.
Fleming, Mr. Harold C. Southern Regional Council, Inc. Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. Atlanta 3, Ga.	Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Foster, Dr. Luther H. President's Office Tuskegee Institute Tuskegee Institute, Ala.	President, Tuskegee Institute.

PERSONS ATTENDING CAPAHOSIC CONFERENCE (Cont'd.)
JUNE 22-23, 1957

Horton, Mr. Myles Highlander Folk School Monteagle, Tenn.	Director, Highlander Folk School.
Johnson, Dr. Guy B. P. O. Box 652 Chapel Hill, N. C.	Professor of Sociology & Anthropology, University of North Carolina.
Killian, Dr. Lewis M. Florida State College Tallahassee, Fla.	Professor, Department of Sociology, Florida State College.
Lanier, Dr. R. O'Hara Phelps-Stokes Fund 101 Park Avenue New York 17, N. Y.	Director of Special Project on Identification and Placement of Negro Talent, Phelps-Stokes Fund; former U.S. Minister to Liberia.
Manley, Dr. Albert M. President's Office Spelman College Atlanta, Ga.	President, Spelman College.
Nixon, Mr. E. D. 647 Clinton Avenue Montgomery, Ala.	Chairman, Membership Committee, Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting. Also, Chairman, Montgomery Division, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.
Patterson, Dr. F. D. Phelps-Stokes Fund 101 Park Avenue New York 17, N. Y.	Director, Phelps-Stokes Fund; President Emeritus, Tuskegee Institute; Founder and President, United Negro College Fund.
Ross, Dr. Emory Board for Fundamental Education 257 Fourth Avenue New York 10, N. Y.	Consultant, Office of Internship and Leadership Training, Board for Fundamental Education; President, Phelps-Stokes Fund.
Trent, Mr. William J., Jr. United Negro College Fund 22 East 54th Street New York 22, N. Y.	Executive Director, United Negro College Fund; member of New York Commission on Discrimination in the Public Schools.

Circulate to Staff

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101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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Education: EMORY ROSS
Housing: MRS. JOHN DAVIS HATCH, Jr.

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578 (New York).

CABLES: "Stokesfund"-New York.

EUROPEAN ADDRESS
2, Eaton Gate, Sloane Square, London, S.W.1.

July 26, 1957

RECEIVED JUL 29 1957

Dear Capahosic Conferee:

At this moment when the Senate debates on civil rights legislation are ending, I take pleasure in sending to you the attached confidential copy of your recommendations and comments made to members of the Phelps-Stokes Fund staff during the weekend at Holly Knoll, June 22-23.

If you have any further suggestions, revisions, or additions to make to this summary, I should appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience. It is understood that these remarks in no way constitute an official record, or "minutes," but serve as a guide for the Fund in developing programs based on your experience and insights.

On behalf of Dr. Ross, Dr. Patterson, and other trustees and officers of the Fund, I wish to thank you again for your part in the discussions and hope that we shall have the continued privilege of your counsel.

Sincerely yours,

Wilton S. Dillon

Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary

WSD:wrw
Encl.

Capahosic D.

COMMONWEALTH of VIRGINIA

GLOUCESTER COUNTY

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY HIGHWAY SYSTEMS

January 1, 1958

Department of Highways
Richmond

R. I. Mount, *District Engineer*, Fredericksburg, Va.

H. A. Fennell, *Resident Engineer*, Saluda, Va.

COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISORS

Alexander B. Atkins, *Chairman*

Francis L. Hall

Earle A. Farner

January 30, 1958

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Executive Secretary
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Wilton:

Thanks for your letter of January 20.

Mr. Nquku did not appear in Atlanta this week. He must either have changed his schedule or found himself over blessed with contacts here. If he should appear later on, we will do everything we can to assist him.

I expect to be in New York again on February 14th and possibly for a day or two preceeding. If my plans jell soon enough, I will drop you another note. In any case, I hope we will have a chance to get together while I am there.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED JAN 21 1958

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CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

January 20, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Thanks for the "on-the-ball" memo on C.C.C. fact-finding, dated 13 January. It coincides with a conversation Dr. Patterson and I have just had with Dr. Donald Young, the Director of Russell Sage Foundation, who was recommending a content analysis of the Southern Education Reporting Service as a chapter on the proposed revival of the Negro Yearbook. I wish both Phelps-Stokes and Russell Sage could back up this interest with money.

I also want to acknowledge the confidential reports on Mrs. Smith in the Lexington, Mississippi "freedom of the press" case. This is just the kind of information Dr. Patterson had in mind as a basis for a request for outside support for a Phelps-Stokes discretionary fund.

I am writing primarily at this moment to let you know of the arrival of Mr. John June Nquku, Advisor on Education and Churches in Swaziland. He is on a Southern, Southwestern tour well oriented with John Popham's point (in the New York Times) about the South having much in common with Africa, Asia, and other areas of rapid social change. Thus he wants to see both rural areas, and Indian reservations during the U. S. trip. Because he's interested in cooperatives, he wants to see Koinonia farm on the way between Atlanta and Tuskegee.

Nquku (pronounced with a castanet click which is pretty hard for us Southerners) will be arriving in Atlanta Monday, January 27th to stay until the 29th. He will be greatly impressed to hear of Mrs. Tilly's program inasmuch as he is responsible for advising advisors to the Swazi Queen Mother about both the Christian religion and womanpower, a powerful combination. As the head of Swaziland's only political party, Nquku would also benefit by some of Fred Routh's inside dopesterism on Southern politics.

Could you please make sure that he gets to see J.C. Dickson of the Southern Educational Foundation so that he can arrange stops at Piney Woods, Miss. and Gramblin School in Louisiana?

I know you're overloaded with foreign visitors. Therefore, I can only hope that Mr. Nquku will help the common cause.

The Ashmore book, as you predicted, is superb. I shall be very curious to know whether Hodding Carter's review in the Times is a good prediction of the fury the book may generate among both kinds of extremists.

Cordially,

Wilton S. Dillon

Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary

WSD:wrw
Encl.

SUGGESTED ITINERARY FOR MR. JOHN JUNE NQUKU

Advisor on Education and Churches to the National
Administration of Swaziland,
P. O. Box 6, Mbadane, Swaziland, South Africa

January 13
Arrive Philadelphia Monday Afternoon (American Friends Service Committee)

January 14
Leave Philadelphia Tuesday, Jan. 14 A.M. arrive Washington, D. C. afternoon.

January 14-22
Washington, D. C. (African-American Institute)

January 22
Leave Washington and arrive Charlottesville, Va. (Univ. of Va.)

January 23-27
Leave Charlottesville January 23rd for Chapel Hill and Kittrell, N. C.
Spend weekend at Kittrell.

January 27-29
Arrive Atlanta Monday, January 27. Leave Atlanta January 29.
(Rev. Clarence Jordan, Koinonia Farm)

January 30
Leave Americus for Tuskegee

January 31
Arrive Tuskegee, Leave Tuskegee Saturday evening, Feb. 1 for Montgomery.

February 2-5
See Bishop Jordan in Montgomery Sunday, Feb. 2. Remain in Montgomery through Feb. 5 leaving for Talladega same day.

February 6-9
Leave Talladega Feb. 6 or 7 for Nashville in time for Race Relations Sunday, February 9. Possible intermediate stop at Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn.

February 9-16
Open. Possible intermediate trip to Piney Woods, Miss.

February 16-18
Jackson, Miss. with Bishop Jordan.

February 19
(Bishop Jordan will help arrange schedule after New Orleans)
Arrive New Orleans Feb. 19 - (Tulane and Dillard Universities)
Possible intermediate stops at Baton Rouge, to visit Capital and L.S.U. and to Grambling College near Monroe, La., enroute to Little Rock.
Proceed to Oklahoma City(Roscoe Dungee) and Norman, Okla. (Univ. of Okla.)

Early March
Start for Southwestern trip via New Mexico, Arizona enroute to Los Angeles.
Visit Indian Pueblos. Return trip via St. Louis and Chicago.
In Ohio, arrange to stop at Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. and Antioch College, Yellow Springs, O. (Mr. Arthur Morgan)(Dr. Chas. Wesley, Central State College)

Early April
Rerturn to New York

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Early April
Rerturn to New York

SUGGESTED ITINERARY FOR MR. JOHN JUNE NQUKU: FIRST PHASE

Advisor on Education and Churches to the National Administration of Swaziland, P. O. Box 6, Mbadane, Swaziland, South Africa

(Period: January 13 to April 1, 1958)

January 13 — Philadelphia

Leave New York for Philadelpia; See Barbara Moffett, Director of Community Relations, American Friends Service Committee, Commonwealth Building, 12th and Chesnut Streets. Introductions will be arranged, if possible, for Mr. Nquku to see Miss Tillie Walker, Indian Affairs; Harriet Hoyle, Friends' Committee on Education; and persons at Pendle Hill.

January 14 — Philadelphia

May wish to visit Philadelphia Museum of Art; talk with Miss Jean Gordon Lee, Curator, to discuss educational activities of museum, and how museum relates to public schools; Arensberg collection, including African sculptures. Also may wish to meet Progessor Irving Hallowell, Professor of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, to discuss American Indian education.

Leave for Lincoln University, near Philadelphia(Oxford, Pa.) to meet Dr. Lawrence Foster, Professor of Sociology, former teacher of Nkrumah, and student of African affairs.

January 15 — Lincoln University

Leave for Washington, D. C.; call African-American Institute, 1234 20th St. North West, Telephone: DIstrict 7-7937. Mr. John Livingston will arrange lodging for you, possibly at Davis House, a guest house for foreign visitors operated by the American Friends Service Committee.Mr. A. Burns Chalmers, Secretary of Education for A.F.S.C., has offices at Davis House, and may be available for discussions about philosophy of American private and public education.

January 17 — Washington, D. C.

Make appointments for one week or two-week period in Washington to see:

(1) Dr. Ambrose Caliver, Assistant to Commissioner, U.S. Office of Education.

(2) Miss Vinita Lewis, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of Interior, to discuss education and community development among "East" Indians and American Indians.

(3) Mr. Richard Farnsworth, Chief, Africa Section, Education Division, International Cooperation Administration.

(4) Mr. Henry Dobbins, American Council on Education, native of Alabama, former participant in Phelps-Stokes Conference on Race Relations, Capahosic, Va.; may arrange introduction to Mr. Arthur S. Adams, President of Council, and recent traveller to Africa.

Washington, D. C. (Con't.)

(5) Mr. W. Tsitsiwu, Education Attache, Embassy of Ghana
2139 R. Street, N. W. Telephone: HObart 2-7600

(6) Prof. Leo Hansberry, Professor of African History, Howard University, with whom you may wish to discuss manuscript on The Conquest of Swaziland. Tele: DUpont 7-6100

(7) Mr. Louis Miniclier, Chief, Community Development Branch, International Cooperation Administration, to discuss U.S. programs for rural education in Africa.

(8) Mr. Boris Shiskin, Director of Civil Rights Committee, AF of L - CIO, 815 16th Street, N. W., to discuss labor education.

(9) Dean Francis Sayre, Jr., Washington Cathedral, to discuss responsibility of the church in agricultural cooperative and trade union movements.

(10) Dr. Harold Snyder, Director, Washington Seminar on International Affairs, for discussions about legislative and governmental personnel who would be interested to discuss the political future of Swaziland.

(11) Mr. S. B. Bledsoe, member of public relations firm of SELVAGE & LEE, a native Southerner, and former Assistant to Secretary of Agriculture Wickard, to discuss foreign implications of American race relations problems, as well as to arrange for introductions to agricultural extension specialists. Address: 1625 I (Eye) St., N. W.

(12) Mr. Earl Voss, reporter, Washington Star, for discussions about improvement of American newspaper reporting on African affairs.

(13) Mr. John A. Noon, United States Information Agency, to discuss African-American cultural relations.

Richmond, Virginia

January 31 Contact Mr. John H. Marion, Executive Director, Virginia Human Relations Council, 1409 Chowan Road, Richmond, Va.
Also, Dr. Samuel Proctor, President, Virginia Union University
Proceed to Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va. Dr. Alonzo G. Moron, Pres.

February 4 Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Contact Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina, trustee of Phelps-Stokes Fund, contributor to Myrdal's American Dilemma; arrange introductions to University staff responsible for historical pageants and dramas, e.g., Mr. Harry Davis, to explore ways Swazi schools might keep tribal traditions alive.

Rec'd 2/27/58

File

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Housing: MRS. DYSON DUNCAN

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

February 22, 1958

Dr. H. C. Trenholm, Secretary
American Teachers Association
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Dr. Trenholm:

Having been asked to serve as the New York "usher" for the research project, "Desegregation and the Employment of Negro Public School Teachers", I am writing now to pass on to you a copy of the enclosed proposal prepared by Dr. Demerath, in case you have not already seen it. I am wondering what thought you have given to the role of the American Teachers Association in influencing the raising of a substantial portion of the cost of the research.

From all the discussions we of the Phelps-Stokes Fund have had with persons interested in the research, and its future meaning for Negro Teachers all over the South, there seems to be a strong feeling that the ATA could play a critically important part in: (a) initiating the project through pledging of funds, and (b) calling the results of the research to the attention of a large audience of teachers.

Dr. Demerath has indicated that the first most important step to getting the project started is to find at least half of the total amount of $10,670 from teachers associations, and to secure pledges in this joint effort in time for Washington University to secure the services of the Study Director before he is committed to other teaching and research duties during the Summer.

With some pledges, Dr. Patterson then would be in a much stronger position to present an appeal to one of the large foundations, presumably Rockefeller, to "close the gap" between the amount raised and the amount needed.

John Hope, Aaron Brown, and Harold Fleming have discussed with me the desirability of teachers associations' participation in the project, quite apart from the financial questions. First, the associations are the natural beneficiaries of the findings. Secondly, the associations might find their sponsorship of the project, through Washington University, to be an important public relations gesture, symbolizing the creative leadership of Negro educators at a time when the nation needs all the qualified teaching talent it can find.

When we met for those interesting discussions in Dr. Patterson's office, December 18th, I remember that you had raised a question about how applicable such research might be to other parts of the South. That was a good question, and one which Dr. Demerath apparently has answered in his memo by pointing out, on page 2, that the study would focus on eight to ten types of school-community situations, ranging from a metropolitan area to small rural situations. Such types, though they will be studied in the outlying communities and states around St. Louis, would have their parallels in other parts of the South. The main advantage in having the study done at Washington University seems to be that it would have access to opinions and attitudes which perhaps would not be so easily expressed in Deep South communities where the tensions are greater. This is a point which Aaron Brown has underscored.

We should appreciate hearing from you soon as to your advice on how best to proceed with the project. The Phelps-Stokes Fund unfortunately has no resources which can be applied to this important undertaking. However, because of our long concern with Negro education and the search for better uses of Negro talent, we should like to use our offices to help see that the project gets started this summer.

With kind regards.

Cordially,

W. S. D.

Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary

Copies: Mr. Elwood Chisholm
Dr. John W. Davis
Prof. Walter Ridley
Mr. Harold Fleming
Mr. John Hope, II

Form O. C. No. 1—Goldsmith Bros., Stationers, 77 Nassau St., N.Y. 8

Inter-Office Correspondence

USE THIS FORM FOR ALL OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE — WRITE ON ONE SIDE OF PAPER ONLY

Date 27 Feb. 58

To Harold From Milton

Subject:

At Ortho meeting, please try to meet Dr. Jack Downing, a "social" psychiatrist from N.Y. State Mental Health Research Department, Syracuse. I shall be in Puerto Rico and can't introduce you. Jack is a Southerner (Okla.) and would be interested in S.R.C.

PUT IN WRITING WRITTEN MESSAGES SAVE TIME AND AVOID ERRORS.

strategy re: "hope for the future."

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PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

February 27, 1958

Dr. John Hope, II
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

By now you should have received a copy of my letter to Trenholm. I have not yet heard from him.

I am writing now about another item on our joint "docket," namely the Hope Memorandum of December 23, 1957 on the "Inter-Disciplinary Conference of Social Scientists on Research on the Desegregation Problem and Related Issues."

This morning I showed your memo to Mrs. Nishi, National Council of Churches, in connection with our conversation about a proposed small conference of New York area social scientists to talk about what cues church leaders might take from the Suchman-Dean-Williams document, Desegregation: Some Propositions and Research Suggestions (A.D.L.).

She felt that the New York conference might tie in with the one you are proposing in that: (a) both would be referring to the current state of research; (b) how this imperfect knowledge might be used by "practitioners," including churchmen; and (c) participants at both conferences would like to discuss ways for social scientists to solicit research funds for neglected areas.

So this is just to inform you that the National Council of Churches and the Phelps-Stokes Fund are beginning to talk about joint sponsorship of a New York Conference, and that Stewart Cook and M. Brewster Smith will be brought into early "negotiations" about it. There will be nothing definite on this, however, until April. If you plan to be at the Syracuse meetings of the S.A.A., we will be able to talk further at that time about the connections and division of labor: (a) the proposed National Council-Phelps-Stokes conference; (b) your proposal; and (c) the communication between Nick Demerath and Ronald Lippitt dated February 13.

I assume you are being asked for opinions on Tilman Cothran's tentative outline for the "Little Rock Desegregation Crisis" project of A.D.L.

Cordially,

WSD

Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary

WSD:wrw
cc: Mr. Harold C. Fleming

Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

February 27, 1958

Dr. John Hope, II
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

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Cordially,

WSD:wrw

Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

3/4/58

EV,

Something for us to discuss at one of our interminable conferences.

H

Looks like a good push especially since Fund is willing to do as much initiating as indicated. Think we should encourage — volunteer use for labor contacts either within region and/or to national education directors to explain importance of the move. Might suggest the "anti-discrimination" guy in each union that has one as well as the education director

(over)

their manpower interest, and having them timely expressed to the Commission, is a good thing, too.

G.F.T.
3/6/54

Phelps-Staby, Manpower Commission (Geisberg), N.P.A., Civ. Rts., Commission a powerful combo — maybe should add some central Union representation — possibly "Research" rather than Civil Rts. — Also Labor Dept. is the other major source on manpower questions and I would cut them in.

FROM THE DESK OF HAROLD FLEMING

Form O. C. No. 1—Goldsmith Bros., Stationers, 77 Nassau St., N.Y. 8

Inter-Office Correspondence

USE THIS FORM FOR ALL OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE — WRITE ON ONE SIDE OF PAPER ONLY

Date 19 Feb. 1958

To Harold From Wilton

Subject: THE FUTURE

I havetalked with Patterson about the National Business League having some possible role in co-sponsoring a seminar for management consultants, and plant managers of "Northern interests," at Atlanta University. This could be an item on his proposal to Dana Creel for help to the Business League. At any rate, I thought you should know about more "conjecturing," and that you should feel free (as Dr. Routh says) to go ahead on any parallel or separate line you see fit to follow.

Letter going to Trenholm....Minnie Jean Brown coming to New York....Everybody fuming over the Louisiana Legislature's full-page ad in the Herald-Tribune. Patterson writing rebuttal which Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes, lawyer, now toning down.

The Progressive piece superb!

Affectionately, and
Long Live Churchill!

PUT IN WRITING WRITTEN MESSAGES SAVE TIME AND AVOID ERRORS.

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PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

February 19, 1958

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COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

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TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

Mr. John Miller
National Planning Association
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Miller:

John Hope, II recently told me that I might obtain from you a copy of the study which he and Hawley did for N.P.A. entitled, "Negro Employment Practices in the South."

If we could obtain a copy, it would be useful in planning some management education conferences in Southern universities (e.g., University of Alabama, Atlanta University). Such conferences would aim to stimulate management consultants and their clients to take a long-term view of human resources in their plans for investments and managing plants in the South.

The enclosed memo, intended for our trustees, will explain some of the background of this effort. What is not explained here, however, is the intent to try to borrow some ideas from: (a) I.C.A.'s experience in productivity education in Europe and Asia, applied to the Southern scene; and (b) the Duke of Edinburgh's Study Conference on Human Problems in Industrial Communities. (I have talked about the latter with your fellow planner, Bud Dutton, during his recent trip to New York, and should like to solicit your ideas when I am next in Washington).

Cordially,

W.S.D.

Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary

WSD:wrw
Encl.

cc: Mr. Harold Fleming
Mr. John Hope, II

19 November 1957

Memorandum

To : Special Projects and Education Committees

From: The Director

Subject: Exploratory Ideas For An Adult Education Program To Coincide With Work Of The Civil Rights Commission

I. AN OPPORTUNITY FOR LEADERSHIP

With the Presidential appointment of the Civil Rights Commission, the Phelps-Stokes Fund faces a challenging opportunity to initiate an adult education program for integration which will dovetail with the Commission's tasks during the next two years. Accordingly, the staff has been exploring, since the meeting of the Executive Committee October 21, some of the possible themes and arguments which may provide the basis for cooperation between leaders of industry, religion, education, and government in the South. (These are in Section II.)

Fund for the Republic Proposal

1. On October 28, Mr. Dillon and I talked with Mr. Hallock Hoffman, assistant to Dr. Robert Hutchins, Fund for the Republic, about the form of presentation of a Phelps-Stokes proposal for financing such an education program. Mr. Hoffman informed us that any proposals to the Fund for the Republic would have to fit the Fund's current program to define "basic issues in a free society." (See attached brochure). Thus the Phelps-Stokes job would be to relate facts about Negro potential to the issues being raised about the role and responsibility of the corporation, religion, the trade union, and the military in a free society.

Liaison With the Civil Rights Commission

2. Anticipating an opportunity to be of service, (with or without extra financing) we have sent telegrams already to two members of the Civil Rights Commission, Dr. John Hannah, President, Michigan State University, and Mr. Ernest Wilkins, Undersecretary of Labor, congratulating them on their appointments, and suggesting that Phelps-Stokes Fund would like to cooperate in providing background research data on manpower and other human resources which may be pertinent to the work of the Commission. Dr. Hannah is a manpower and personnel specialist.

Dr. Eli Ginzberg, author of The Negro Potential, and director of the Conservation of Human Resources Project set up by General Eisenhower at Columbia University in 1950, informed the Phelps-Stokes Fund November 18, that he will be happy to cooperate with the Fund to bring manpower and education issues to the attention of the Civil Rights Commission, particularly Dr. Hannah. The main reason for this liaison

is to provide the Commission with "ammunition" for its public statements which will call attention to the implications of the Civil Rights Act for the discovery of untapped human resources greatly needed for scientific, industrial, and educational progress. In terms of "psychological strategy," such an approach offers great merit as a "face-saving" device for supremacists and others attempting to block the carrying out of the Supreme Court decision. The greatest leadership opportunities for any individual, foundation, government agency or voluntary group appear in the search for arguments which offer "self-interest" alternatives to people now resisting change.

The Teacher Role of the Commission

3. With such data about Negro achievements and potential as might be gathered, the Phelps-Stokes Fund can help the Commission give content to its role as "teacher." The New York Times, November 17, stated:

> Even at this early early stage, when quite plainly the Commission members themselves have formulated no clear views as to the nature of their job, informed persons in and out of Government have advanced their ideas of what the group should try to accomplish...One of the roles envisaged for the Commission is that of teacher....The thesis is that a group that could show that it clearly had no axe to grind--political or otherwise--might be able to impress the South, as Northern political leaders have not, with the moral importance of obedience to the Constitution and laws... Finally, there is the view that, by legal studies and analysis of the facts it finds, the Commission should lay our for the Federal Government a general policy to prevent future Little Rocks, to handle the school integration problem as a whole.

It appears therefore, that the Fund might help enhance the value of the Commission as an educational agency. Through the Commission new facts and ideas could reach the South both from: (a) a national vantage point, and (b) the Commission's local advisory committees which will aim to work out acceptable local accomodations.

II.

POSSIBLE THEMES TO BE WORKED INTO ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM FOR BUSINESSMEN, INDUSTRIALISTS, CHURCHMEN, LABOR LEADERS

The working up of a "curriculum" and "method" for an adult education program might involve use of the following ideas or themes to be developed by further fact-finding. (These ideas are drawn from several sources: Ginsberg's The Negro Potential; the October 26 issue of Business Week; Chapter 17, Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely's Neither Black Nor White; and Chapter 5, "The Theory of Integration," in Liston Pope, Kingdom Beyond Caste.)

Integration As Positive Goal

1. "Integration has a more positive content than the term desegregation. It implies not merely the elimination of barriers and the removal of compulsory separation. It requires further the people of all racial groups shall join in seeking together to realize the highest ideals of democracy." (Pope)

"Avoid a head-on collision. If you talk about specific issues, there will be resistance. If you talk in broader terms, desegregation will become a part of the fluid process of change." (Philip Hammer)

Memorandum 3

Integration is Profitable

2. "Prosperity was doomed as long as part of the population sought--in basic irreverence for life--to profit from, rather than with, all the rest of the human neighborhood." (Dykeman and Stokely).

Southern Industrialization

3. "States' rights may be the call to colors on the front pages, but it's the state's fight for industry which is the rallying cry on the inner pages."
(Dykeman and Stokely)

Negro Manpower and Purchasing Power

4. "We're discovering...that if the South is to prosper industrially it needs good workers and some of those workers will have to be Negroes. We also need that purchasing power. Keeping the Negro poor, the South has stayed poor." (Southern professor of business). "The South will soon have to realize that its remarkable industrial growth is being threatened by loss of many of its best-educated and best-trained Negroes, who represent one quarter of the Southern labor force. Unless this area starts now to train its Negro workers, it is going to find that its possibilities for industrial expansion will be sharply curtailed." Undersecretary of Labor, 1955) (Both quoted by Dykeman and Stokely).

"The Negroes' increased importance to business is a checkrein on emotionalism over social change."

"Segregation is an expensive luxury for the nation's economy."

"A customer is a customer regardless of color."
(Business Week)

Meaning of Migration

5. "The movement of Negroes North--through changes from small farming to mechanized farming, and in the shifts from cotton-tobacco crops to industry--means there aren't enough jobs in the South to absorb the displaced Negro worker...so there are thousands moving to St. Louis and farther North... Unless these facts are realized soon, the South may lose one of its lures to industry: ample manpower." (Business Week).

"Negroes represent one fourth of the population of the South. It is indeed questionable whether the South will be able to keep pace with the rest of the country if it continues to lose its most competent and best-trained Negroes." (Ginsberg)

Memorandum 4

Appeals to White and Negro Southern Leadership To Discover and Conserve Human Resources

6. "In this realm (economic) as elsewhere, the South can choose to wear blinders, adopt a defensive attitude and ignore the waster inherent in segregation and intolerance; or it can adjust a twenty-twenty vision to an aggressive and constructive self criticism and become, through its own catharsis of self-knowledge, the nation's inspiration." (Dykeman and Stokely)

"A challenge to the system of segregation hangs on four prior conditions:

(1) development of Negro leaders;
(2) constructive leadership within the dominant group;
(3) conducive environment which will help cushion whatever changes are introduced; and
(4) time to learn about the new situation and adjust to it."

(Ginzberg)

"Equality can never be bestowed; it can only be earned."

(Ginzberg)

III.

ELEMENTS IN AN ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM ON HUMAN RESOURCES OR THE ROLE OF SOUTHERN MANPOWER IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

1. Information Bureau on Negro Potential

A fact gathering and research bureau which would make inventories of current research on Negro achievement and potential; to be administered by the Phelps-Stokes Fund as coordinator of contract research by social scientists in Negro and white colleges and universities in the South.

2. Methods of Disseminating Information

A. Communication with Civil Rights Commission
B. Arranging conferences in Southern institutions of higher education at which church, labor, business and industrial leaders would discuss human resources
C. Making Educational TV films for public viewing through regular channels, as well as using TV "kinescopes" to stimulate discussion of groups brought together by clergymen and other leaders.
D. Pamphlets and newsletters to editorial writers

Memorandum 5

3. Cooperating Institutions

A. Civil Rights Commission
B. Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation
C. Negro Colleges and Universities
D. "White" Universities
E. State Industrial Commissions
F. Chambers of Commerce
G. Conservation of Human Resources Project Columbia University
H. World Council of Churches (Department of Study of Rapid Social Change in the U.S.)
I. American Council on Education
J. Southern Regional Council
K. Southern Educational Council
L. International Cooperation Administration
M. Metropolitan Educational Television Association
N. National Sharecroppers Fund
O. American Management Association
P. Trade Union Education Directors

E.T. and anti-discrimination guy

March 13 1958

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Wilton:

Many thanks for keeping me so well informed.

Unfortunately, I was unable to find your friend among the thousands of orthopsychiatric folks who invaded the Commodore.

I thought the panel on desegregation went reasonably well.

I just learned that the Executive Committee of CCD is at last meeting on March 26, and I may reluctantly make the effort to get there. If so, I hope I will see you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Capahosic Jan. 1958

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March 28, 1958

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Box 652
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am writing to ask: (a) your advice about the invitation list for the Capahosic Conference June 20-22; and (b) whether you would be able to meet Violaine Junod upon her arrival at Raleigh Durham Airport, Piedmont Flight #22 from Charleston, West Virginia, at 3:24 P.M., Tuesday, April 22nd.

Dr. Patterson is giving the Tuskegee Founder's Day speech now, so I am writing you in his absence about Capahosic to solicit your help again as last year.

Do you think the "line-up" should be substantially the same as 1957, keeping the maximum number to 30, with 15 Negroes and 15 others?

Among the Negro group, Dr. Patterson thought that John Wheeler and Albert Turner of Durham might be invited in lieu of Weaver and Nixon of last year's list. What do you think? He also suggested that A. Maceo Walker, President, Union Life Insurance Company, Memphis, Tennessee, might be asked in place of L. D. Milton. (The attached sheet will show the whole list to be considered).

The Negro list contains the names of members of the UNCF executive committee members who will have been meeting at Holly Knoll earlier in the week of the conference.

Harold Fleming has been in New York this week, proposed both Ashmore and Popham, and hoped that you would be influential in persuading Ashmore to come, despite the pressure of the present demands on his time. He thought Popham would give a certain elan to the conference, and exchange much in the way of off-the-record information.

We will be able to talk over the matter more fully when you come here April 16th. However, I wanted to get these questions into your thinking now so that we might soon start alerting the possible participants. Beyond the invitations, I am also wondering what you think would be a desirable theme for the conference to give it focus while at the same time leaving it "open-ended."

Apropos the Junod visit, I am enclosing her new Southern itinerary, and hope that you will enjoy her visit as much as the Yankees apparently have been stimulated by her lectures and charm during the past few weeks. Again, I hesitate to ask you to be responsible for her arrangements in view of your own commitments. But I should very much appreciate your looking into the question of her lodging, if that is possible, at the Union building or elsewhere. (She is travelling on a limited budget). Also, apart from what speaking she might do at your seminar and others in the department, she would like to be put on the road in the right direction to Duke, and to Bennett College inasmuch as she plans to take her train from Greensboro to Atlanta on Friday morning, April 25th.

It may interest you that one of her best "performances" so far has been her appearance on a panel at the New School here speaking on "The Color Bar in South Africa as a World Problem." Whatever honoraria she has received so far goes to the Treason Defense Fund in the Union. (Mrs. Roosevelt was particularly interested in this activity when she invited Miss Junod for lunch in February, and I assume that is what she discussed, too, with Mr. Reuther in Detroit last week). On the more academic side, she is well prepared to discuss human aspects of urbanization and industrialization processes in the Union, and is eager for more information about how this process works in the American South.

At the University of Rochester recently, she has been speaking for Vera Micheles Dean's classes on "Non-Western Civilization."

The agenda for the April 16th board meeting, incidentally, is likely to include an item on the proposed revival of old plans to put out a new edition of the Negro Handbook, a prospect MacMillan has just declined to handle. Should we even think about the Chapel Hill press in this connection in the event we find the subsidy funds and Miss Florence Murray's time to bring the material up to date?

Please telephone collect if there are any questions or points you wish to discuss with me about any of the above.

My best wishes to you and Mrs. Johnson during the Easter season.

Cordially,

Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary

WSD:wrw
Encls.

Suggested List of Negro Persons to be invited to
Capahosic Conference, Capahosic, Virginia

June 20-22, 1958

Barnett, Claude A.
Dent, Albert W.
Foster, Luther H.
Hope, John, II
Kincheloe, Samuel C.
Lanier, R. O'Hara
Manley, Albert E.
Moron, Alonzo
Patterson, F. D.
Proctor, Samuel D.
Trent, William H., Jr.
Turner, Albert
Walker, A. Maceo
Wheeler, John
Young, P. B.

* * * *

Suggested List of White Persons to be invited to
Capahosic Conference, Capahosic, Virginia

June 20-22, 1958

Ashmore, Harry
Bledsoe, S. B.
Childers, James Saxon (?)
Clark, Joseph D.
Cohen, Sir Andrew (former Governor of Uganda, now United Kingdom representative, UN Trusteeship Council)
Dillon, Wilton S.
Dobbins, Charles
Fleming, Harold
Hahn, Maxwell
Hamner, Phil
Horton, Myles
Johnson, Guy B.
Killian, Lewis
Popham, John
Stokes, I. N. Phelps
Stevens, George

Cr. ref
to H
coop organizer

Write Dillon
re: check +
Interreligious conf

April 2, 1958

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Wilton:

Thanks for your letter alerting us to the foreign visitors and enclosing the background on the forthmoming Capahosic Conference. We will be as helpful as we can to Miss Junod and the Rev. and Mrs. Oosterhuizen, and I will pass on such ideas for Capahosic as occur to me.

You will remember that Will and I threatened to inundate you with letters from Southern churchmen supporting the idea of a Southern inter-religious conference. As you will see from the enclosures, I am making good on the threat. I realize that you have more program than budget. But I was serious when I said that this special opportunity might attract some financial support not available for other purposes. Any interest you can turn up will be of great help to the cause. Of course, the conference is still in the exploratory stage and a more formal presentation of the idea should be possible a little later on.

Tell Virginia to keep the corn meal; I'll be back.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 39 Thermofaxed copies of responding ltrs. from churchmen re inter-religious conf.

Rt. 1 hcf

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MRS. JOHN DAVIS HATCH, Jr., FRANK S. HORNE
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REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, President Emeritus

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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WILTON S. DILLON, Executive Secretary
COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN
Education: EMORY ROSS
Housing: MRS. DYSON DUNCAN

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

March 28, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Extending our Amsterdam curbside conversation about South African visitors to Atlanta, I am enclosing Miss Junod's Southern itinerary for April, as well as alerting you to the earlier visit of the Rev. and Mrs. Gerhardus Oosterhuizen, Monday, April 7th.

I hope that you will be able to see in both sets of visitors some angles for possible constructive newspaper interviews, even though Miss Junod occupies a different point on the political spectrum than the Oosterhuizens. That is, you have in Miss Junod an outspoken campaigner against apartheid, and for integration, and with Dr. Oosterhuizen, a "middle-of-the-road" seeker of rapprochement between the extremes. In fact, Oosterhuizen is trying to create a systematic political "theology" which can put the Dutch Reform clergy in a mediating role between extremists. He is a doctor of philosophy as well as theology, having written a thesis on British political philosophy. Mrs. Oosterhuizen is an M.D. (Her part-time job in New York is with the South African Government Information Office, though this does not imply "guilt by association.")

Miss Tilly's program* would make their "eyes bug out," as we say in the South.

With these visitors, we have harbingers of Frank Loescher's exchange program, and we might consider them as "trial runs." Your deft hand and words will be needed to take full advantage of any possible help they may give, wittingly or not, to S.R.C.'s efforts at saving the South through law and order, and public education about how the South's progress looks from South African points (plural) of view.

About Miss Junod, you will see by her itinerary that she will be in touch with Clement, Mozell Hill, and, with your help, John Griffin at Emory. Otherwise, we will have made no other contacts for her. In case you can find her a speaking engagement during that period, the possible subjects you will find in my letter (enclosed) to Guy Johnson, as well as in her resumé.

* See enclosed check

I shall no doubt be on the phone with you to follow up any other details.

Your visit with Will to our house was all too brief, and I insist that you come next time for some Virginia cooking in a Yankee setting. You have been too often now exposed to our neighborhood's Asian cusine.

Cordially,

Wilton

Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary

WSD:wrw
Encl.

VIA AIR MAIL

April 16, 1958

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Wilton:

Now that Mrs. Tilly has had a chance to write the primary letter of appreciation for receipt of the 1958 contribution from the Phelps-Stokes Fund, I want to add my own word of thanks. It means a great deal to us for the Fund to understand so well the importance of Mrs. Tilly's work for SRC and to assist it so faithfully.

I know I don't have to tell you that Mrs. Tilly produces daily miracles on a very modest budget, and therefore, the $2,000 contributed by the Phelps-Stokes Fund is of disproportionately great importance to us and to the South. Please convey the Council's warm thanks to Dr. Patterson and the Trustees.

If you will forgive me dealing with a second, unrelated matter, I want to bring you up to date on the proposed Southern inter-religious conference. The Southern steering committee met not long ago and decided that it would be just as well not to attempt to stage the conference during 1958. There may or may not be a national conference, depending on what the CCD subcommittee decides at its forthcoming meeting. But, however,

that turns out, it is still the firm intent of the Southern group to follow through on a regional conference to be held next year, possibly in the spring. Therefore, your soundings will still be most valuable; it is simply that the time factor is no longer as urgent as we thought it was.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. Mr. and Mrs. Oosterhuizen showed up, and we had a couple of very pleasant conversations. I was impressed with the guy's carnestness and obvious concern for morality. I suggested that he make a special effort to talk with Frank Loescher on his return to New York

H. C. F.

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PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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FREDERICK L. ROWE, *Executive Secretary*

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TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

April 22, 1958

Rcd 4/28/58

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore
Executive Editor
The Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Ashmore:

The Phelps-Stokes Fund cordially invites you to a consultation conference to be held on June 21 and 22 at Holly Knoll, the residence of the late Dr. Robert Moton, Capahosic, Virginia, 70 miles southeast of Richmond in Gloucester County.

In view of your distinguished services to public and international affairs, we would be greatly honored to have you accept the invitation and to meet with other responsible persons, white and Negro, who are concerned with peaceful social change in the South.

Dr. Guy Johnson, one of our trustees, and Mr. Harold Fleming share our enthusiasm over the idea that you be among the few participants in the conference, the third in a series sponsored by the Fund since 1956.

There will be no agenda. However, the Fund wishes to make up its own "Computations on a Balance Sheet," and to find guidance for the development of educational programs aimed at preventing waste of human resources in the economic development of the region. Specifically, we hope to discuss some of the ways that state industrial commissions, management associations, and universities might develop some programs in management education. You may agree that not all industrialists seem to realize that equal opportunity for Negroes - in education and voting - are important elements in: a) the region's future economy, and b) the United States' moral position in international affairs.

To look at the American scene in international perspective, we have invited Sir Andrew Cohen, former Governor of Uganda, and now the United Kingdom Permanent Representative on the Trusteeship Council,

to join our discussions. Among journalists invited are: Mr. John A. Popham of the New York Times; Mr. P. B. Young, Norfolk Journal and Guide; and Mr. Carl Murphy, Afro-American.

The consultation will be unhurried, informal, and completely off the record. The location on the York River is ideal for the kind of friendly, leisurely discussion which we believe will be most helpful.

The Phelps-Stokes Fund will bear the travel and entertainment expenses of the participants.

For your possible interest in some other aspects of the Fund's current program, I am enclosing a copy of the current Newsletter intended for our trustees.

I shall be happy to answer any further questions you may have about the conference. In the meantime, I await your reply. Your counsel is greatly desired.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson
President

HAMMER AND COMPANY ASSOCIATES
Economic and business research

70 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA. JACKSON 4-6441
300 McDOWELL BUILDING, LOUISVILLE 2, KENTUCKY. JUNIPER 3-0924

PHILIP HAMMER
PRESIDENT

Associates
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RAYMOND HERMAN
ROBERT GLADSTONE

May 12, 1958

Mr. Wilton S. Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Dillon:

Please forgive my delay in answering your letter of April 25th in which you invited me to participate in the conference at Holly Knoll on June 21-22. I greatly appreciate the invitation and I particularly enjoyed talking to you briefly about this conference on the telephone prior to the letter.

I will be very happy to be with you and others at the conference and look forward to the occasion. I am lacking in answers to the problems to be discussed, but I would consider it a privilege to share what judgments I have with others who are interested in the same subjects.

I presume that sometime between now and June 21st you will give us some more specific details about the conference proper and how we might arrange to get to Holly Knoll from Richmond.

Again, thanks for the invitation and kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

Philip Hammer

Philip Hammer,
President

PH/ew
cc: Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

May 21, 1958

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Wilton:

Thanks for the copy of your letter to Phil Hammer and your attached note. I am delighted that Phil has agreed to come to the conference and that your attendance apparently is shaping up well in every other respect. Have you heard anything yet from Ashmore or Popham?

Yes indeed, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund will be considering us at its Board meeting next week. Dave Freeman joined that staff after our negotiations were under way, but I am sure his influence is at work in our favor. Your own prayers are invited.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

May 14, 1958

Mr. Philip Hammer, President
Hammer and Company Associates
70 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Hammer:

We are delighted to know that you can be with us at Holly Knoll. Harold Fleming knows how to get there, and will be happy, I am sure, to serve as Boy Scout leader to take you through the country paths leading to the house. Actually, we are making arrangements now to have Hertz cars at the Richmond airport Friday afternoon and evening, June 20th, and will take you, Harold, Bob Anderson and L. D. Murphy of Atlanta to Holly Knoll at the same time, should you decide to come by the same flight. You shall hear more about this later from me.

Apropos a "conference paper," all I am hoping for is to have from you in advance some notes from your recent speeches on Southern industrial development, and the economy's relationship to Negro education and manpower supply. With these, we would prepare a background "kit" which could be mailed in advance to the other participants.

I repeat there is to be no formal agenda. The aim is to provide a chance for responsible people to talk about things they consider most pertinent in the South, and which we should be thinking about in studying and recommending educational policies and practices. Dr. Patterson's and my special interests in adult education programs which might tie civil rights and education to planning economic development provide the basis for asking you to give us some materials which we can share with the others to stimulate discussion along these lines. For example, excerpts from your C.C.D. workshop talk in Washington last October, or some of the facts you chose from among the "alligator eggs" (cf. Philip Coombs, Annals, March 1956) would be useful.

Paul Christopher declined the invitation to come, so we have asked Earl Pippin of the Alabama Labor Council to be one of the conferees. You will receive a complete list when it is available.

On Friday evening, we hope to show two films, the new one called "The Burden of Truth," and the S.R.C. classic, "The Face of the South." If you have seen these, you can go walking or fishing along the York River.

Cordially,

MLD.

ROUTING SLIP

Date: 13 May 1958

To: Harold

From: Wilton

( ) For Necessary Action

(x) For Your Information

( ) and file

( ) please return to me

( ) Please call me about this

( ) Please note and pass along to:

Remarks: I've also talked this week with Dave Freeman, who fondly recalled your recent visits; is heabout to give you some $$? Bob Anderson says he can't make the Capahosic meeting, but would like to send somebody from his staff. Charlie Dobbins called today from ~~D.C. to say that Segal will be happy~~ to approach Wofford. Letter to Wofford today and copy to Ben. Thanks.

VIA AIR MAIL

June 10, 1958

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Wilton:

I trust you have reason to feel good about the prospect for Capahosic. History seems to be repeating itself for I find that I will be going there from New York again this year. I have a couple of meetings there on Thursday and Friday of next week.

This means, of course, that I won't be travelling with Phil Hammer, but I gather that he and John Folger are trying to gell their plans. John Hope and I, though coming from different directions, hope to work out a schedule that will put us in Richmond at about the same time. If this works out, we should like to rent a car and drive down together. This has the advantage of removing us from your list of concerns, and the disadvantage of perhaps some added cost. If the latter is true, we will absorb anything that will throw your budget out of kilter. In any case, if you

are in New York on Thursday and Friday of next week, I will be calling you.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Capahosic

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

June 13, 1958

Dear Consultant:

On behalf of the trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, I take this opportunity to extend to you an advance welcome to the Fund's consultation conference, June 20-22nd, at Holly Knoll, Capahosic, Virginia.

It is of special significance to those of us interested in the problems of promoting American unity that we shall be meeting again at the residence of the late Dr. Robert Russa Moton. For those of you who have never visited Holly Knoll, you will discover momentos of earlier friendships Dr. Moton had with educators, business men, students, and travellers from all over the world. Your presence at Holly Knoll will become a part of that tradition and at the same time afford the opportunity to exchange ideas freely about the immediate and future direction of democracy in the United States.

The program enclosed provides some general themes, and particular topics about which the officers of the Phelps-Stokes Fund would like to hear your ideas and suggestions. These themes and topics would require much more than our week-end conversations to deal with properly. However, they represent problems that the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and other foundations, need to hear discussed by persons directly concerned. The conference we hope will start some communication to us which we hope will continue.

Please bring a swimming suit if you wish to continue your conversations in the York river. The weekend, I repeat, will be informal and unhurried.

Our telephone number in Virginia is Gloucester 3-1233 in case you have any trouble reaching Holly Knoll.

We are delighted you plan to be with us.

Very sincerely,

F D Patterson

Frederick D. Patterson
President

Encls.

PHELPS-STOKES FUND CONSULTATION CONFERENCE

HOLLY KNOLL, CAPAHOSIC, VIRGINIA

JUNE 20-22, 1958

PROGRAM FOR PHELPS-STOKES FUND CONSULTATION CONFERENCE
HOLLY KNOLL, CAPAHOSIC, VIRGINIA
JUNE 20-22, 1958

GENERAL THEME: HOW CAN FOUNDATIONS HELP ENCOURAGE AMERICAN UNITY?

FRIDAY, JUNE 20th

Participants arrive at Holly Knoll in late afternoon

6:00 P.M. to 11:00 P.M. Buffet
8:30 P.M. Films:
"The Burden of Truth" (produced by United Steelworkers of America Committee on Civil Rights)
"The Face of the South" (produced by the Southern Regional Council)

SATURDAY, JUNE 21st

8:30 A.M. Breakfast
10:00 A.M. Discussions

Theme: SHORT-TERM VIEW OF SOCIAL TENSIONS IN THE SOUTH

What are the current contributions of religion, labor, the mass media, industry and business, law and government, and citizens' groups in promoting peaceful social change?

12:30 P.M. Lunch

2:00 P.M. Discussions

Theme: LONG-TERM PERSPECTIVES

Migration and Human Resources

What is the meaning of migration for the industrial and educational future of the South? How does the exodus of Southerners relate to civil rights?

What are the long-term national rewards for meeting the immediate problems of housing, schools and jobs for migrating Southerners?

Leadership

What are predictions about sources of national and local leadership to encourage law and order and integration?

American Racialism and International Affairs

What are the implications of present white supremacy practices on United States relations with Europe, Latin America, and the Afro-Asian nations?

Southern Economic Development

What are the long-term effects of racial segregation on Southern economic development?

Program for Phelps-Stokes Fund Consultation Conference, June 20-22, 1958 (Continued)

5:00 P.M. Leisure (Swimming in York River, tide permitting, refreshments)
6:30 P.M. Dinner
8:00 P.M. Films and conversation:
"Levittown"
"All the Way Home"
(Films produced by Dynamic Films, Inc., New York, for stimulating discussion of discrimination against Negroes in private housing).

(Films will be shown to those who wish to see them. Film producers wish to have consultants' views on whether these films would be useful in adult education programs in the South).

SUNDAY MORNING, JUNE 22nd

Breakfast

9:00 A.M. Discussions

Theme: SUMMARY

1. What can foundations do to help encourage American unity?

2. What is the relationship between economics and foundation policies affecting their support of education about integration and civil rights?

3. What can foundations do without jeopardizing tax-exempt status, or getting involved in political activity?

4. How can foundations stimulate training for leadership among churchmen, industrialists, labor leaders and educators?

12:00 Lunch and adjournment.

Participants in
Phelps-Stokes Fund Consultation Conference
Holly Knoll, Capahosic, Virginia
June 20-22, 1958

Mr. S. B. Bledsoe
Selvage & Lee, Inc.
(Public Relations)
1625 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Sir Andrew Cohen
Permanent United Kingdom
Representative to Trusteeship Council
United Kingdom Mission to the U.N.
99 Park Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Dr. A. W. Dent, President
Dillard University
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

Mr. Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary and
Director of Research
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Mr. Charles G. Dobbins
Staff Associate
American Council on Education
1785 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington 6, D. C.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dr. John Folger
Director of Research
Southern Regional Education Board
881 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Mr. Philip Hammer, President
Hammer & Company Associates
Economic and Business Research
70 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dr. Asael T. Hansen
Department of Sociology & Anthropology
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dr. John Hope, II
Director of Industrial Relations
American Missionary Association Division
Board of Home Missions,
Congregational Churches
Fisk University Office
Nashville 8, Tenn.

Mr. Myles Horton, Director
Highlander Folk School
Monteagle, Tenn.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Department of Sociology & Anthropology
University of North Carolina
Box 652
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dr. Lewis W. Jones, Director
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dr. Samuel C. Kincheloe, President
Tougaloo Southern Christian College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier, Director
Project for Identification & Placement
of Negro Talent
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Mr. L. D. Milton, President
The Citizens Trust Company
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Alonzo G. Moron
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Mr. Carl Murphy, President
Afro-American Newspapers
628 N. Eutaw Street
Baltimore 1, Maryland

Mr. J. A. Nelson, Manager
Industrial Relations
Douglas Aircraft Company, Inc.
Charlotte, N. C.

Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, President
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Mr. Earl Pippin
First Vice-President
Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO
Leu Building
Montgomery, Alabama

Mr. I. N. Phelps Stokes, Lawyer
Fleischmann, Jaeckle, Stokes & Hitchcock
60 Broadway
New York 4, N. Y.

The Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee
1641 Link Road
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

Mr. William J. Trent, Jr.
Executive Director
United Negro College Fund
22 East 54th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dr. Albert L. Turner
Dean of the Law School
North Carolina College at Durham
Durham, North Carolina

Mr. A. Maceo Walker, President
Universal Life Insurance Company
400 Linden & Wellington
Memphis 1, Tenn.

Mr. John H. Wheeler, President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, N. C.

Mr. Harris L. Wofford, Jr., Lawyer
1226 Rebecca Drive
Alexandria, Virginia

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr., Publisher
Journal and Guide
719 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

SUGGESTED ROUTES TO HOLLY KNOLL (MOTON RESIDENCE), CAPAHOSIC, VA.

TELEPHONE AT HOLLY KNOLL: Gloucester 3-1233

BY AUTOMOBILE FROM WASHINGTON: (Approximately 150 miles)

1. Take U.S. Highway 301 to U. S. Highway 17.

2. Take U.S. Highway 17 to Ark, Va.

3. At Ark, make right turn on Route 606 pass general store and forestry tower) and proceed to Capahosic. Watch for sign for Holly Knoll and sign to nearby Allmonds Wharf. House faces York River.

BY AUTOMOBILE FROM RICHMOND AIRPORT (Approximately 70 miles)

1. Turn right on U. S. Highway 60 upon leaving airport. Follow along Route 33 through West Point into Glenns.

2. Turn right into U. S. Highway 17 at Glenns proceeding to Ark.

3. Turn right on Route 606 at Ark and proceed to Capahosic. (located near Allmonds Wharf) Holly Knoll is marked by sign.

(Alternate Route from West Point: Take Route 14 to Adner, turn right into U. S. 17 and proceed to Ark).

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PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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Housing: MRS. DYSON DUNCAN

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

Background Material for Phelps-Stokes Consultation Conference
Capahosic, Virginia, June 20-22, 1958

MIGRATION, HUMAN RESOURCES, AND SOUTHERN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

What is the meaning of internal migration for the industrial and educational future of the South? How does the exodus of Southerners - their decisions to remain in the South or go elsewhere - relate to civil rights?

What are the long-term national rewards for meeting the immediate problems of housing, schools and jobs for migrating Southerners?

What are effective inducements for non-Southerners to move into the South? Do business managers, in selecting sites for new plans, consider education and civil rights in their calculations? In planning to establish plants in the South, what attention is given to human resources or manpower in the region, and particularly the development of Negro potential?

The following are excerpts from recent writings about the South and its relationship to the nation. They may have some bearing on the above questions.

Is the South Being Depopulated?

A major element in recent migrations has been that of Negroes from the South to the other parts of the country. Negroes were initially brought to the southern States and had remained there. After the importation of slaves had ceased, the immigration of Negroes was almost negligible. Changes in distribution were primarily consequences of internal movements. In 1900, 90 percent of the Negroes in the United States lived in the South. As Negroes moved to other regions, the percentage in the South declined to 85 in 1920 and 68 in 1950.

By 1950 about one fifth of all Negroes who had been born in the South were living in other parts of the country. Beginning in 1920, every census reported that more than half of the nonwhites living in the Northeast and North Central Regions had been born in other regions, and in 1950 this was true also of the native nonwhites in the West. This was largely a one-way migration. In 1950 the number of Negroes born in the South and living elsewhere was approximately 2.6 million but the number who were living in the South, and had been born outside that region, was only about 100,000.

The movement of Negroes from the Southern States increased during the first three decades of the present century, then slowed down during the 1930's, and increased again to reach the highest recorded level during the 1940's. As the number of Negro migrants grew, they spread out over a wider area.

The migration of Negroes has been very largely to urban areas. In 1950 the New York-Northeastern New Jersey Standard Metropolitan Area had a larger Negro population than any State except North Carolina and Georgia.

The movement of Negroes out of the southern States increased with dramatic speed. In Georgia, for example, the net out-migration of Negroes between 1920 and 1930 amounted to more than a quarter of a million; but in the preceding decades it had been 75,000 and 16,000, respectively. The migration during the 1920's was equal in numbers to approximately one fifth of the Negro population in 1920. There was a sharp reduction during the 1930's with the net migration falling below 100,000. But between 1940 and 1950 it increased again, to reach nearly 200,000 for the ten years. The largest migration from any State during the 1940's was that from Mississippi - 260,000. This was equal to nearly one fourth of the total Negro population of the State in 1940. Since it is primarily young adults who move, the influence of migration on the labor supplies is understated by such figures. In the case of Mississippi, the migration removed from the State nearly half the Negro men and women living there in 1940 who reached their 30th birthday at some time during the decade.

--quoted from Conrad Taeuber and Irene B. Taeuber, The Changing Population of the United States, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1958

Ashmore: People Going Out and Coming In

The Southern people, who had been rooted to the land, became mobile. Two wars sent the young men of the region to far places, and created a vast industrial boom which attracted tides of out-migration toward the centers of economic opportunity. There was a significant in-migration, to, as industry began a countermove to the South to exploit the region's benign climate, untapped natural resources, and vast labor pool.

The peculiar institutions could not escape the profound impact of these physical changes. The gasoline engine which powered the automobile also made possible the new tools of mechanized agriculture, reducing the demand for hand labor which was the basis of the sharecropping system. The steady increase of industrial job opportunities began to lessen the bitter economic competition between Negroes and whites. The fabulous growth of the cities and the corresponding decline of the rural South brought a great expansion of the white-collor middle-class, deeply wounded in the pocketbook by taxes and ready to provide the Republicans a respectable base upon which to erect a second party. The unions followed the factories south,

giving indigenous strength to the political Left, which opposes a segregation as an article of faith. And the great redistribution of population pulled down the proportion of Negroes to whites to such a degree that the maintenance of legal segregation began to lose its practical urgency over much of the region.

These changes have been accompanied by a marked rise in the status of the Southern Negro. He still remains at the bottom of the social and economic scale, making up a large part of the region's rural and urban slum population, not yet free of the traditional role of drawer of water and hewer of wood. But his physical condition has improved markedly, and his opportunities are slowly but surely broadening. In the cities there is now emerging a Negro middle class - solid, respectable, and conservative - in the void that previously existed between the upper strata of professional workers and the mass of common laborers. If the Negro's usual job is still menial, his pay has risen in geometric progression, and his increased purchasing power has made him a positive factor in the Southern economy.

--quoted from Harry S. Ashmore, An Epitaph for Dixie, Norton, New York, 1958.

Population and Migration Estimates, 1956

In March, 1956, as in other recent years, non-whites were more mobile than whites, but whites tended to travel greater distances. One out of every four nonwhites was a mover in Mary 1956 in contrast to one out of every five whites. But 7.0 percent of the whites and 4.9 percent of the nonwhites were migrants.

As in previous years, persons in the labor force tended to be more mobile than those not in the labor force and the umemployed were more mobile than the employed.

Over the period April 1953 to March 1956, the South lost about 280,000 persons a year through net migration, whereas the West gained about 170,000. In the year ending in April, 1950, both the South and the West had had net gains through migration. In the recent period, about 500,000 persons a year, or a total of 1,500,000, have moved from the South to the North Central States.

[See page 4, Table I: In-Migrants and Out-Migrants...]

Table I: In-migrants and Out-migrants, by Region: Annual Averages, April 1953 to March 1956 and April 1949 to April 1950 (1949-1950 Data from 1950 Census; Others from Current Population Survey)

	In-migrants		Out-migrants	
	Average, 1953-1956	April 1949-1950	Average, 1953-1956	April 1949-1950
Northeast	398,000	255,860	418,000	391,155
North Central	777,000	515,245	651,000	569,165
South	812,000	688,380	1,091,000	574,110
West	687,000	470,095	514,000	395,150

--Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 73, March 12, 1957, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.

Table II: Estimates of the Total Population of States - July 1, 1950 to 1956. (Figures include persons in the Armed Forces stationed in each area)

Region	1956	1955	1954	1953	1952	1951	1950
United States	167,259,000	164,303,000	161,191,000	158,313,000	155,761,000	153,385,000	151,234,000
REGIONS:							
Northeast	42,024,000	41,774,000	41,517,000	40,815,000	40,197,000	39,764,000	39,687,000
North Central	49,433,000	48,563,000	47,666,000	46,475,000	45,528,000	44,968,000	44,642,000
South	51,724,000	50,711,000	49,568,000	49,216,000	48,951,000	48,421,000	47,244,000
West	24,078,000	23,256,000	22,440,000	21,807,000	21,085,000	20,230,000	19,661,000

--Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 165, U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., November 4, 1957

Southern Industrialization

States' rights may be the call to colors on the front pages, but it's the state's fight for industry which is the rallying cry on the inner pages.

--Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely, Neither Black Nor White, Rinehart, New York, 1957

Negro Manpower, Purchasing Power, and Migration

We're discovering...that if the South is to prosper industrially it needs good workers and some of those workers will have to be Negroes. We also need that purchasing power. Keeping the Negro poor, the South has stayed poor. [--Southern Professor of Business] The South will soon have to realize that its remarkable industrial growth is being threatened by loss of many of its best-educated and best-trained Negroes, who represent one quarter of the Southern labor force. Unless this area starts now to train its Negro workers, it is going to find that its possibilities for industrial expansion will be sharply curtailed. [--Undersecretary of Labor, 1955]

--quoted by Dykeman and Stokely

The Negroes' increased importance to business is a checkrein on emotionalism over social change.

Segregation is an expensive luxury for the nation's economy.

A customer is a customer regardless of color.

--Business Week, October 26, 1957

The movement of Negroes North - through changes from small farming to mechanized farming, and in the shifts from cotton-tobacco crops to industry - means there aren't enough jobs in the South to absorb the displaced Negro worker...so there are thousands moving to St. Louis and further North... Unless these facts are realized soon, the South may lose one of its lures to industry; ample manpower.

--Business Week, October 26, 1957

Negroes represent one fourth of the population of the South. It is indeed questionable whether the South will be able to keep pace with the rest of the country if it continues to lose its most competent and best-trained Negroes.

--Eli Ginzberg, The Negro Potential, Columbia, New York, 1956

Lessons for Manpower Policy

What lessons for manpower policy can be extracted from this review of the major factors that will determine how fully and how fast the Negro population will be able to develop its potential? The first lesson is a negative one. Until society places a higher value on the individual than it has done in the past, it will fail to take the constructive actions required to emancipate disadvantaged groups. Until a society recognizes the value of human potential, it will do little to develop it.

For several thousand years the religious tradition of the West has stressed the importance of the individual, but religion alone has often been unable to improve the social and economic status of individuals. Judaism and Christianity have helped in raising the level of social conscience, but religious conviction alone has seldom led men to relinquish special privilege voluntarily. Major gains have come when societies have recognized that the brawn and brains of all their citizens are required for the accomplishment of important goals. Dominant groups have been willing to give up their special privileges when they have seen the value of men as an economic or military resource.

--Eli Ginzberg, The Negro Potential, Columbia, New York, 1956

Outlook for Employment and Job Opportunities for Negroes

The National Planning Association's Committee of the South concluded its study of Negro employment in the South with the following statement:

On the whole, no change in policy with respect to the employment of Negroes is contemplated by the firms surveyed. The majority of management officials feels that increased employment and job opportunities for the Negro depend upon forces over which they have no control - changes in the broad social, economic, and legal framework.

In a general way, then, most employers feel that there is nothing much that they as individuals can do about enlarging the Negro's opportunities. However, what is probably more to the point, there appears to be little incentive for the individual firm to change its present policies and practices. The overriding fact is that the present policy works, and any change of an experimental nature may bring with it frictions and maladjustments which could easily result in higher costs. Finally, from the standpoint of most firms, there appears to be no incentive to change in terms of either wage advantage or productivity advantage.

--Selected Studies of Negro Employment in the South, Report No. 6, National Planning Association, Washington, D.C., February, 1955

Manpower in the Space Age

...Most talk about strategic areas, industrial potentials, and manpower has little meaning. Any few acres with a launching pad are as 'strategic' as an area can be; 'industrial potentials' don't count until the second or third day of a war, by which time all industry could be vaporized; properly outfitted, the 'manpower' of San Marino could menace all civilization.

--Richard H. Rovere in "Letter from Washington," New Yorker, June 14, 1958

New opn starts
non-decision w/o
question.

G

PROGRAM FOR PHELPS-STOKES FUND CONSULTATION CONFERENCE
HOLLY KNOLL, CAPAHOSIC, VIRGINIA
JUNE 20-22, 1958

GENERAL THEME: HOW CAN FOUNDATIONS HELP ENCOURAGE AMERICAN UNITY?

FRIDAY, JUNE 20th

Participants arrive at Holly Knoll in late afternoon

6:00 P.M. to 11:00 P.M. Buffet
8:30 P.M. Films:
"The Burden of Truth" (produced by United Steelworkers of America Committee on Civil Rights)
"The Face of the South" (produced by the Southern Regional Council)

SATURDAY, JUNE 21st

8:30 A.M. Breakfast
10:00 A.M. Discussions

Theme: SHORT-TERM VIEW OF SOCIAL TENSIONS IN THE SOUTH

What are the current contributions of religion, labor, the mass media, industry and business, law and government, and citizens' groups in promoting peaceful social change?

12:30 P.M. Lunch

2:00 P.M. Discussions

Theme: LONG-TERM PERSPECTIVES

Migration and Human Resources

What is the meaning of migration for the industrial and educational future of the South? How does the exodus of Southerners relate to civil rights?

What are the long-term national rewards for meeting the immediate problems of housing, schools and jobs for migrating Southerners?

Leadership

What are predictions about sources of national and local leadership to encourage law and order and integration?

American Racialism and International Affairs

What are the implications of present white supremacy practices on United States relations with Europe, Latin America, and the Afro-Asian nations?

Southern Economic Development

What are the long-term effects of racial segregation on Southern economic development?

Program for Phelps-Stokes Fund Consultation Conference, June 20-22, 1958 (Continued)

5:00 P.M. Leisure (Swimming in York River, tide permitting, refreshments)

6:30 P.M. Dinner

8:00 P.M. Films and conversation:

"Levittown"

"All the Way Home"

(Films produced by Dynamic Films, Inc., New York, for stimulating discussion of discrimination against Negroes in private housing).

(Films will be shown to those who wish to see them. Film producers wish to have consultants' views on whether these films would be useful in adult education programs in the South).

SUNDAY MORNING, JUNE 22nd

Breakfast

9:00 A.M. Discussions

Theme: SUMMARY

1. What can foundations do to help encourage American unity?

2. What is the relationship between economics and foundation policies affecting their support of education about integration and civil rights?

3. What can foundations do without jeopardizing tax-exempt status, or getting involved in political activity?

4. How can foundations stimulate training for leadership among churchmen, industrialists, labor leaders and educators?

12:00 Lunch and adjournment.

Participants in
Phelps-Stokes Fund Consultation Conference
Holly Knoll, Capahosic, Virginia
June 20-22, 1958

Mr. S. B. Bledsoe
Selvage & Lee, Inc.
(Public Relations)
1625 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Sir Andrew Cohen
Permanent United Kingdom
Representative to Trusteeship Council
United Kingdom Mission to the U.N.
99 Park Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Dr. A. W. Dent, President
Dillard University
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

Mr. Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary and
Director of Research
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Mr. Charles G. Dobbins
Staff Associate
American Council on Education
1785 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington 6, D. C.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dr. John Folger
Director of Research
Southern Regional Education Board
881 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Mr. Philip Hammer, President
Hammer & Company Associates
Economic and Business Research
70 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dr. Asael T. Hansen
Department of Sociology & Anthropology
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dr. John Hope, II
Director of Industrial Relations
American Missionary Association Division
Board of Home Missions,
Congregational Churches
Fisk University Office
Nashville 8, Tenn.

Mr. Myles Horton, Director
Highlander Folk School
Monteagle, Tenn.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Department of Sociology & Anthropology
University of North Carolina
Box 652
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dr. Lewis W. Jones, Director
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dr. Samuel C. Kincheloe, President
Tougaloo Southern Christian College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier, Director
Project for Identification & Placement
of Negro Talent
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Mr. L. D. Milton, President
The Citizens Trust Company
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Alonzo G. Moron
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Mr. Carl Murphy, President
Afro-American Newspapers
628 N. Eutaw Street
Baltimore 1, Maryland

Mr. J. A. Nelson, Manager
Industrial Relations
Douglas Aircraft Company, Inc.
Charlotte, N. C.

Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, President
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Mr. Earl Pippin
First Vice-President
Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO
Leu Building
Montgomery, Alabama

Mr. I. N. Phelps Stokes, Lawyer
Fleischmann, Jaeckle, Stokes & Hitchcock
60 Broadway
New York 4, N. Y.

The Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee
1641 Link Road
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

Mr. William J. Trent, Jr.
Executive Director
United Negro College Fund
22 East 54th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dr. Albert L. Turner
Dean of the Law School
North Carolina College at Durham
Durham, North Carolina

Mr. A. Maceo Walker, President
Universal Life Insurance Company
400 Linden & Wellington
Memphis 1, Tenn.

Mr. John H. Wheeler, President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, N. C.

Mr. Harris L. Wofford, Jr., Lawyer
1226 Rebecca Drive
Alexandria, Virginia

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr., Publisher
Journal and Guide
719 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

SUGGESTED ROUTES TO HOLLY KNOLL (MOTON RESIDENCE), CAPAHOSIC, VA.

TELEPHONE AT HOLLY KNOLL: Gloucester 3-1233

BY AUTOMOBILE FROM WASHINGTON: (Approximately 150 miles)

1. Take U.S. Highway 301 to U. S. Highway 17.

2. Take U.S. Highway 17 to Ark, Va.

3. At Ark, make right turn on Route 606 pass general store and forestry tower) and proceed to Capahosic. Watch for sign for Holly Knoll and sign to nearby Allmonds Wharf. House faces York River.

BY AUTOMOBILE FROM RICHMOND AIRPORT (Approximately 70 miles)

1. Turn right on U. S. Highway 60 upon leaving airport. Follow along Route 33 through West Point into Glenns.

2. Turn right into U. S. Highway 17 at Glenns proceeding to Ark.

3. Turn right on Route 606 at Ark and proceed to Capahosic. (located near Allmonds Wharf) Holly Knoll is marked by sign.

(Alternate Route from West Point: Take Route 14 to Adner, turn right into U. S. 17 and proceed to Ark).

July 1, 1958

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Wilton:

Although this letter has the undeniably mercenary purpose of forwarding my expense statement, it does formally express congratulations and thanks for a very pleasant and valuable weekend at Capahosic. That was a first-rate collection of people, and the whole discussion was very much on the main track. I learned a great deal, as I am sure everybody else did. While we didn't squeeze out many specific program suggestions, maybe that is not as important for a conference of this kind as I originally thought. There is some evidence that at least some of the people there were inspired to work up concrete proposals for foundation aid; if so, that is probably a more efficient way of generating worthy efforts.

I am sorry that my disorderly comings and goings must have seemed irresponsible. One of the handicaps of coming with a foundation executive was my complete inability to impose any discipline on him. This fact, added to my own youthful high spirits, made my delinquency inevitable.

I am writing Dr. Patterson a separate note which he can add to any stack of commendations that he may wish to exhibit to your board.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Expense account sheet)

EXPENSE ACCOUNT

for

Harold C. Fleming

(Capahosic Conference - Virginia)
June 21-22, 1958

Hotel (2 nights)	$ 11.00
Meals	5.00
Tips	.50
Hertz You-Drive-It ..... (Fleming, Eagle, Hammer, and Hope)	37.84
Air travel ..... (New York to Richmond to Atlanta)	75.35
Total:	$ 129.69

Signed: _____
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

July 1, 1958

Dr. F. D. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Patterson:

This is to express my appreciation for the opportunity to take part in the conference at Holly Knoll sponsored by the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

I was most impressed, as I am sure all of the participants were, by the quality of the group you assembled and the value of the discussions. Perhaps equally as important was the opportunity for fellowship and informal discussion of common interests.

No other agency that I know of has the available staff, resources, or facilities to make this fruitful meeting of minds possible. The Phelps-Stokes Fund, by performing this function so ably, is rendering a real service to all of the organizations which share a concern for broader democracy in the nation and in the South.

Please convey my thanks and good wishes to your staff associates and to the other Trusees of the Fund.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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EMORY ROSS, *President*
I. N. PHELPS STOKES, *Vice-President*
JOHN H. REISNER, *Secretary*
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LISTON POPE, RT. REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, Jr.
JUAN T. TRIPPE, CHAUNCEY L. WADDELL
REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, *President Emeritus*

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS
FREDERICK D. PATTERSON, *Director*
WILTON S. DILLON, *Executive Secretary*

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN
Education: EMORY ROSS
Housing: MRS. DYSON DUNCAN

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

July 14, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Your exhuberance was just what we all needed at Capahosic. Such a sure sign of vitality in the old Southern Regional Council cannot but help to multiply your fishes and bread.

Vernon Eagle no doubt has had a multiplication of another sort. His Chicago address is the single most sought after item the Phelps-Stokes Fund has had to offer since June 22nd. (I am wondering if he has fallen yet to Mrs. Claude Barnett's intervention on behalf of Violaine Junod's need for Southern research funds).

Best wishes.

Cordially,

Wilton

Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary

WSD:wrw
Encl.

File

From:
Dr. Aaron Brown, Project Director
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

For Release:
Wednesday, July 30, 1958
or Thereafter

First Progress Report

Now entering its final year, the Phelps-Stokes Project for the Improvement of Instruction in Secondary Schools has made a substantial contribution to Negro high schools in the South. The project began as a three-year experimental study. Its purpose: to see if the schooling of secondary school students could be improved through proper guidance and supervision. Its life was extended for two years through a grant by the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation. When the project ends in the summer of 1959, it will have cost a total of $450,000.

The money, based on conclusions reached thus far, has been well spent. The original objective--to improve the level of instruction in the Negro high schools--appears to have been reached. Much more remains to be done before the final stamp of success can be placed on the program. But enough evidence has accumulated to warrant optimism as to achieving its ultimate goals.

The program began in 1954 when Dr. F. D. Patterson, president

-MORE-

of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, called a conference in New York City of state education officials, school principals, college teachers and representatives of educational and professional groups. Most of them were from the South. The goal, all agreed, was to improve the quality of secondary instruction in the Negro schools. It was found that the grade level of achievement among Negro students was from one to three years below that of white students.

At a Tuskegee Institute conference in January, 1955, the major objectives of the project were specifically determined. These were:

1. To raise the level of academic achievement of students in participating secondary schools to a point more in line with national norms.

2. To encourage better selection and more effective use of instructional materials.

3. To stimulate professional growth of teachers.

4. To establish effective college high school relationships.

5. To improve teacher education, both pre-service and in-service.

6. To develop an attitude on the part of college and secondary schools to continue the program after the Phelps-Stokes Project is completed.

The schools and colleges that agreed to participate in the program are:

<u>Alabama</u>

Alabama A. and M. College

Alabama State College

Talladega College

Tuskegee Institute

Sterling High School, Sheffield

George Washington Carver High School, Montgomery

East Highland High School, Sylacauga

Macon County Training School, Roba

Georgia

Albany State College

Fort Valley State College

Morris Brown College

Savannah State College

Camilla Consolidated School, Camilla

Henry A. Hunt High School, Fort Valley

Henry County Training School, McDonough

Central High School, Sylvania

Mississippi

Alcorn A. and M. College

Jackson State College

Rust College

Tougaloo Southern Christian College

Sadie V. Thompson High School, Natchez

Sumner Hill High School, Clinton

Oxford High School, Oxford

Cameron Street High School, Canton

North Carolina

A. and T. College

Johnson C. Smith University

-MORE-

North Carolina College

Shaw University

Washington High School, Reidsville

Lincoln High School, Bessemer City

Hawley High School, Creedmoor

Shepard High School, Zebulon

Each of the high schools received the support of a college. The college takes the school under its wing. In various ways, it tries to improve the level of instruction and the curriculum offerings.

A board of consultants consisting of seventeen educators has been set up to supervise and advise the colleges and high schools. These nationally known consultants, both white and Negro, have been of tremendous help in building morale and in helping to shape the policies of the school programs. The schools report that they have received considerable help from the consultants. New ideas and techniques have been introduced into the classrooms.

It is hoped that when the project ends in 1959, a permanent board of national consultants can be established to supervise the future work of the program. This board is now in process of formation. It will serve to focus attention on the valuable results of the project during the years of its existence.

From the beginning, a major objective of the project was to improve education in the underprivileged areas of the South. This has been described as "operation educational bootstrap." The project takes advantage of resources that already exist in the community. The resources of schools and colleges are brought together.

-MORE-

It would be relatively easy to raise the educational level of the inferior Negro schools of the South if enough money were available for better teachers, more equipment, school buildings, supervision, and other essential needs. But this money is not available. Accordingly, the project attempts to develop a working program that can be utilized without excessive additional funds. The high schools and colleges, therefore, might be said to employ techniques of self-help, utilizing the resources available to them.

How is this done? First, through the consultants who come to the high schools. They meet with the superintendents, principals and teachers. These consultants frequently spend several days in the classroom, helping the teachers develop better techniques.

Second, the colleges themselves help the high schools. They send experts to the high schools to help them improve their educational level of instruction. For example, in the teaching of mathematics and science, the college professors seek to acquaint teachers with the latest developments in these important areas. New and modern textbooks have been introduced in some of the high schools. Special material has been prepared.

In every case, the sixteen colleges seek to cooperate rather than superimpose their ideas upon the high schools. A good rapport has been established between the two groups.

Third, the project uses summer workshops to help the teachers. This summer four workshops are being held--one each in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and North Carolina. The workshops are designed specifically

to help improve the teachers' practices and techniques. An eight-week workshop is being held at Atlanta University in language arts. Another eight-week social studies workshop is scheduled for Fisk University.

In the past three summers, workshops have been held in mathematics and science. These workshops bring together the high school teachers as well as the professors from the participating colleges. They consider the modern methods of teaching. They consider ways to improve the educational programs within the school, and attempt to raise the sights of the teachers and professors so they can better understand the work they are doing.

What are the results? Although the project has a year to go there are indications that the standards have been raised in many of the participating schools. In some cases the improvement has been slight, in others more substantial. But a substantial beginning has been made. And that is important.

These are some of the significant conclusions to date:

1. Improvement in reading. Many of the schools report a definite upward swing in the reading ability of the students.

2. Better use of library facilities. Many of the participating schools report that more of their students use libraries. One school notes a 300 per cent increase in the use of the library over a three year period.

3. Improved school attendance. Unfortunately for the Negro children in the South, little serious attention is paid to school attendance. All too often attendance officers wink at the truancy of Negro children. These youngsters go into the cotton fields or work at

home. Or they are not sufficiently motivated to want to go to school. Attendance is optional as far as the law is concerned, when it comes to Negro children.

The project has given pupils better motivation. The teachers know how to stimulate and interest pupils. Student attendance, as a direct result, has improved.

4. Improved student participation in the classroom and in extra curricular activities. Instead of rushing out of the classroom at the stroke of the bell, and rather than being bored in school, the students remain after school to participate in various activities. More extra curricular programs have been introduced to stimulate their interest. Students join various clubs or participate in the type of activities that help to make the schools more vital and important.

5. A greater use of audio visual materials. Films are being selected and used for instruction. In some schools the radio has been introduced as a classroom aid. Other visual aids have been introduced. Better maps are on the classroom walls.

These are probably the five most important areas of improvement, though others of equal significance, from the long range prospect of improving instruction, are also evident. A desirable college-high school relationship is being established. The schools recognize the fact that they can get help from the colleges. A "chip on the shoulder" attitude, found early in the operation of the project, has disappeared. In its place has come a wholesome spirit of cooperation. The high schools now recognize that they can work with the colleges. They do not feel that the colleges operate in an altogether different sphere.

-MORE-

Better use is being made of evaluation techniques. The use of report cards, testing programs and standardized tests has improved. As a result, greater opportunity exists for some of the unaccredited schools to get regional accreditation. At present, a too large proportion of the Negro high schools in the South are not accredited. Through the use of better testing methods, the school program can be improved.

A wider use by teachers is made of professional materials. Books, national publications, journals of opinion and a variety of professional materials are evident in the sixteen participating schools. Teachers keep abreast with the changing developments of the day.

More overall planning for instruction on the part of students and teachers is apparent. Supervision has improved. Students and teachers plan their work together. And instruction has improved as a result.

Finally, a better use is made of community resources including social agencies and libraries. This has helped raise instructional standards in many schools. Schools report that they now take their pupils on far more field trips than in the past.

One of the most important developments during the past year has been the evaluation study made by Dr. Frank A. DeCosta of Morgan State College. Dr. DeCosta tested some 2,500 high school students in four major areas--language arts, mathematics, social studies and sciences. He tested the level of achievement of children from the ninth and twelfth grades. Three years ago similar tests were given in these grades. Then the pupils were substantially below thae grade norms set for pupils throught the nation. Present data suggest that the enriched and modernized program

that the children get in the sixteen schools has helped raised their level of achievement. Spectacular results cannot be expected at this stage of the testing program. However, the results indicate an upward curve in the achievement level of the pupils. They are performing better than children who did not participate in the project.

If this trend continues it may be possible to get scientific evidence concerning the mental abilities of the white and Negro children of the South. There is no racial differential in intelligence quotients. There is no racial differential in learning potentials. But there is a difference in the kind and amount of instruction that the Negro children get in the South as compared to white children.

Too often the Negro children have unsatisfactory textbooks. Editions are older, copies are poorer. Frequently there are not enough textbooks to go around. In some classes visited by consultants, half a dozen textbooks had to do for thirty or forty children. They had to copy their homework from the blackboard. They could not take textbooks home with them.

Some schools are using outdated texts. The principals say they know there are more recent editions, but they do not have the money to purchase them. This is significant.

One school is using a general science textbook copyrighted in 1946, while in New York City the Elizabeth Irwin High School is using the 1957 edition of the same textbook for the same course. Here is a twelve-year lag in the use of texts in the important field of science.

What does this mean? In the field of science children using a twelve year old textbook will know little about the hydrogen bomb and

would know nothing about other recent developments in science. The most important scientific decade in the history of the world will be blotted out for them. They will not know about Sputnik and our effort to win outer space for humanity.

What makes the situation worse is that in the South little money is available for supplementary reading materials. In the North, for example, the teachers might well supplement an older textbook with modern texts. Current pamphlets, magazines and newspaper are frequently used in the better schools. But money is not available for ordinary textbooks, let alone the supplementary materials in the Negro schools of the South.

By supplying the sixteen schools with better reading material, the academic standards have been raised. Achievement has been improved because of the improved instruction and the introduction of better textbooks and other supplies. As a result, the indications are that a greater proportion of the students in this project will go to college than those from other schools of the South.

The importance of this statement can hardly be overemphasized. The government seeks additional trained personnel. Every responsible authority has cited the need for more engineers, teachers, doctors, nurses, and other professional men and women. Without a college or university education the Negro high school students cannot enter upon professional careers. Yet, we find, large numbers of boys and girls are now neglected in the South. A tremendous pool of potentially competent professional workers has been shunted aside because of the inferior education that many now receive. The study reveals rather clearly that the present standard of Negro students is a reflection of the inadequate facilities.

-MORE-

The project has shown that it is possible to raise the educational level of the two or three million children attending the schools of the South, who are now deprived of adequate schooling because of their color. Moreover, many of the white schools of the South are likewise inferior, when compared with schools in the rest of the country. The project may well serve as a taking off point for the improvement of all schools throughout the South. The entire country stands to benefit from the Phelps-Stokes experiment now under way.

By getting the colleges to work cooperatively with the high schools, it is possible to improve the educational system of both. This appears to be a major breakthrough in the barriers that have interfered with or hampered communication among high schools and colleges. Educational standards throughout the country may be improved, if standards are raised in one major section of the land. By giving the young boys and girls a chance for better education, the country itself will benefit.

Eleven instructional kits in the field have travelled to the four states in which we are working. These kits represent the best teaching materials and books in science and mathematics. The kits describe the latest developments in electronics, as well as minerals. Telescopes have been circulated in the high schools since the fall of 1956, before Sputnik focused attention on the need for better appreciation of science.

The project mimeographs and sends to the schools instructional materials that are found in the better centers. For example, "Toward Growth in Arithmetic" was found to be a fine piece of work. It was mimeographed and sent to all the schools.

-MORE-

An effort is made to identify and develop hidden talent in these schools. The final answers have not yet been determined. The colleges and universities involved in the project are giving considerable thought to this important issue.

At all times the participants have been told that the work done through the project is simply a catalytic agent. It is a temporary program. We are trying to establish procedures in pilot studies that will be used in other schools and colleges of the South. We have tried to stimulate and encourage the colleges and high schools to carry on this relationship after the Phelps-Stokes has completed its five-year project.

We have r ceived excellent cooperation from the State Departments of Education, from college administrations and from local superintendents. Many of the high schools are union schools, or schools with elementary departments. The principals insist that any good thing that comes in the high school should involve the total school. Therefore, in some of these centers the elementary, or at least, the upper elementary grades, participate in the program.

Even though it is not anticipated that the project itself will continue beyond next year, we hope to find money to continue the study relating to the identification of the hidden talent. If we can identify large numbers of talented high school students, and encourage them to go to college, the nation itself will benefit greatly.

Many of the sixteen colleges report they will continue their relationship to the high school even after the project officially ends. Many high schools have asked that the cooperative arrangement continue.

-MORE-

Virginia, Florida, South Carolina and Texas have shown much interest in the project; they have asked that it be extended to those states. It could not be done, however, because of limitations in funds, time and personnel. It is hoped that as the results of the project become widely known, these states, as well as others in the South, might find it possible to do something on their own, or to find ways to initiate a similar program.

At the end of four years, those of us involved in the project feel that our original objectives are achieving success. The level of academic achievement of states has been raised. There is better selection and more effective use of instructional materials. The professional growth of teachers and faculty members has become apparent, through in-service courses, summer workshops and guidance from the consultants. A closer relationship now exists between the high schools and colleges. The colleges say that they are getting a great deal from this program. The high schools report much progress.

We have every reason to feel gratified at the way the project is going. The fifth and final year is now approaching. Judging from what has gone before, we are convinced that the fifth year will show continued improvement in academic achievement.

Negro children in the South do not have to remain one or two years behind white children in classroom achievement. If they receive better instruction, better qualified and trained teachers, and modern up to date supplies and equipment--in short, if they get the same kind of schooling as their white classmates--they will do comparable work in school.

-MORE-

The project has proved that the Negro child is not intellectually inferior to the white child. It has merely shown that the Negro child generally gets an inferior schooling in the South.

XXX

August 12, 1958

Dr. F. D. Patterson, Director
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Patterson:

The brief account in the New York Times of the Phelps-Stokes' experiment with Negro high schools was quite exciting. We wonder if the complete report is ready?

We will be grateful if you will send us as many copies as you can spare of whatever is available on this matter at your earliest convenience.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish
Program Associate

CHP:ls

PHELPS-STPKES FUND
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

NEWSLETTER

No. 8 September 16, 1958

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Newsletter No. 8 September 16, 1958

DR. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, 1874-1958

Phelps-Stokes Fund to Honor Memory of Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes at November 19 Meeting

The trustees and staff of the Phelps-Stokes Fund joined with others across the nation and in other parts of the world in mourning the death of the Rev. Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes August 13. At the same time, they contributed to the numerous reflections about Dr. Stokes' impact on the religious, educational and social life of Americans and Africans in this century. His death, at 84, in Lenox, Mass., climaxed a long and varied career which included service with the Phelps-Stokes Fund since its founding. He was the nephew of Miss Caroline Phelps-Stokes, founder, and the father of three Phelps-Stokes trustees, the Rt. Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., Mrs. John Davis Hatch, Jr., and Mr. I. N. Phelps Stokes.

Funeral services for Dr. Stokes were held in Trinity Episcopal Church, Lenox, Mass., August 14, at 1 p.m. Burial was at Woodlawn Cemetery, New York City, August 16. The Fund's staff was represented at the funeral services in Lenox by Dr. F. D. Patterson, Dr. Aaron Brown, and Wilton S. Dillon.

Special memorial services for Dr. Stokes will be held early this fall at Yale University, where he was secretary from 1899 to 1921.

At the November 19th meeting of the Phelps-Stokes Fund trustees, further recognition of Dr. Stokes' distinguished career will be made. A bound collection of the newspaper articles and editorials lauding his career will be exhibited.

Of all the obituaries announcing Dr. Stokes death, the one which members of the Stokes family believe most accurately "captured the spirit of Dr. Stokes," appeared in the Berkshire Eagle, Pittsfield, Mass., August 14. It is reproduced below:

> Dr. Stokes capped a six-decade career in university, religious and public life with the publication in 1950 of his three-volume definitive study of "Church and State in the United States."
>
> Secretary of Yale University, his alma mater, for 22 years and canon residentiary of the National Episcopal Cathedral in Washington for 15, Dr. Stokes foresaw in his magnum opus an era of increasing goodwill among church groups and of "a most friendly separation" of church and state.
>
> Princeton University gave him an honorary doctor of divinity degree two years ago for that work. His citation read:
>
> "Anson Phelps Stokes, author of the monumental study, "Church and State in the United States," the rich and thoughtful harvest of a rich and thoughtful life; foremost

writer in America on the intricate and far-reaching connections among education, the church, and the state."

Dr. Stokes was president-emeritus of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, a family organization devoted to Negro education, housing and race relations.

He wrote extensively on Negro subjects, including a biography of Booker Washington and a study of "Tuskegee Institute's First Fifty Years." He was an ex-trustee of Tuskegee.

A man of causes, one of them was the effort to allow Marian Anderson to sing in Washington's Constitution Hall.

Dr. Stokes returned to live permanently at Brook Farm on Interlaken Road here in 1939. Much of his childhood he spent at the mansion his father built, the old Shadowbrook, where he used to bicycle and roller-skate in the attic.

While at Yale he telegraphed his mother, "Arriving Friday with '96," meaning that he was to bring a few classmates to his huge home. His mother wired back: "Can put up only 35."

His 3,000 page, 10-year labor "Church and State" was written in his Stockbridge Bowl study, once an ice house. Later in Washington he delighted in hearing both parties cite that book in arguments before the Supreme Court.

A man who thrilled to the sight of a deer, Dr. Stokes was deeply committed to preserving Berkshire's natural beauty. He cut a number of hiking trails on his property and sponsored family nature walks.

It was his idea to form the Stockbridge Bowl Assn. in 1946, which six years later dedicated to him a plaque which stands high on the Lenox-Richmond road overlooking the Bowl.

Dr. Stokes served four years as president and one as board chairman of the Pleasant Valley Bird and Wildflower Sanctuary. He was a trustee also of Lenox School and the Lenox Library.

Although Brook Farm, where the family moved in 1908 when Andrew Carnegie bought Shadowbrook, was in Stockbridge, Dr. Stokes had his mailing address and local loyalty in Lenox. Respectfully asking the moderator's permission to speak at the 1940 Lenox town meeting, he plugged successfully the town's first zoning code.

Board members and Lenox-Stockbridge residents knew him for his quiet, subtle wit, constructive suggestions and the enthusiastic spirit he brought to his duties.

He was a slight-looking man with a neat goatee. He wore knickers well past their day. The right sleeve of his shirts was always cut a little longer than the left, due to an early case of tennis elbow.

He played tennis well enough once to make a Connecticut state team. He was also one of the country's first golfers and an ardent salmon and trout fisherman at his Adirondacks retreat.

The 1955 "Who's Who" gave Dr. Stokes 75 lines--and was incomplete. His father, three brothers, two sons and son-in-law have also been listed in that national honor book.

He won six honorary doctoral degrees in religious studies. He took his master's degree at Yale in 1900, the same year he graduated from Episcopal Theological School and a year after he began a 22-year stint as University secretary.

Dr. Stokes was a holy terror as a fund raiser and, reportedly, Wall Street quaked at his approach. A million-dollar check once fluttered to the breakfast table as he opened the morning's mail. He set up an alumni fund system at Yale that was widely copied by the nation's universities.

A generous donor himself, he had a few pet economies. He said about a refrigerator light, "It takes an awful lot of faith to believe that light will go out when you close the door."

One of the youngest men ever to hold a high Yale post, Dr. Stokes received a Yale medal in 1952 for distinguished service to the university.

Between his first two degrees, he traveled around the world on one of many journeys he took for self-education and on official missions. As a boy he camped in Palestine with his father.

He served as founder, officer and/or trustee of literally dozens of organizations devoted to social welfare, public health and mental hygiene, education and race relations.

One of his projects came to light, 20 years after the fact, when a Pittsfield woman born in Virginia found that the reason her father forbade her to walk barefoot as a girl was because of an anti-hookworm campaign sponsored by Dr. Stokes.

His books reflected his breadth. The titles include: "What Jesus Christ Thought of Himself," "Educational Plans for the American Army Abroad," "Memorials of Eminent Yale Men" (two volumes) and many pamphlets, including "Trinity Church, Lenox, Massachusetts."

Two years ago he gave to Notre Dame University the materials of another book, "History of Universities from Their Origin to the Present Time."

Dr. Stokes was named clergy churchman of the year in 1951. Becoming an Episcopal deacon in 1900 and a priest in 1925, he served St. Paul's Church in New Haven from 1900 to 1918 before being named canon in Washington in 1924.

His secretary at the later post was Miss Rosalie Malone, a Lenox native.

He was made a chevalier of the French Legion of Honor in 1919. He belonged to Phi Beta Kappa and Skull and Bones at Yale, Graduates Club in New Haven and Yale and Century Clubs in New York.

Dr. Stokes was interested in just about everything. One of his ideas was to raise U.S. mailboxes to make the names easier to see. He was a bug on complete and accurate book indexes. He once warned engineers building a bridge in Washington's Rock Creek Park that the first good flood would take out the bridge. It did.

His collection of rare Biblical and other religious texts was of wide renown. Parts of it he lent to the Lenox Library for an exhibition five years ago. For many years he maintained the Stokes family's choice Americana collection.

Dr. Stokes was born in New Brighton, Staten Island, N.Y., on April 13, 1874. His father was a banker, publicist and author.

He married the former Caroline Green Mitchell Dec. 30, 1903. She survives him, as do their three children, the Rt. Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., bishop of the Episcopal diocese of Massachusetts; Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes, a New York lawyer; and Mrs. John Davis Hatch, Jr., wife of the director of the Norfolk (Va.) Museum of Arts and Sciences.

He also leaves two brothers, J. G. Phelps Stokes of New York and Harold Phelps Stokes of Washington, and two sisters, Mrs. Robert Hunter of San Francisco and Mrs. Ranson S. Hooker of Charleston, S. C.

RESEARCH AND EDUCATION

Moton Memorial Foundation Plans Negro Management Education Given New Impetus by 1958 Capahosic Conference

The 1958 Phelps-Stokes Fund consultation conference at Capahosic, Virginia has helped set off a chain of educational and planning activities aimed at improving participation of Negroes in the economic life of the nation and at providing a permanent conference center where "Southerners can keep in communication with each other," Dr. F. D. Patterson has announced.

The June 20-22 conference at Holly Knoll, the residence of the late Dr. Robert Moton, brought 28 educators, business, foundation, and international leaders together to discuss both long-term and short-term approaches to American unity.

"In many ways, it was the most successful conference we have had to date," Dr. Patterson said. "It provided immediate moral support to a number of citizens who live in the 'embattled' South, and at the same time helped produce some constructive plans to enlist cooperation of persons in industry, religion, education and government in the freeing of both whites and Negroes from the burdens of segregation."

The theme of "American unity" was stressed in various informal discussions which dealt with integration as a critical national problem, "no longer confined to the South as a result of the great internal migrations of Southerners going on in the country."

While the conversations concentrated on national and regional issues, a world perspective of American segregation practices was provided in comments by Sir Andrew Cohen, former governor of Uganda, and presently permanent United Kingdom representative on the U.N. Trusteeship Council.

The immediate civil rights issues facing Negroes and the need for Southern cooperation with the Civil Rights Commission were discussed candidly by Harris L. Wofford, Jr., a young Alexandria, Va., lawyer and author, who is advisor to one of the members of the Civil Rights Commission.

Philip Hammer, president of Hammer & Company Associates, Atlanta, Ga., a management consultant and regional planner, provided participants with elaborate views of the relationship between racial segregation and economic development in the South.

"Integration will come most easily when Negroes already possess the economic bases for participating more fully in the civic, educational and cultural life of the nation," Hammer pointed out in discussing the untapped opportunities awaiting Negroes in new forms of business activity.

As a result of Hammer's talks at Capahosic, he was invited by Dr. Patterson to amplify his recommendations on Negro business opportunities before the joint meetings in Durham, N.C. of the National Business League, the National Housewives League, and the National Bankers Association July 30th through August 1st. (See attached report of meetings in League Notes, August, 1958). The meeting was attended by Gov. Luther Hodges of North Carolina.

Dr. Patterson said that he is enthusiastic over the prospect that Negro businessmen, with access to previously inaccessible information about economic prospects for the South, will be in a much sounder position to invest in housing projects, shopping centers and other new forms of entrepreneurial activity. "Moreover," he declared, "we have the road pointed out for eventual integrated employment and a greater use of human talent."

Dr. Patterson will specify these plans, and their meaning for possible future financing of Negro college education in the South, at the November 19th meeting of the Phelps-Stokes Fund trustees. In the meantime, a detailed report of the Capahosic conference will be sent to trustees and participants in the off-record Virginia meeting.

In addition to providing a new impetus to plans for Negro management development, the conference, Dr. Patterson pointed out, has given new support to efforts to establish the Moton Memorial Foundation and its chief reasons for existence, the creation of Holly Knoll as a permanent conference center. Max Kampelman, Washington attorney and professor of law at Howard University, has started incorporation of the Moton Foundation as the recipient of gifts needed to purchase Holly Knoll from the Moton estate. Carl Murphy, editor of the Afro-American, Baltimore, is soliciting funds from Negro leaders to add to the amount already appropriated by the Phelps-Stokes Fund for the purchase. Dr. Patterson also is making appeals to a number of individuals and foundations.

Lindsley Kimball, vice-president of the Rockefeller Foundation, has agreed to help raise the $50,000 needed for remodelling the Moton residence after the property is acquired for $25,000 by the Moton Foundation. Current fund-raising activities are aimed at the $25,000 goal.

Since the Capahosic meeting, two other conferences were held to continue discussion of both migration and civil rights problems. The Highlander Folk School workshop on migration, September 5-7, was planned as a partial follow-up to the Capahosic discussions. It was attended by Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier. In Conway, New Hampshire, a meeting of Episcopal churchmen will hold a meeting on civil rights, September 17-19, under chairmanship of the Rev. Cornelius Tarplee, Lynchburg, Va., who spoke at Capahosic. This meeting will be attended by Wilton S. Dillon.

Participants at Capahosic were: Sir Andrew Cohen, Permanent United Kingdom Representative to Trusteeship Council United Kingdom Mission to the U.N.; Dr. A. W. Dent, President, Dillard University; Mr. Wilton S. Dillon, Executive Secretary and Director of Research, Phelps-Stokes Fund; Mr. Charles G. Dobbins, Staff Associate, American Council on Education; Mr. Vernon Eagle, Director, New World Foundation, Chicago; Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.; Dr. John Folger, Director of Research, Southern Regional Education Board; Mr. Maxwell Hahn, Executive Vice-President, The Field Foundation, Inc.; Mr. Philip Hammer, Business Research; Dr. Asael T. Hansen, Department of Sociology & Anthropology, University of Alabama; Dr. John Hope, II, Director of Industrial Relations, American Missionary Association Division, Board of Home Missions, Congregational Churches; Mr. Myles Horton, Director, Highlander Folk School; Dr. Lewis W. Jones, Director, Rural Life Council, Tuskegee Institute; Dr. Samuel C. Kincheloe,

President, Tougaloo Southern Christian College; Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier, Director, Project for Identification & Placement of Negro Talent, Phelps-Stokes Fund; Mr. L. D. Milton, President, The Citizens Trust Company, Atlanta; Dr. Alonzo G. Moron, Hampton Institute; Mr. Carl Murphy, President, Afro-American Newspapers, Baltimore; Mr. J. A. Nelson, Manager, Industrial Relations, Douglas Aircraft Company, Inc., Charlotte, N.C.; Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, President, Phelps-Stokes Fund; Mr. Earl Pippin, First Vice-President, Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO; The Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee, Lynchburg, Va.; Mr. William J. Trent, Jr., Executive Director, United Negro College Fund; Dr. Albert L. Turner, Dean of the Law School, North Carolina College at Durham; Mr. A. Maceo Walker, President, Universal Life Insurance Company, Memphis, Tenn., Mr. John H. Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N.C.; Mr. Harris L. Wofford, Jr., lawyer, Alexandria, Va.; Mr. P. B. Young, Sr., Publisher, Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va.

Education for New Careers in Science and Business is Theme of Dr. Patterson's Talks on Current Speaking Tour

Dr. F. D. Patterson, president, has started the fall season with a series of speaking engagements in the Midwest and South. He is speaking on a theme of Negro opportunities in new careers in science and business, and the need for improved education to discover and train talent.

At the annual conference of the National Urban League in Omaha, September 10, Dr. Patterson served as a member of a panel discussing "Tomorrow's Scientists and Technicians." The panel dealt with ways to provide greater incentives and motivation for "minority youth" to train for professions and careers in science and technology. Chairman of the panel on which Dr. Patterson spoke was Maj. Gen. C. E. Ryan, executive vice-chairman of President Eisenhower's Committee on Government Contracts.

In Chicago and Gary, Ind., Dr. Patterson spoke in early September before local chapters of the National Business League. He also spoke before the Jacksonville, Fla. chapter of the League September 14.

On September 11, Dr. Patterson gave the keynote address to start a three-day faculty workshop at Florida A. and M. University, Tallahassee, on the theme, "Excellence Is Our Goal." The Florida faculty is studying the Rockefeller Brothers Fund Report, The Pursuit of Excellence: Education and the Future of America as a background for the workshop.

Earlier in the summer, Dr. Patterson was a guest of Life magazine as a participant in an Arden House conference, June 13-15, to assess the role of the consumer in the recession.

In San Francisco May 18-22 to attend a meeting of the board of governors of the American Red Cross, Dr. Patterson was elected to a full term on the board. He has been serving the unexpired term of Claude Barnett, Phelps-Stokes Fund trustee, who resigned. This marks the second period of service as a member of the board of governors. Dr. Patterson held membership previously during his presidency at Tuskegee.

Wide Press Coverage, Editorial Attention Given to Progress Report of Instruction Project

National attention has been focused on the Phelps-Stokes Fund's July 29 progress report on its Project for Improvement of Instruction in Secondary Schools. Press, radio and TV coverage of a press conference in the Fund's offices brought the report to the attention of people in at least 27 states. One sermon in a New York City Presbyterian church commented on the New York Times editorial praising the report. (Trustees will find copies of the report attached to this newsletter).

Answering questions from 18 representatives of the mass media, Dr. F. D. Patterson, Dr. Aaron Brown, and Dr. Lindsley Kimball interpreted the significance of the report for American education and the democratic process. Dr. Brown, the Project Director, was interviewed for a telecast by Tom Costigan of the C.B.S. news staff.

Dr. Benjamin Fine, Dean of the School of Education, Yeshiva University, New York, former education editor of the New York Times, served as press relations consultant to the Fund in arranging the conference. His timing of the conference in late July was based on his knowledge of the summer period most likely to receive extended coverage of an important educational news event. Moreover, he was aware that the constitutional issues and court orders being debated prior to the September opening of Southern schools would make editors especially receptive to the report.

As the New York Times editorial of August 10 pointed out, "...If the academic gap (between white and Negro pupils) can be narrowed the argument used by segregationists that Negro children are intellectually inferior falls to the ground."

Apart from press responses, the Fund has received numerous requests for copies of the report from a variety of persons and organizations, including white Southern school principals and teachers in segregated communities (Meridian, Miss., for example), and the Anti-Defamation League.

Oscar Cohen, Program Officer for the Anti-Defamation League, in praising the report, urged that further research be done on test performances of Negroes in schools of the Phelps-Stokes project, to clarify some of the issues raised by the conclusions of a new book, The Testing of Negro Intelligence, by Audrey M. Shuey, Chairman of the Department of Psychology, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va.

(The book, with a forward by Henry E. Garrett, psychologist, professor emeritus of Columbia University, concludes that the regularity and consistency of differences in mental test results, comparing Negro with white pupils, strongly implies "a racial basis for these differences.")

Apart from the secondary school project, Dr. Brown has been devoting his attention recently to other aspects of American education. He is author of an article, "Graduate and Professional Education in Negro Institutions" in the Summer, 1958 issue of The Journal of Negro Education. He also delivered

July 22 a major address, "Our Christian Witness for Freedom" at the week-long conference on Christian education sponsored by the A.M.E. Zion Church in Columbus, Ohio.

Phelps-Stokes Education Project Linked to Anthropological Discovery in New York Sermon on Human Dignity

While the newspapers in many states carried reports of the Phelps-Stokes Fund press conference on improvement of high school instruction, one New York minister found the Fund's progress report "reassuring evidence that human dignity is still possible when people are willing to cooperate."

The Rev. Geddes Hansen, assistant minister of St. Augustine's Presbyterian Church, Bronx, in a recent sermon, suggested to his audience that they read the August 10 editorial columns of the New York Times for new perspectives on human dignity. In the same issue, the editorial "Helping the Negro Child," praising the Fund's report, was followed by another editorial, "Man's Ancestry," which commented on the significance of a Tuscany skeleton believed to be "the earliest progenitor of man yet discovered."

The Times editorialist wrote:

"If this belief (that some form of man has been inhabiting the earth for 10 million years) is substantiated by closer analysis it will eliminate once and for all any link between man and ape. Instead of being a mere upstart, a johnny-come-lately on this planet, man will assume a new dignity as a creature of ancient lineage with a long history of cultural achievement."

Rev. Hansen reminded his listeners that the editorial on the Phelps-Stokes project spoke "much more loudly of human dignity." He declared that it represents a concept of dignity identified with the Psalmist, Old Testament prophets, Jesus of Nazareth, Dostoevski, and Jacques Maritain. Maritain was quoted as saying "It is vain to assert the dignity and vocation of human personality if we do not strive to transform the conditions that oppress these; strive to deal so that men can live worthily and gain their bread in honor."

The Phelps-Stokes report that the standards of Negro youth in the South can be improved through a program of mutual cooperation among schools, colleges, and community leaders, is an example of such efforts to transform conditions that thwart human dignity, the minister said. He added that the project also shows a regard for "the individual, justice, and unselfish giving."

Rev. Hansen is a recent graduate of the Harvard Divinity School. He received his bachelor's degree from Howard University in 1955. The pastor of St. Augustine's church, where the Rev. Hansen preached, is the Rev. Edler Hawkins, moderator of the New York presbytery.

Asians Watching Progress of Negroes in U.S.

The current crises related to the opening of schools in Little Rock and Virginia are being closely followed by Asians, and any American travellers to the Far East will be expected to offer "explanations," a Phelps-Stokes Fund representative told a group of engineers in Washington August 25 as part of their "orientation" before leaving on a consulting mission to Japan.

The Executive Secretary spoke to a team of American industrial engineers being sent to Japan by the Council for International Progress in Management. He reminded them that American efforts to improve industrial productivity in Japan would be aided by "our candor in admitting the obstacles we still face as well as the progress under way, in assuring Negroes of greater responsibility and rewards in our industrial society."

On September 4, the Executive Secretary spoke as a member of a panel on "Tradition and Change" before the Afghan Student Association Conference in New York, discussing innovations in the American South, and social change in American Indian communities.

Social Scientists Continue Search for Funds To Study Human Factors in Integration Process

The search for financial support of human relations research relevant to the peaceful acceptance of integration and desegregation requires imaginative planning and cooperation, a group of social scientists agreed during an all-day consultation meeting called by the National Council of Churches and the Phelps-Stokes Fund May 28.

"One of the major social crises of our time is occuring without our finding the financial support to study the process, and to take advantage of the knowledge we already have of why people resist or accept change," one sociologist said at the meeting, held at the Gramercy Park Hotel.

The meeting was initiated by the Bureau of Research and Survey of the National Council, with the help of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, in order to take stock of current research and to plan new projects which might produce knowledge about the role of religion and religious institutions in bringing Negroes into greater participation in national life.

A committee headed by Prof. John P. Dean of Cornell University was named to draft a plan for coordinating existing research projects, and to prepare proposals for foundations to support research under the aegis of the National Council of Churches. (A major complaint of social scientists has been that "too many" foundations have avoided giving grants to studies of "controversial subjects," fearing loss of tax-exempt status.) On the other hand, social scientists on the staffs of foundations have pointed out that the quality of research proposals was such that grants could not be justified in many instances. The May 28 meeting thus was aimed at finding out: (a) how to increase the quality and reliability of research on integration, and (b) how, under the sponsorship of the National Council, as a research coordinating center, foundations might be persuaded to increase their support of projects dealing with behavior of churchmen and other leaders during periods of social tensions.

One of the most neglected areas of research, it was pointed out, relates to the comparative efforts of rewards or punishments on the motives of individuals to accept or resist integration. "Ministers might warn parishioners of the immorality of segregation, but we know little about the operation of other sanctions or pressures which make members of some white Christian churches refuse to worship with Negroes, or to permit their children to attend integrated schools."

Social scientists and others attending the consultation were: the Rev. R. H. Edwin Espy, Associate General Secretary, National Council of Churches; Dr. Lauris B. Whitman, Executive Director, and Mrs. Setsuko M. Nishi, Director, Research in Christian Life and Work, both of the Bureau of Research and Survey of the National Council; Ernest Q. Campbell, sociologist, Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University, co-author of study on the clergy of Little Rock; Joseph Casagrande, Executive Associate, Social Science Research Council; Stuart W. Cook, Chairman, Graduate Department of Psychology, New York University, co-author, Human Relations in Interracial Housing; John P. Dean, sociologist, Cornell University, co-author, Desegregation: Some Proposals and Research Suggestions; Martin Deutsch, clinical psychologists, chairman, Committee on Race Relations, Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues; Wilton S. Dillon, director of research, Phelps-Stokes Fund, regional vice-president, Society for Applied Anthropology; Solon T. Kimball, anthropologist, professor of education, Columbia University, co-author of Talladega Story; Thomas F. Pettigrew, social psychologist, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, co-author, with Campbell, of study of Little Rock clergy; Chester Rapkin, research professor and economist, Institute of Urban Studies, University of Pennsylvania, author, The Demand for Housing in Racially Mixed Areas; M. Brewster Smith, professor of psychology, New York University, editor of Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology; Glen W. Trimble, director of field research in home missions, National Council of Churches; Preston Valien, sociologist, Fisk University; and Harry Walker, sociologist, Howard University, author, Changes in the Status of the Negro in American Society.

Dr. Cook was chairman of the conference.

Since the May 28 conference, Dr. Pettigrew's study on the Little Rock clergy has been reported in the September 15 issue of Time in an article, "The Three P's in Little Rock," page 53.

AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Paramount Chief Gulama Honored At Farewell Luncheon By Carnegie Endowment and Phelps-Stokes Fund

A highlight of the Phelps-Stokes Fund's summer activities was the farewell luncheon August 12 for Madam Ella Koblo Gulama, Paramount Chief of the Kaiyamba Chiefdom, and member of the House of Representatives in Sierra Leone. The luncheon was jointly sponsored with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and held at the Carnegie Center the day before Madam Gulama and her secretary, Mrs. Elizabeth Hatib, sailed on the Queen Elizabeth to return to Africa by way of England.

Madam Gulama, one of the most distinguished and active of new women leaders in Africa, was a guest of the U.S. Department of State during a three-month period. The luncheon in her honor was arranged in recognition of her contribution to African-American relations, and to permit representatives of American foundations, universities, and others prominent in international relations to hear Madam Gulama make an appeal for closer American cultural, religious, and economic ties to Africa.

(Trustees will find a list of persons attending the luncheon attached to this newsletter.)

Madam Gulama's speech formed the basis for a recorded interview later broadcast to African countries by the Voice of America.

Leslie Paffrath, secretary of the Carnegie Endowment, presided at the Luncheon. I. N. Phelps Stokes, acting chairman of the Phelps-Stokes Fund board of trustees, addressing Madam Gulama, spoke about the principle of volunteerism in American life, and its importance in stimulating various groups to help the Department of State in making her visit a success.

Dr. Margaret Mead, noted anthropologist and author, and a Hampton Institute trustee, introduced Madam Gulama. Dr. Mead was introduced by Wilton Dillon in the absence of Dr. F. D. Patterson.

James Nicely, New York banker, and treasurer of the Carnegie Endowment, presented Madam Gulama and Mrs. Hatib with a collection of books, and a map of the United States to be used in showing people in Sierra Leone where they had travelled. The books included works about Africa by American authors, suggesting the newly-awakened American interest in Africa, and a boxed edition of Alexis de Tocqueville's Democracy in America, offered with the suggestion that Madam Gulama add to Americans' self-understanding by her own written observations of Americans' manners and customs, as had Tocqueville 126 years earlier.

Madam Gulama and Mrs. Hatib received standing ovations during the luncheon. Mrs. Hatib was identified to the audience as Madam Gulama's former teacher at an American mission school in Sierra Leone.

Before the luncheon, Madam Gulama spoke for more than an hour on Sierra Leone's economic development, the need for American investments, and assistance in education of African "managerial talent." This talk was before an informal gathering of foreign trade and education specialists invited by the Phelps-Stokes Fund to "talk shop" with Madam Gulama. The Carnegie Endowment provided a conference room for this purpose.

Phelps-Stokes Fund trustees attending the luncheon, in addition to Mr. Stokes, were Dr. Carroll V. Newsom, Edwin K. Merrill, and Dr. Frank Horne.

At a reception preceding the luncheon, Madam Gulama extended a personal invitation to Henry Luce, publisher of Life, Time and Fortune, to visit Lierra Leone with Mrs. Luce next year to observe the growing interest of African women in politics and public affairs.

The luncheon marked the second cooperative venture of the Carnegie Endowment and the Phelps-Stokes Fund in connection with Madam Gulama's American visit. A press conference announcing her arrival in May was organized by the Phelps-Stokes Fund and held at the World Affairs Center in the Carnegie building.

Trustees and Staff Pay Respects to Prime Minister Nkrumah

Phelps-Stokes Fund trustees and staff members paid respects to Prime Minister Nkrumah of Ghana during his summer visit to the United States.

Lansdell K. Christie, president of the Liberia Mining Co., Ltd., entertained the distinguished Ghanaian leader at his home, Muttontown Road, Syossett, L.I. Mrs. Claude Barnett, wife of a Fund Trustee, sang songs from "Porgy and Bess" at the Christie reception. (The former Etta Moton, she is a trustee of the African-American Institute).

At the banquet for Dr. Nkrumah at the Waldorf Hotel, sponsored by the National Urban League, the American Committee on Africa, and the N.A.A.C.P., he was introduced by Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, another Phelps-Stokes Tund trustee. Dr. Carroll Newsom was seated at a table for honored guests at the banquet. The event was also attended by Dr. and Mrs. Aaron Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Wilton Dillon, and William Thompson.

Dr. F. D. Patterson greeted Dr. Nkrumah at a reception held in Washington by Ambassador and Mrs. Chapman of Ghana.

At the reception for the Prime Minister at International House, Phelps-Stokes representatives included I. N. Phelps Stokes, Mrs. Helen Straus, Mrs. Wilhelmina Walker, and Miss Ida Wood.

"Healthy Self-Criticism" Developing Among Liberian Christians, Dr. Lanier Reports

"The Phelps-Stokes Fund contribution to the World Council of Churches study of Christian responsibility in Liberia is money well spent," Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier commented after his recent return from Monrovia. He heard progress reports of the Liberian study committees July 20-23 while in Liberia as guest of President William Tubman on the occasion of the 111th anniversary of the founding of the Liberian republic.

At the World Council meetings preceding the Liberian government July 26 celebrations, Dr. Lanier represented Dr. F. D. Patterson in extending the greetings of the Phelps-Stokes Fund trustees. Dr. Patterson was unable to attend. Dr. Lanier told committee members that the Fund considered the study a great opportunity to help the World Council and Liberian Christians in stimulating public awareness of basic issues affecting the life of Liberians today.

"I was most impressed," Dr. Lanier said, "by the responsible and healthy national self-criticism by Liberians in and out of government--particularly the sharp awareness of what Liberian churchmen must do in facing the social evils growing out of population pressure in Monrovia." The study was devoted to surveying problems related to rapid social change through new technology, growth of cities, a money economy, etc.

The study committees' reports were well received, he continued, "because the study was considered their own work." He praised the tactfulness of both Dr. Hollis Price and Dr. Patterson in securing the confidence and whole-hearted participation of Liberians in launching the study.

The Hon. Charles Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury in Liberia, and a prominent churchman, provided a highlight of the meetings with his analysis of Liberia's problems in the light of social anthropology. Dr. Lanier said that Sherman's talks gave a guide to fitting African traditions and customs into the framework of a modern state.

The Phelps-Stokes Talent Project Director, U. S. Minister to Liberia between 1946-48, had a reunion and conferences with President Tubman and other Liberians. Dr. Lanier was asked for his ideas on the development of a national education system for Liberia, and how such a system could be related to the economic growth of the republic.

Dr. Lanier was guest of the government along with other Americans, including Governor and Mrs. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan; Judge Wade McCree of Detroit; President and Mrs. Rufus Clement of Atlanta University; Dr. John W. Davis, president emeritus of West Virginia State College; Miss Marguerite Cartwright, Hunter College faculty member and lecturer on African affairs; and Lester Walton, also a former U.S. Minister to Liberia.

Apart from the World Council and Liberian government activities in Monrovia, Dr. Lanier interviewed U.S. Government officials and American business representatives in Africa about the possibilities for employment of qualified American Negroes. His travels took him to Accra, Lagos, Dakar, Paris, London and Brussels before returning to New York August 25. In Brussels, he visited the American pavillion at the international exposition. (He talked to the few Negro Americans working there concerning employment opportunities).

On September 4, Dr. Lanier reported his impressions of the trip to a small group of foundation officials at the N.Y.U. Club at Town Hall. This was part of a Phelps-Stokes Fund effort to stimulate a sharing of information among foundations involved in African education. Present were Dr. Francis X. Sutton and Melvin Fox, Ford Foundation; Dana Creel, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, a trustee of the African-American Institute; George Bennett, Institute of Institute of International Education; and Robert July, Rockefeller Foundation.

Rome Meeting on African Education Hears Recommendations of Phelps-Stokes Fund

When the Exploratory Commission on Educational Policy for Africa meets next April in Jos, Nigeria, delegates will probably discuss some recommendations on African education from the Phelps-Stokes Fund staff.

Ways to strenghten African teachers organizations and to increase the exchange of research information were the two Phelps-Stokes suggestions already discussed at the July 31-August 7 Rome Assembly of delegates of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP). These suggestions, according to the WCOTP research secretary, Mrs. Clytia Montllor, are likely to be further studied at the Commission's meeting in Nigeria.

The WCOTP has consulted the Phelps-Stokes Fund along with numerous other educational and research institutions interested in Africa, and is using their suggestions in the formation of educational policies for Africa.

In a report of the Rome assembly, Dr. Frederick Patterson and Dr. Lionel Elvin, head of the Department of Education in Tropical Areas, University of London, were mentioned as sources of ideas on how to strengthen African teachers' organizations. Both are attributed with suggestions that prospective African teachers studying in England or the United States might be drawn into more active participation in professional educational organizations in their host countries. Being able to see the importance of teachers' associations in promoting professional standards, higher salaries, and improved teaching materials and methods would help prepare African teachers to form and support their own organizations when they return to Africa.

As for improving exchange of research information related to education in Africa, the WCOTP reported that the current Phelps-Stokes Fund study on "the flow of African research information" would provide some guidelines for future cooperation among various U.S. research centers, African universities, and international organizations. Mrs. Montllor, the WCOTP research secretary, and Wilton S. Dillon, Phelps-Stokes Fund research director, met with members of the newly-formed African Studies Association in Evanston, Ill., September 8-10, to discuss research coordination proposals.

Phelps-Stokes Scholarship Students Arrive at Cuttington College

The Rt. Rev. Bravid W. Harris, Episcopal Bishop of the Missionary District of Liberia, has strongly recommended further foundation scholarship funds for Cuttington College and other undergraduate institutions in Africa. "African colleges," he said in a visit to the Phelps-Stokes Fund offices August 27, "have a great role to play in the education of young Africans in their own continent before they seek graduate studies abroad."

He spoke specifically of his pleasure at greeting the four Africans at Cuttington College who are recipients of tuition scholarships made possible by a grant of $1,000 from the Phelps-Stokes Fund last April. Three students

are from Tanganyika and a fourth is from Nigeria. Each has received tuition scholarships of $250. for one year. The Tanganyikans are Kagetan Ngombale, Gisler Mapunda, and Shaban N. Kisenge. The Nigerian is Robert Taylor of Ibadan. The Phelps-Stokes Fund has sent letters to each of the students, explaining the background of the Fund's interest in Africa, and its desire to strengthen African educational institutions in order to reduce the dependence on studying abroad. "There are many other well qualified Africans, especially in East Africa, who can benefit by education at Cuttington," Bishop Harris said. "A small amount of money will go a long way at this institution; moreover, the quality of instruction is such that several in the past have been well prepared to study later in first-rate U.S. institutions and in Germany and Switzerland."

Bishop Harris reported that Dr. and Mrs. Emory Ross had met the Tanganyikans personally when they were in Monrovia shortly after the students arrived.

Phelps-Stokes Project To Start This Fall at New School for Social Research

A series of three symposia on "New Careers for Africans" will start October 27 at the New School for Social Research Center for African Studies, New York. Initiated by the Phelps-Stokes Fund as part of its current inquiry into African uses of American research, the symposia will aim at gathering ideas of African students and scholars about the future effects of new technology and political developments on careers and occupations for Africans.

Chairman for the symposia will be Wilton S. Dillon. He will be assisted by Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, Mozambique, former Phelps-Stokes Fellow now on the Trusteeship staff of the United Nations.

The symposia are being arranged through the cooperation of Mr. Sanford Griffith, Director of the Center for African Studies, and Dean Arthur Swift. Both are eager to invite greater participation by African students in the Center by providing them with a forum for discussing their ideas on Africa's educational future. Students will be invited from the various institutions of higher learning in the New York area. American participants will include officials of the International Cooperation Administration concerned with Africa, representatives of American companies operating in Africa, and officers of other foundations.

It is hoped that a Phelps-Stokes Fund pamphlet based on the planning discussions can be made available eventually to educators and economic planners in Africa.

Dates for the symposia are October 27, November 17, and December 1. Phelps-Stokes trustees are cordially invited to take part in the disucssions.

The New School catalog announcement of the symposia states that the discussions will be devoted to "Africa's changing manpower needs with a view towards developing research projects and educational policies to meet these needs." Training in diplomacy, civil service, social science, and the careers of science and administration related to atomic energy and automation are among the "manpower needs" to be discussed.

Ghanaian Professor Studying Ways of Improving Protein Content in African Diet

Prof. Kojo Plange, Professor of Poultry Husbandry, Kumasi College of Technology, Kumasi, Ghana, is presently visiting U.S. poultry research centers as part of an effort to improve both the economy and nutrition of his countrymen.

He has received a travel grant of $200 from the Phelps-Stokes Fund to assist him in visiting such centers as the U.S. Department of Agriculture station at Beltsville, Md., the Limestone Corporation, Newton, N.J., Vineland Laboratories, Vineland, N.J., Cornell University, and the Agricultural Company of Pan Americas, Guilford, Conn. He also is consulting with Agricultural Missions, Inc. The grant is part of a gift of $500 recently made to the Phelps-Stokes Fund by the Pan American World Airways.

A graduate of Tuskegee Institute and a former staff member of the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization, Prof. Plange reported to the Phelps-Stokes Fund the background of the "poultry problem" in Ghana. Little poultry-raising is done in Ghana. Consequently, 60,000,000 eggs are now imported every year to Ghana from the Union of South Africa. With eggs costing $1.25 a dozen, few "peasants" can afford to eat eggs, and have little or no protein substitutes.

Apart from nutritional advantages in starting egg production in Ghana, Prof. Plange believes commercial chicken and turkey farms will provide some much needed business activity in Ghana. He has discussed the possibility of U.S. investments in such activity with persons in the Africa Division of the Chase Manhattan Bank, and will speak later this fall in New York with members of the National Business League to stimulate their inquiries into possibilities of new enterprises in Ghana.

American research centers, he points out, will provide Ghanaians with important new findings in genetics (sister-mating), and techniques of identifying the sex of day-old chickens. Later, Prof. Plange hopes to introduce such research in Ghana, as well as devise new ways of distributing poultry and poultry products.

For Prof. Plange, a visit to the Phelps-Stokes Fund offices provided a reunion with Dr. Frederick Patterson who had awarded him his degree in science from Tuskegee during Dr. Patterson's presidency there.

Student Handbook Still in Great Demand

The African student handbook published in 1957 by the Phelps-Stokes Fund continues to be in great demand both by individual African students writing from Africa, and the various U.S. Government agencies with programs in Africa. The U.S. Information Agency, for example, recently requested 500 copies for distribution by cultural affairs and public affairs officers in various African countries and dependencies. Moreover, Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier, during his visit to West Africa, heard numerous comments by Africans about the utility of the booklet. He said many urged the Fund to keep the information up to date with subsequent revised editions.

Apart from African distribution of the handbook, one request has now arrived for using it in South Asia. The document will serve in briefing Vietnamese coming to the U.S. under the sponsorship of Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. In requesting the handbook, Miss Elsie Cunningham, an administrator of the university's Vietnam Project, wrote:

"I have found the information in this booklet to be very helpful in explaining some of the major facets of our educational system and way of life to the Vietnamese students who are coming here."

Zuma Hospital Votes Thanks to Phelps-Stokes Fund

For assistance in transmitting funds from American donors, the Phelps-Stokes Fund has been notified that the Board of Governors of the Zuma Memorial Hospital, Inc. has passed unanimously a vote of gratitude "for the great and selfless service rendered to Dr. X. G. Okojie." Dr. Okojie, the Nigerian doctor who raised funds in this country to improve the hospital, is director of the hospital, located in Irrua, Benin Province, Nigeria.

The resolution continued: "Through this assistance, the hospital is being enlarged and modernized. Nigeria and Africa will always be grateful for this and future interest in their advancement." The resolution was signed by M.B. Wright, hospital secretary.

Up to date, nearly $1,700 has been raised by Dr. Okojie for Zuma.

African Visitors Coming in Increased Numbers; Department of State Asks Phelps-Stokes Fund Help

The Phelps-Stokes Fund and other private organizations in New York interested in African affairs have been requested by the New York exchange of persons office of the U.S. Department of State to help put African visitors in touch with persons in their field of interest, as well as to find New Yorkers who will invite them to their homes.

A step-up in numbers of African leaders is expected this fall and winter, Mrs. Grace Belt, State Department representative here, pointed out. The Executive Secretary recently met with Mrs. Belt and her staff to make plans for the visitors.

Besides receiving African guests of the American government, the Fund continues to provide various kinds of assistance to private African visitors. Miss Violaine Junod, University of Natal, Durban, South Africa, will end her American lecture and research tour December 13 after a nine-month program organized with the help of the Fund.

President Newsom To Assist in Raising Funds for African Students

President Carroll V. Newsom of New York University has volunteered to assist the staff of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in locating sources of funds for emergency aid to African students, Dr. F. D. Patterson has announced. The Phelps-Stokes Fund 1958 budget for students is exhausted, and an unprecedented demand is being made by students qualified for assistance, but unable to find funds from any sources. Both Dr. Newsom and Dr. Patterson are urging a united appeal for funds to help relieve the financial crises of students who are faced with a return to Africa without completion of their academic goals.

President Newsom is interested in the problem both as a Phelps-Stokes trustee and as the head of an institution now training an increasing number of Africans.

Dr. Patterson has renewed a request for funds from the Coca-Cola Corporation. Plans are being made to approach other corporations with interests in Africa.

The Ford Foundation has declined the Phelps-Stokes Fund request for a grant of $10,000 to be used for emergency assistance.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

Puerto Rico Offers Scholarships to Three American Indians

Three American Indians are beginning their studies at the University of Puerto Rico as a consequence of the community development study mission of American Indians in Puerto Rico last March. Four scholarships have been offered by the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

The Indians are: Miss Edith Veronica Blackbird, Chicago, member of the Omaha tribe, who plans a career in cultural anthropology studying early Andean culture in South America; Miss Barbara Louise Deloria, member of Standing Rock Sioux tribe, and research secretary at the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, New York, who wishes to teach Spanish language and history; and Miss Judith Anne Youngbear, Sac and Fox tribe, Tama, Iowa, who wishes eventually to study law in preparation of a civil service career in Indian affairs.

The National Congress of American Indians, which organized the Puerto Rican mission last spring to study the island's "Operation Bootstrap," located candidates for scholarships after the offer was made by Governor Luis Munos Marin and Jaime Benitez, Chancellor of the University. Mrs. Helen Peterson, Secretary of the National Congress, appointed a scholarship committee in August consisting of Dr. Clarence Senior, sociologist, migration officer for the Commonwealth; Miss Georgene Lovecky, John Hay Whitney Foundation; and Mrs. Russell Moore, member of the Oneida tribe, New York; Scott Runkle, Puerto Rican News Service; and Wilton Dillon, Phelps-Stokes Fund.

National Congreee Meeting in Montana

The Phelps-Stokes Fund has sent regrets that none of its officers can attend the annual meeting of the National Congress of American Indians which started September 15 in Missoula, Montana.

However, the Fund offered its services in suggesting non-Indian participants in the Congress to discuss research on community development and educational programs of Indians.

Commissioner Emmons Receives Phelps-Stokes Representative

The Hon. Glenn Emmons, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, U.S. Department of the Interior, arranged an all-day "briefing session" in Washington June 3 for the Executive Secretary of the Phelps-Stokes Fund to explain federal policies affecting American Indians. Mr. Emmons invited the help of private foundations in financing surveys of Indian communities readiness for ending a trusteeship relationship with the federal government.

Also present for the discussions were the Rev. David A. Works, Episcopal clergyman, North Conway, N.H., former director of a government commission to study problems of alcoholism among Indians; and Mr. Stanley Weinstein, Dean of Students, Brandeis University.

The Assistant Commissioner, Miss C. Gifford, expressed interest in the possibility that the Phelps-Stokes Fund might help coordinate visits of Africans to American Indian communities for an exchange of ideas about the relationship of tribal life to national governments.

NEWS OF TRUSTEES AND STAFF

Juan Trippe and Frederick D. Patterson Receive Honorary Degrees

Phelps-Stokes Fund trustees may now address their colleague, Juan T. Trippe, as Dr. Trippe. The president of Pan American World Airways received August 12 an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt.

In accepting the honor, Dr. Trippe addressed the commencement exercises of Middlebury College summer language schools. As reported in the New York Times, he declared:

"Many of us are not aware of the tremendous expansion in the linguistic field in Russia, not only English, French, German and Spanish, but Arabic, Hindu, Chinese, even the dialects of the still uncommitted countries."

The Phelps-Stokes Fund trustee recommended that Americans increase their efforts in the linguistic field.

In conferring the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on Frederick D. Patterson, on June 6, 1958, Dr. Mordecai Johnson, President of Howard University, said, "Howard University has invited you here today to express her esteem and affection for you because of the very great service you have rendered to the cause of higher education by the organization and development of the United Negro College Fund.

The example you have set . . . has inspired the whole group of private colleges and universities to such an extent that today there are more than three-score united efforts in existence in this country to secure private support for their great cause; and the wealth of our nation is beginning to pour into them in streams which show the greatest promise for the future that these causes have ever known."

Wickliffe Appointed Field Director of National Business League

"American Negro businessmen have an increasingly important contribution to make to the economic life of the nation, and the Phelps-Stokes Fund is in a strategic position to have some part in educating Negro management to their new opportunities and responsibilities," Dr. F. D. Patterson recently declared in announcing the appointment of John H. Wickliffe as full-time field director of the National Business League. Dr. Patterson's presidency of the League has made the Fund's offices a focal point for much of the new educational activity related to the development of Negro entrepreneurs.

Wickliffe, 35-year-old public relations specialist, has launched a campaign to organize new chapters of the League throughout the country. The aim is to build an organization of over 50,000 members with a staff that will advise, train, and direct Negro businessmen in starting and expanding economic activity. Shopping centers will take a top priority.

Wickliffe will represent Dr. Patterson at meetings where chapters are being organized or are increasing membership.

As background for his new assignment, Wickliffe has more than 10 years of promotional and fund-raising experience in organizations. Educated at Butler University, Indianapolis, he has served as assistant to the executive director of the United Negro College Fund; manager of Radio Station WCHB, Detroit; and account executive, WLIB, New York. He has also directed and announced radio programs in Louisville, Indianapolis, and New York.

Apart from these activities, Wickliffe is a musician. He has played bass violin with the University of Louisville School Symphony and organized a small "combo" which has made recordings.

"We are fortunate in having a man with such varied experience to serve the League in its period of rejuvenation," Dr. Patterson said. Wickliffe's salary comes from funds raised by Dr. Patterson from a number of individual and organizational donors. Eventually, the League, with increased membership, is expected to sustain the field director and a larger staff.

Before Wickliffe assumed his new duties, some of the promotional work of the League was carried on by Mrs. Thelma Perkins.

Wickliffe lives with his wife and nine-year-old son at 466 Decatur Street, Brooklyn 33, N. Y.

Mrs. Barron Joins Business League Staff

The new secretarial assistant to John Wickliffe, field director, National Business League, is Mrs. Astrid D. Barron, formerly of Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Barron, who attended both Dillard and Howard universities, has had more than eight years' experience in government agencies.

At one time, she worked with the late Dr. Mary McCleod Bethune, noted woman leader, in the National Council of Negro Women.

Also a poet and singer, Mrs. Barron travelled seven years as soloist with the Musical Arts Choir, Washington, D.C. Her father, before his death in 1942, was an Episcopal minister and teacher in the South. Mrs. Barron's mother, Mrs. Florence L. Small, is the head of the psychology department, Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Fla.

Father of Mrs. Liebowitz Dies

Members of the Phelps-Stokes Fund staff sent condolences to Mrs. Anne Liebowitz, bookkeeper, during her mourning for the death of her father, Jacob L. Gold, who died July 1 in Brooklyn.

Mr. and Mrs. Perkins Parents of Son

Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence R. Perkins, Jr., 10 East 138th Street, New York, are the parents of a newly adopted son, Lawrence.

Mrs. Perkins, niece of Dr. F. D. Patterson, resigned her duties at the Phelps-Stokes Fund to begin her new career as mother in May. Mr. Perkins is a member of the staff of the United Negro College Fund.

Mrs. Walker's Son Awarded Hampton Scholarship

Raymond Walker, son of Mrs. Wilhelmina Walker, has been awarded a competitive scholarship for his sophomore year at Hampton Institute.

Miss Lanier Returns to University

Miss Patricia Lanier has returned to her studies at the University of Pennsylvania to enter her senior year. She has been serving as secretary to her father, Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier, during the absence of Mrs. Helen Straus who was on vacation. Miss Lanier, a student of history, was president of the junior class at the University last year.

" " "

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PHELPS-STOKES FUND

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TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8669

CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

ack 11-10 58

29 October, 1958

SUBJECT: EPISKY BISHOPS' LETTER PROPAGANDA

Dear Harold,

The Miami Episky Meeting, I have been told, managed to get its SRC contribution voted on despite some rhetorical roadblocks (temporary) from a Tannessean....not, I presume, Myles Horton. Bless them.

I am writing a hurried after-hours note about another consequence of the Convention, namely the Bishops' pastoral letter of which 25,000 copies are now being printed. Of these 7,000 are to be read (on un-Baptist command) from that many Episky pulpits. The rest, according to D.A. Bushy, the press officer of the Episcopal headquarters here, will be supplied to whatever organizations or agencies that can pass the good word along. (Address: 281 Fourth Ave., N.Y. 10).

Bushy doesn't want the church headquarters to plug this letter for fear of provoking more resistance, and squeeze on the embattled clergy. He agrees with me, however, that it might be a good idea of somebody else (preferably Southern) sent the letters out to local editors, asking them to check with the local Episkies to see when they were going to toss out their bishops' Lambeth and other pearls among the.....couchons. Sp ? Maybe they could even write pro or con editorials. (Virginia can hardly wait to see what the Clarke Courier will do in Berryville, or how Harry Byrd might squirm in his pew when it is read at this citadel of M. Resistance).

Arthur Walmsley in the E. Hdqs. here is checking Tarplee to ask his advice on the matter. In the meantime, I am wondering if you would be interested in a little distribution job on the letter to add to all those other pronouncements so that, despite the previous NYTimes spread, and wire service coverage, there might be local Calhoun, Tuscaloosa, Holly Springs, Pulaski, et al coverage, echoing those beautiful English words about civil disobedience.... Would you write Bushy for your SRC copies? I mentioned to the Mass Media committee that the letter might be useful as "new material."

What do you think?

Best,

Wilton

December 9, 1958

Dr. F. D. Patterson
President
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Fred:

It was good to talk with you on the telephone the other day and to find your good letter of December 1st awaiting me on my return to Atlanta.

We are pleased and grateful that the Phelps-Stokes Fund has voted unanimously to renew its aid to the "Fellowship of the Concerned." You will be hearing from Mrs. Tilly, who is also deeply pleased by this evidence of confidence and support.

The progress made on the Holly Knoll project is also deeply gratifying. Among other things, it is a significant tribute to the very effective leadership which you have given to this effort. I don't have to tell you that I speak of the project every time I get within range of a philanthropic ear and will continue to do so.

I was glad to learn that Stephen Currier is giving at least nominal support.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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PHELPS-STOKES FUND

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Housing: MRS. DYSON DUNCAN

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

December 1, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of November 25 commenting on the use which has been made by the "Fellowship of the Concerned" voted by the Phelps-Stokes Fund and appealing for renewal. I am happy to indicate that when this matter was discussed at our Trustees' meeting on November 19, it was voted unanimously to renew this grant for the year 1959 in recognition of the continuing and difficult problem of desegregation and the important contribution being made by the church women leaders of the South to its solution. Wilton Dillon will no doubt write Mrs. Tilly officially about the grant but I wanted you to have this word at this time.

With warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

Fred

F. D. Patterson
President

P. S. You will be pleased to know that we have practically all of the funds needed for the purchase of the Holly Knoll property either pledged or in hand. We expect to close the transaction about the 19th of this month. Thanks for your cooperation and support. FDP

wht

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PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

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Housing: MILDRED HOOKER DUNCAN

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8669

CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

December 11, 1958

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Oscar:

I regret that I shall be on my way to Africa by the time you receive this, for I had wanted to talk with you in person about the Little Rock study, and the background for the inability of the Phelps-Stokes Fund to make any financial contribution to it from its limited 1959 budget.

I needn't tell you we are indeed interested in the study, and feel especially that a second contribution should be made to help bring it to a completion. However, the Fund's "operations" on the Southern scene now will be concentrated chiefly on planning and financing conferences. The Robert Moton Memorial Foundation is now being set up in this connection to purchase and renovate the Moton residence, Holly Knoll, Capahosic, Virginia, as a kind of "Arden House" of the South. Dr. Patterson can inform you of this in greater detail.

Let us hope that the current efforts of Mrs. Nishi, Stuart Cook, et al.to obtain financing of projects related to religion and social change may have some consequences for financing the final stage of the Little Rock study, particularly in view of Campbell's and Pettigrew's connections with it. You no doubt have seen the draft proposal Claire Selltiz has prepared?

You should also know that I am trying to help Martin Deutsch organize a special issue of Human Organization, the journal of the Society for Applied Anthropology, on "Race, Class and Sex Factors in Elementary Education." It is hoped that if this comes out in 1959 that the articles can be digested in the form of pamphlets or editorials which will deal again, quite pointedly, with the issues raised by Shuey. Again, my thanks to you for having brought these to my attention. The University of Louisville, through Prof. C. H. Parrish, one of the consultants to the Southern Regional Council, will conduct a study in 1959 on ethnic and class factors in childrens' school achievement patterns. You may wish to keep in touch with Parrish about this project as it develops.

With warm regards, I am,

Cordially yours,

WSD:wrw
cc: Mr. Harold Fleming

Wilton S. Dillon
Director of Research

RECEIVED APR 8 1959

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TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8669

CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

April 6, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Claude Sitton's Nashville story in the Times today, reporting Brother Campbell's (et al.) pronouncements on Southern McCarthyism, lets me know that you still are operating "where it hurts," just as did the early Christians. (I am still having to get caught up on the domestic front, Nkrumah's alleged assassination plot, Nigerian independence, etc., having preoccupied me in recent months while travelling in Africa with the Columbia education professor).

June 19-21 are the weekend dates for the next Phelps-Stokes Fund consultation conference at Capahosic. We could not avoid the conflict with Father's day, and hope that your children will understand, well informed as they are about their father's public responsibilities.

Please let me have a memo on themes you think are pertinent to discuss this year, and who ought to be in the line-up. This is your conference as well as ours, and we should like to see it serve priorities that you have before you now.

Incidentally, Arthur Larsen, now of Duke University, was to be getting in touch with you at my suggestion to find out more about your "law and order" campaign in view of the interests of his Institute.

We have asked the General Education Board for some funds to hold a symposium May 14-16 on "Teaching Race, Caste and Class in Southern Colleges and Universities" at the regular meetings of the Society for Applied Anthropology, the University of Wisconsin. If we get travel funds for Southerners to come, could you be among them? Robert Armstrong is one of the program chairmen for this session along with Asael Hansen.

Cordially,

Milton

Wilton S. Dillon
Director of Research

WSD:wrw

P.S. When shall we see you in New York? Virginia and I will move April 30 to 612 West 112th Street, not too far from the old address, and look forward to an evening with you there.

VIA AIR MAIL

April 15, 1959

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Wilton:

It's good to hear from you again after your peregrinations in Africa.

I will be in New York for a couple of days next week - specifically Tuesday and Wednesday. Perhaps we can work out one of our famous get-togethers to discuss Capahosic and your University of Wisconsin program. If I can make a contribution to the latter without bankrupting the treasury, I would be willing to consider it.

In any case, I will call you on arrival next week.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

N E W S L E T T E R

No. 9 April 3, 1959

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Newsletter No. 9 April 3, 1959

NEWS OF PHELPS-STOKES FUND ACTIVITY IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

Trustees to Review Fund's Programs at Annual Spring Meeting, April 15

Phelps-Stokes Fund trustees will hear reports on various international and domestic aspects of the Fund's educational programs at their annual spring meeting, April 15. Dr. Emory Ross, chairman, will preside over the meeting, scheduled to start at 10 a.m. in the Fund offices, 101 Park Avenue.

Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, president, will report on the recent acquisition of an anonymous gift of more than $300,000 to support a three-year "college readiness" program for Negro high school graduates planning to enter college this fall in Atlanta and New Orleans. (See story below). He will also invite trustees' discussion of the Fund's interest in management education and development of entrepreneurial talent among Negro businessmen as one aspect of improving the status of Negroes in the United States. (See story on National Business League).

Wilton S. Dillon, Executive Secretary, will report on his recent study tour of West Africa, and the implications of his investigations for future research and liaison services of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. (Mr. Dillon and Prof. Karl Bigelow of Columbia University were financed by the Ford Foundation for their visits to African universities and research centers).

Dr. R. O. Lanier and Dr. Aaron Brown, both of whose projects terminate this year, will consult trustees about the extension of their work. Dr. Lanier's project (identification and placement of Negro talent) will end June 1 under the terms of the present grant from the General Education Board. December 31 is the date for expiration of funds for the five-year secondary school improvement program administered by Dr. Brown.

Phelps-Stokes Fund Launches $300,000 'College Readiness' Program for Negro Youth in Atlanta and New Orleans; President Announces Anonymous Gift

Through an anonymous gift now being administered by Phelps-Stokes Fund, a small percentage of the 1959 Negro high school graduates in the South will have an opportunity to attend "college-readiness" courses offered in four institutions in Georgia and Dillard University in Louisiana, Dr. Frederick Patterson has announced.

The program, under the supervision of Dr. Aaron Brown, will begin during the summer of 1959 for 120 prospective college freshmen and will continue through 1960 and 1961 for a similar number of college aspirants. Basic deficiencies in mathematics and reading skills are to be attacked as well as those intellectual and cultural aspects of human development now lacking in the lives of these Negro young people because of their inability to attend such "cultural enrichment" centers and events as museums, concerts, lectures, etc., in their racially segregated communities.

Approximately $300,000 will be spent during the next three years to support the program. Budgets of approximately $100,000 a year have been proposed to pay for: (1) salaries of special tutors to be employed by the cooperating institutions, Atlanta College and Dillard U niversity; (2) costs for holding remedial reading clinics and other educational and testing services during the eight-week summer courses; (3) room and board and fees for students attending the sessions; and (4) research and evaluation of the program, and publishing results of the investigations.

'A Significant Development'

"The generous gift to the Phelps-Stokes Fund will make possible what perhaps may become one of the most significant developments in Southern Negro education in recent years," Dr. Patterson pointed out in announcing the program. "It will help enormously in permitting colleges and universities to get on with their major business of liberal arts and technical education, and thus prevent the loss of academic energy on trying to make up for the weaknesses in elementary and secondary schooling and the disadvantages of racial discrimination. Moreover, the program will help solve some of the immediate problems of education of the new college generation without having to wait for the long-term consequences of another of another Phelps-Stokes effort to improve quality of instruction in secondary schools."

Dr. Patterson referred to the five-year Phelps-Stokes program of improving teaching and learning in 16 Southern high schools under a grant from the General Education Board. It is appropriate, he said, that Dr. Brown should administer and coordinate both programs because of their basic inter-relationships.

Atlanta institutions will operate the larger phase of the new program, providing remedial work for 80 students drawn from four colleges in Atlanta: Morris Brown, Morehouse, Clark and Spelman. The group to be prepared for college work during the 1959 summer course represent recent graduates of high schools who have been accepted as freshmen in these four colleges.

Dillard University in New Orleans will conduct summer workshops for 40 prospective freshmen due to study there this fall. The Dillard program will emphasize "cultural enrichment," that is, improvement of students' knowledge of art history and literature as well as contemporary developments in science and mathematics.

Originated by Mays and Dent

The project grew originally out of proposals by President Benjamin E. Mays of Morehouse College and President Albert W. Dent of Dillard University. They conferred in New York with Dr. Patterson and Dr. Brown about plans for the programs, January 16th. Dr. Brown consulted with both Atlanta and Dillard officials in Atlanta on March 23 and 24 to work out further details and a title for the project.

One significant detail affecting disbursement of the grant is the plan to deposit with the participating institutions the amounts of money students normally would be earning by summer work if they were not attending the special courses. "Thus a young Georgia high school graduate, from a low-income rural family, who might normally be picking tobacco in Connecticut, will not have to suffer the loss of his earnings by becoming better prepared for college work," Dr. Brown said. "The importance of reducing financial strain for students cannot be overestimated."

Career Counselling

Another important feature of the program will be the chances Negro youth will have to find out about new types of careers and occupations for which their aptitudes and scholastic achievement suggest they might follow.

Dr. Brown believes that guidance and counselling of high school students about their aptitudes and career chances will also help prepare "big shots" from high school graduating classes for some of the "hard realities" of college study. "Proper counselling," he said, "may serve to combine humility with hope as students face a sharp change from the sometimes impoverished intellectual environment of the high school to the tougher expectations of college." Some screening will be given to identify scientific and engineering talent.

Three groups to be included in the Atlanta and New Orleans experiments are average students, honor students, and valedictorians. All are expected to require special attention despite their past high school achievements. Students who perform "below the eighth grade reading level or higher than the thirteenth grade" will be excluded from the program.

Research and Evaluation

"The chances are great for doing some exciting research and evaluation about the performance of these students over the next three years," Dr. Brown said. He announced that the University of Chicago will play an important part in this phase of the project. Five members of the Chicago faculty, already consulted for their ideas and possible future help as an evaluation team, are: Dr. Francis S. Chase, chairman, Department of Education; Dr. Allison Davis, anthropologist, author of the well-known book on Negroes in New Orleans, Children of Bondage; Dr. Maurice Hartung, specialist in the teaching of mathematics; and Dr. Helen M. Robinson, associate professor and director of the reading clinic.

The Chicago participation in the plan will provide the chance for outside observers to set up "control groups," and on the basis of early tests, make predictions about the kind of scholastic performance that can be expected from these students when they reach their junior and senior years in college. They will attempt to find some correlations between college achievement and such factors as the size of the students' home communities, their sex, family income, and whether they come from farms, villages or cities.

"With such research," Dr. Patterson said, "we will be able to clarify some of the facts about human development which have been lost in the polemics surrounding the Supreme Court decision on equal educational opportunity."

Dr. Patterson Announces Progress in Establishing Holly Knoll as Permanent Conference Center

Progress continues to mark the efforts of the Phelps-Stokes Fund to lay the groundwork for establishing a permanent conference center in Virginia where Negro and white leaders can discuss regional, national and world affairs.

Holly Knoll, the Capahosic, Va., residence of the late Dr. Robert R. Moton, and scene of Phelps-Stokes Fund consultation conferences for the past three years, has now become the property of the Robert R. Moton Memorial Foundation, Inc. The purchase price of $25,000 was over-subscribed by $7,280 in cash and pledges. Thus with $32,280 in hand, Dr. Frederick Patterson has announced that the additional funds are being earmarked for operating expenses.

With a $25,000 gift from the General Education Board and a $7,500 gift from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the Moton Foundation is considerably closer to the goal of the anticipated $50,000 needed for renovation and development of Holly Knoll as a conference center. Seventeen thousand, five hundred dollars remain yet to be raised for this purpose from individual donors, foundations, and educational organizations.

"Many Americans may already be greatly indebted to the persons and organizations who, through their contributions, are honoring not only a distinguished Negro educator, but providing the chances for increased communication and joint planning among citizens formerly kept apart by law and social custom," Dr. Patterson commented. Dr. Moton built the residence on the York river in 1933 and used it as a study and retreat during his Tuskegee presidency as well as after his retirement.

Bids are now being received from contractors for work on remodelling and enlarging Holly Knoll. The staff architect and business manager of nearby Hampton Institute will be in charge of the renovations. (Hampton is one of the members of the United Negro College Fund whose presidents and faculties will be among the users of Holly Knoll as a conference center).

As a sign of the demands for an unsegregated site for conferences, discussions are now under way for planning 10 conferences in 1959. These include a mid-April student retreat for Virginia State College, and the regular June consultation conference of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. Other conferences may deal with African affairs, and the role of the American clergy in shaping public attitudes toward segregation and integration.

Negro Businessmen Need Help from Negro Colleges, Dr. Patterson Declares to Chapters of National Business League

"Business education and venture capital for Negroes now and in the future are two of the least explored means of providing fuller participation of Negroes in American life," Dr. Frederick Patterson, Phelps-Stokes Fund president, declared after his recent conferences with Negro educational and business leaders in various parts of the country. As president of the National Business League, founded by Booker T. Washington, Dr. Patterson has been speaking before audiences in a number of cities where new or established chapters of the League are planning ways for Negroes to take a larger role in both the economic contributions and rewards of the nation.

"Racial tensions seem to be reduced in places where Negro businessmen are taking responsible places in the community," Dr. Patterson observed, pointing out that economic development is a "non-controversial" topic about which agreement and cooperation can be reached among Negro and white civic and business leaders.

Lack of money to start new businesses, and lack of technical education about the management of commercial activities are two obstacles to this "hopeful development," Dr. Patterson said. To help reduce these obstacles, he has been urging appointment of a Negro to the staff of the Small Business Administration in Washington to advise Negroes about ways to approach the federal government for assistance. He is also urging a more active role of Negro colleges in sharing their research and educational facilities with Negro businessmen in communities where they are located.

Southern University in Baton Rouge, La., Texas Southern University in Houston, and North Carolina State College at Durham are institutions which are pointing the way toward such cooperation with businessmen, Dr. Patterson said. "The colleges have been indifferent up to now to the great potential they have in extending their educational influence beyond the campus."

Both Dr. Patterson and John Wickliffe, field director of the League, have been counselling college staffs and businessmen about ways that teachers of accounting can help Negroes "set up their books," and teachers of economics might inform businessmen about economic trends and market possibilities.

Dr. Patterson Sees New Tasks for Negro Colleges in American Higher Education

Dr. Frederick Patterson, president of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, predicts that all Negro colleges and universities that "are good enough to survive will eventually lose their racial designation and become, insofar as admissions policies are concerned, an undifferentiated part of the American system of higher education."

Dr. Patterson made this prediction in a Founder's Day address at Barber-Scotia College, Concord, N.C., January 25. Negro colleges, public and private, have in the past operated on a segregated basis from necessity and not from choice, he pointed out.

Commenting on the role of Negro colleges now that racial barriers are increasingly being removed in higher education, Dr. Patterson declared that "it would be the height of folly to throw away the more than one hundred million dollars of physical plant resources which Negro colleges represent." He added that the folly would be especially great if one considers the present and future staggering demands on higher educational institutions in the U.S.

"With present facilities and personnel inadequate, the magnitude of the problem to be faced in 1973 when the college-age group will contain seven young people for each four today certainly staggers the imagination," he Phelps-Stokes president said.

Negro youth, he continued, will seek higher education in the so-called Negro colleges for some time to come. This will happen because: (1) they are freely available to those who meet academic qualifications; (2) costs of attending Negro colleges are lower than in white colleges; (3) colleges serving Negro youth on a previously required segregated basis will be selected by a majority of Negro youth for the "normal social experience" they will be able to offer.

Examining the Phelps-Stokes Fund project to improve the quality of instruction in some Southern high schools, Dr. Patterson said that a pattern has been found by which Negro colleges can play an increasingly important role in improving education all up and down the line through closer contact with high school staffs.

'Study Foreign Languages," Dr. Lanier Advises Negro Students Planning Overseas Careers

"You have the chance to respond to the urgent need for American technicians working in other countries to be trained in foreign languages," Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier has been counselling Negro college students in recent visits to institutions in the South and Mid-West.

The director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund project for the identification and placement of Negro talent has been visiting a number of campuses to discuss international service possibilities with students specializing in fields needed in technical assistance programs of the U.S. government, and private and international organizations.

"I talked with one student of plant pathology," Dr. Lanier said, "and reminded him that studying Arabic would provide him with an effective qualification for an overseas assignment, as well as a means to communicate more directly with people he might help if he were to go to any part of the Moslem world."

During a tour which ended March 25, Dr. Lanier attended a conference on the British Commonwealth for corporation executives sponsored by the School of International Affairs, Johns Hopkins University, Washington. (He attended sessions dealing with economic development in Africa and the West Indian Federation). He also represented the Phelps-Stokes Fund at the inauguration of T. Winston Cole, Sr., as president of Wiley College, Marshall, Texas, March 22.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

Fund Supports Move to Help Educate American Indians in International Affairs

As part of an interest in facilitating adult education of American Indians in international affairs, the Phelps-Stokes Fund will contribute $250 toward expenses of Joseph R. Garry, president, National Congress of American Indians, to visit the Middle East May 14-June 15 with thirty other Americans.

A "good-will" mission of Americans, representing a variety of professions and organizations, is being organized by the American Friends of the Middle East, Inc. (Mr. Trevor Christie, leader of the group, tried unsuccessfully last year to arrange for Mr. Garry to participate in a similar mission to South America).

A member of the Idaho legislature and the Coeur d'Alene tribe, Mr. Garry headed the American Indian community development mission to Puerto Rico in March, 1958. The Phelps-Stokes Fund helped finance that mission and sent an observer with the group.

If sufficient funds are raised from other sources to permit Mr. Garry to visit the Middle East, he will have the opportunity to meet government officials and tribal leaders concerned with the educational aspects of fitting tribal traditions and administrative structures into the framework of national states. The group plans to visit Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, Israel, Syria, Turkey and Greece.

Upon his return to the United States, Mr. Garry would report to various Indian groups about tribal conditions in other countries in order to provide Indians with some new perspectives on such problems as leadership training for youth and economic development of communities in arid zones.

President Garry, who represents Benewah County in the Idaho legislature, is chairman of a newly-formed Indian Affairs' Committee in the House of Representatives. One of its aims is to help bring industry on or near Indian reservations through obtaining tax exemptions for industries employing Indians.

Another American Indian who may accompany the mission to the Middle East is Mr. William Keeler, vice-president, Phillips Petroleum Company, Bartlesville, Okla., and present chief of the Cherokee nation.

Phelps-Stokes Fund Representative to Participate in Conference on Indian Affairs

Wilton S. Dillon, director of research, will take part in a two-day conference on "Churches and their Mission to American Indians, May 22-23, sponsored by the National Council of Churches, Division of Home Missions.

Dr. Galen Weaver, National Council staff member who is organizing the conference, announced that Dr. Ethel Alpenfels, professor of anthropology at New York University, will be one of the opening speakers at the meeting.

HOUSING

Architects, Social Scientists, Housing Officials Will Ponder Design for New Public Housing in New York

April 28th is the date set for a conference on "Planning and Architecture of Public Housing in New York City" under the direction of Miss Elizabeth Wood, consultant, Citizens' Housing and Planning Council of New York, Inc. The conference will bring social scientists, housing officials and architects together to discuss problems of design of public housing. It is being financed by a grant from the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

Among speakers expected to take part are: Dr. Robert K. Merton, professor of sociology, Columbia University; Dr. Rhoda Metraux, cultural anthropologist, who recently conducted a housing survey for Riverside Church under a Phelps-Stokes Fund grant; and Prof. Harvey Wheeler, political scientist, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va., who has been studying how recent findings in the behavioral sciences have implications for planning, designing and administering public housing.

The conference is scheduled to start at 10 a.m. at the Men's Faculty Club, Columbia University, and continue, through luncheon until 3 or 4 p.m. It will be attended by approximately 40 persons, including architects who have worked on housing design; representatives of the architecture department of the New York Housing Authority, regional office of the Public Housing Administration, and the State Division of Housing; housing managers; and representatives of community centers who have been working closely with tenants and are aware of problems arising from project and building design.

In a letter inviting several to serve on an advisory committee to plan the conference, as well as to recommend future research on design problems, Roger Starr, executive director of Citizens' Housing and Planning Council wrote:

"There is a widespread feeling that public housing projects are too institutional in their appearance, that the size of the projects, their design, their height and density are unsuitable for the kinds of people they house."

The advisory committee will meet March 31 to review research affecting such problems, and advise on the method and scope of additional research and study.

The last study of architecture of the New York City Housing projects was made in 1949 by the New York chapter of the American Institute of Architects.

AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Plans Under Way for new University of West Africa

Africans now having to seek higher education overseas because of scarcity of colleges and universities probably will have the choice of another institution in their own continent if current plans are realized for the establishment of a new University of West Africa.

According to recent reports, Mr. Juan Trippe, president of Pan-American World Airways, and a Phelps-Stokes Fund trustee, is leading plans to start a private university in Liberia which would serve students from a variety of African countries.

The University effort involves a gift of 50,000 acres of land from the Liberian government. A bill authorizing such a gift was made Feb. 24th by the Liberian legislature. The charter approved would effect such a land grant for a three-year period. During this time, funds would be raised and a board of trustees formed to start actual construction of the university. Extension of the government grant beyond three years is dependent on finding the necessary initial endowment of $1,000,000 to assure the Liberian government that the supporters of the university plan to go ahead with the project.

Engineers are now examining a number of possible sites.

Inquiries about the relationship of the proposed university to the University of Liberia and Cuttington College, have produced a reply that the University of West Africa would be "completely separate and private."

Mr. Rochefort Weeks Becomes President of University of Liberia

The Liberian Consulate in New York has confirmed that Mr. Rochefort Weeks, young Liberian lawyer, has been sworn in as president of the University of Liberia in Monrovia, succeeding Dr. Kermit King, an American educator whose term expired. Until recently, his final appointment was uncertain in view of the possibility that the Liberian government might prefer his services in the field of diplomacy.

Mr. Weeks, a graduate of the institution he now heads, received his law training at Howard University, Washington. He later was Professor of Law at the University of Liberia, and was in charge of a law codification project in Liberia involving collaboration with Cornell University.

During Mr. Weeks' visit to the United States last fall, he consulted with the staff of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and other foundation officials in New York concerning plans for development of the university. In December, Wilton S. Dillon, Executive Secretary of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and Dr. Karl Bigelow, Professor of Higher Education at Columbia University, talked with Mr. Weeks in Monrovia about types of American assistance the university needs.

To serve as administrative dean, Mr. Weeks appointed Dr. Advertus A. Hoff, a former student of Prof. Bigelow, who wrote his Columbia dissertation on "Higher Education in a Changing Liberia."

Phelps-Stokes Officers to Speak on Concepts of Government in Africa

Dr. Frederick Patterson, president, and Wilton S. Dillon, director of research, are scheduled to participate in a panel discussion April 7 at the New School for Social Research, 66 West 12th Street, New York, at 8:30 p.m.

Sanford Griffith, director of the Center for African Studies at the New School, will serve as chairman of the discussion of "Multi-Racial versus All-Black Concepts of Government in Africa."

Another aspect of Phelps-Stokes Fund participation in the Center for African Studies at the New School is the continuation, on demand, of the symposia on "New Careers for Africans." In January, Dr. Patterson and Eric Larrabee, one of the editors of Horizon, and a student of African affairs, led a discussion on human problems of industrialization in Africa. On March 9, Dillon reported to the symposium some of the new developments in African education which he observed during his recent trip to West Africa.

On April 20, African students and others in the symposium will discuss future careers in voluntary organizations in Africa. The discussion will be started by Emmanual Wallerstein, instructor in sociology, Columbia University, who has made a study of non-government organizations in Ghana and the Ivory Coast as a Ford Foundation Fellow.

Rural Pastors and Young Farmers in Africa Assisted by Fund Grant

Agricultural Missions, Inc., recipient of a Phelps-Stokes Fund grant of $700 to further its 1959 activities in Africa, reports that rural pastors and young farmers are among the Africans to be affected by the grant.

I. W. Moomaw, executive secretary of Agricultural Missions, remarked in a March 11 letter to the Phelps-Stokes Fund:

"Several new phases of work are developing in Africa and we appreciate more than one can tell this generous contribution which enables us to serve there more effectively.

One of the points of immediate emphasis is intensive training in rural reconstruction for field pastors. In the many rural pastors and village churches we have a great potential for developing the type of community life toward which all African people are striving today. The service-minded village church and a pastor, given simple skills so he can help the people directly and also work as liaison between the people and governmental agencies, can be one of the most important factors for community development today.

We are in the process of sending now a modest sum of $450 to be used for the development of Young Farmers' and Homemakers' Clubs in Western Africa. This is, of course, a small amount, but used as a leavening agent in the hands of dedicated people, it can accomplish much.

Please convey our sincere thanks to the Board of Trustees and others of the Phelps-Stokes Fund for their interest in this work."

Phelps-Stokes Fund Establishes Contact with Leverhulme Trust

Future cooperation between the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Leverhulme Trust Fund in London concerning African education appears likely as a result of a recent exchange of correspondence.

On his return to New York from West Africa in February, the Executive Secretary of the Phelps-Stokes Fund called at the office of Leverhulme Trust to arrange for an exchange of information about the activities of the two foundations as they related to research and education in Africa. In the meantime, Sir Miles Clifford, director of Leverhulme, has written:

In these days of rapid change in Africa, I am sure that institutions in the U.S. and here which have a common interest in African affairs should keep in close touch."

In the past, the Phelps-Stokes Fund has cooperated with Rhodes Trust in England. They were responsible for financing the 1942 bibliography of African education.

NEWS OF TRUSTEES AND STAFF

New Staff Members of National Business League

Two new additions to the staff of the National Business League have recently started their duties and have been welcomed to the Phelps-Stokes Fund offices.

They are George F. Jones, newly-appointed director of advertising and promotions for League Notes, monthly publication, and Miss Jean W. Cooke, new secretary and stenographer for the League.

Jones, born in Portsmouth, N.H., was educated in the public schools of Lawrence, Mass., the Northern New England School of Religious Education, Hillyer Junior College, and the University of New Hampshire.

His own business activities started when he was 12 years old in an auto waxing service. He later studied journalism, and has worked as a member of the staffs of the New York Age, Golden Advertising Agency, and was the Long Island representative of the New York Amsterdam News for five years. Before joining the League, he was account executive with the Borough Advertising Agency.

Jones is married and is the father of a son and daughter.

Miss Cooke, 1412 College Avenue, Bronx, is a graduate of Prospect Heights, Brooklyn, and a two-year program of accounting at City College. She has had three years of secretarial and bookkeeping experience, and five years of experience as a switchboard operator. Miss Cooke was born in Durham, N.C.

Phelps-Stokes Trustee Active as Agricultural and Educational Consultant

Mr. John H. Reisner, Phelps-Stokes Fund trustee since 1943, is scheduled to retire from the board in 1959. Retirement from active responsibilities, however, is not likely to reduce his involvement in a variety of duties related to agriculture and education in various parts of the world.

The former executive secretary of Agricultural Missions, Inc., Mr. Reisner is secretary-treasurer of the Board of Founders of Allahabad Agricultural Institute in India; president of International Voluntary Services, Inc., Washington; chairman of the Committee on Agricultural Education of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia; and is an advisor to an inter-agency committee in Washington which coordinates U.S. government relations with the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization.

As a recent service to the staff of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, Mr. Reisner helped arrange visits of the Executive Secretary to the Northern Region of Ghana in December and the Western Region of Nigeria in January to observe community development activities being carried out by American agriculturalists working for International Development Services, Inc.

Dr. Patterson Becomes Columnist

Dr. Frederick Patterson, president of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, has accepted an invitation to initiate a weekly column, "Viewpoint," in the Southern Observer, a new newspaper published in Tuskegee, Ala. In a recent column, he discussed housing problems of Negroes in Northern cities.

Other recent activities include his starting membership January 29th on the Council of Foreign Relations upon the recommendation of John D. Rockefeller, 3rd and I.N.P. Stokes.

On February 8, Dr. Patterson conducted for St. Luke's Methodist Church, New Rochelle, the forum, "Christian Responsibility for Community Welfare."

Mrs. Duncan Undergoes Surgery

Mrs. Dyson Duncan, chairman of the Housing Committee, underwent surgery at New York hospital Monday, March 30. She will be convalescing at her home in Mt. Kisco at the time of the April 15 meeting of the trustees, and will not be able to attend.

Son Born to Mr. and Mrs. Wickliffe

Mr. and Mrs. John Wickliffe are the parents of a second son, Alfred Lomax Wickliffe, born March 1 at St. John's Episcopal Hospital, Brooklyn. He weighed six pounds and seven ounces at birth.

Mr. Wickliffe is field director of the National Business League.

Dr. and Mrs. Johnson to Hawaii and Africa

Dr. and Mrs. Guy Johnson will leave Chapel Hill, N.C. in late May to go to Honolulu on the first leg of their voyage to the Union of South Africa where Dr. Johnson will teach next year at Rhodes University.

The Phelps-Stokes Fund trustee, who is professor of sociology and anthropology at the University of North Carolina, will spend from May to August at the University of Hawaii teaching in the summer session. On August 1, he and Mrs. Johnson will go directly to South Africa.

His South African assignment is part of the U.S.-South African Leader Exchange Program administered by Dr. Frank Loescher at the African-American Institute. At the end of his lectures at Rhodes University, August, 1960, Dr. and Mrs. Johnson hope to visit other parts of Africa to obtain new material for his North Carolina courses on Negro culture in Africa and the United States.

# # # #

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
226 West 47th Street New York 36, N. Y.

The Challenge of the Urban Community*

by

Chester Rapkin
Research Professor, Institute for Urban Studies
University of Pennsylvania

It is by now commonplace to observe that our society, and particularly our cities, is undergoing significant changes. I for one frequently become insensitive, however, to the rapidity and pervasiveness of these changes. It needs but a moment's reflection to realize that the total fabric of life has been materially altered, even within our own memories. The father of my close colleague in his youth witnessed the last Indian uprising and in his maturity marveled at the first moon shot. In a sense, he has traversed the span of written history.

As citizens, and particularly as practitioners, we cannot but experience the influence of some of these changes in our daily tasks. Frequently, however, because of the absorption with which we conduct our lives we are impressed by the immediate and the direct and very often fail to see the context in which the change occurs. Its impact on our life varies in its magnitude depending upon our situation and the roles which we play. Often it is merely a minor shift in scene, but occasionally we experience a violent ground swell that disturbs and perhaps removes the landmarks that have guided us. Workers who years ago painfully learned a few words of Yiddish, now find that Spanish stands them in better stead. Elaborate and expensive structures built in response to a great need very often remain as mute monuments to past achievements.

The settlement house and its Federation for some time past have felt the need for a re-examination of its goals and programs. In order to seek its most proficient role in modern urban society, your Federation last year assembled an impressive array of leaders from many disciplines and agencies. These men and women meeting in the seclusion and repose of Arden House, a magnificent establishment located on the crest of a mountain, divested themselves of their taxing schedules and devoted almost a full week to the assembling of facts, the mustering of experience, and the interplay of thought. They set themselves the task of reappraising neighborhood goals in a changing world, and I am sure that you all know of the report carrying this title. If you have not seen it as yet, you must do so before this conference is over, for the book is indeed a remarkable document. Not only does it provide a

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*Keystone address presented at the National Federation of Settlements & Neighborhood Centers - Conference in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, April 16, 1959.

substantive summary of the salient facts regarding the changes in our cities, it also includes a masterful statement of the new goals which neighborhood and settlement houses might strive to achieve. In addition, it contains several illuminating articles on specific aspects of the general problem. But perhaps what impressed me the most was the lucidity and grace with which the volume is written. It is more than a workmanlike job. It is certain to become a basic source book which will be consulted by many who are concerned with the urban problem.

The General Setting

It is inevitable that those of us who have lived through the economic depression of the 1930's, the great war of the 1940's, and the threat of war of the 1950's with the horrifying and incredible prospect of total obliteration, cannot but fail to have these experiences shape some of our patterns of thought. It is essential, however, that we set some of this baggage aside and view the prospects that a world at peace may bring with it.

The high and increasing productivity of our nation has all but defeated the problems of hunger and privation, and it is fully within our power to bring about those social advances that are necessary to assure an equitable distribution of the national product so that extremes of great wealth and dire poverty can be reduced, if not eliminated. For the past twenty years, we have witnessed an amazing period of full employment and rising real income. These economic advances have been accompanied by an expansion in the standard of living of our people. There are many opportunities for personal advancement, even among those reared in unauspicious circumstances.

Economic growth has been accompanied by a great rise in the numbers of people in our country, and this in itself has made for social ferment. The increase in population from 132 million in 1940 to 175 million today has not only stimulated the demand for services and goods, it has also generated the need for major adjustments in the social scene. When we consider that in the next 20 to 25 years there will be an additional increase of approximately 60 to 100 million people, the prospect is indeed staggering.

Population growth has brought anomalous changes. We have and will continue to have more young people. The age of marriage has been declining consistently (although presumably this has a lower limit), and the birth rate has risen. The one and two-child family has been replaced by families with three and four children. At the same time, the average span of life has been extended so that the proportion of elderly persons in the population has also increased. Thus, our people are growing older and younger simultaneously. It also means that the portion of the population in the

productive years of life, on whom the burden of support falls, is decreasing and will continue to do so for some time to come. The substantial advances in real income that are anticipated will indeed be welcome and, in fact, will be necessary if per capita incomes are to keep pace with general economic growth.

The impact of these developments is perhaps greatest in urban areas. The number of houses needed to accommodate our growing population has increased. Rising incomes plus the widespread use of the automobile has made it possible for a large proportion of our families to realize the middle class dream of a free standing home in the suburbs. Thus, although metropolitan areas have expanded, the growth in the central city has been modest, while the development on the outskirts has been rapid and impressive. Between 1950 and 1956, the population of central cities rose five percent, while the suburban areas experienced a rise of almost one-third.

Urbanization as a way of life is spreading. Today fully two-thirds of our people live in urban areas and one-third are rural dwellers. But these statistics alone tell only part of the story, for the age of the "country cousin" is rapidly passing. As recently as one hundred years ago, even our cities had a rural aura. There were open spaces, family gardens, and frequent associations with the nearby countryside. Today our rural areas have an urban quality. Movies, television, branches of national shops, and instructors trained at teachers colleges have brought the city to the countryside; and the convenience of the motor vehicle brings the country people to the city with increasing frequency. Thus, what goes on in the cities is not limited in its effect to the areas of population concentration, but is disseminated widely throughout the land.

The Movement of Peoples

The city has always attracted peoples from the farm and from other areas throughout the world. In fact, the growth of cities is dependent upon these population flows, for the excess of births over deaths has rarely been sufficient to foster urban growth. Primarily people are drawn by the opportunities for economic advancement for themselves and, particularly, for their children. But these opportunities are not without cost. In virtually all instances, the mother tongue fails as an instrument of communication and a new language must be learned. The ways of life previously assumed as a matter of course come out of joint in the new environment and may even be ridiculous or slightly mad. Chisms develop within the family, between the elders who cling to the ways and values learned in early childhood and the children who seek to conform to the new patterns. Very frequently, the youngsters feel that their heritage is a burden to be discarded at the earliest opportunity.

The costs, however, are not only borne by the newcomers. The areas into which they flow experience substantial dislocation. As the population composition shifts, existing institutions find their previous support ebbing away. Familiar places are taken over by peoples of a different color or who speak a different language, or whose accents and speech follow different patterns of expression. Tensions generate and an exodus of indigenous populations is often a consequence.

Within urban areas, there are frequent shifts of households from one place of residence to another. Fully one-fifth of our families move on the average each year. This type of mobility brings with it a series of intra-family strains. Accommodation must be made to new neighbors, new churches, new shops, new modes of transportation. The greatest burden, however, is not borne by the adults who maintain friendly associations even at a distance, but by the children, who depend upon others in the immediate area for playmates. In addition, every parent who has moved has observed the shock that a child undergoes when he is suddenly introduced into a strange classroom - the isolation, the new curriculum and, above all, the uncertainty regarding his reception by the figure of authority, his teacher. It is a trauma that takes even the most well adjusted child some time to overcome.

Studies of residential mobility tell us that the greatest degree of movement is found among young families, families with low income, minority groups and households with children in which the father is not present. This statistical finding carries within it a significant distinction. Movers are comprised of two groups: The mobile who change their place of residence in order to achieve better housing standards and the restless who move from one dwelling to another and from one area to another seeking to overcome one difficulty only to find that this is achieved at the expense of another. There is within the latter group, therefore, a constant and futile search for improvement that is invariably frustrated. Once the former group has moved, it tends to remain in the same place for some time, but the restless group is perpetually on the move. Since it takes several years for a family to learn to relate to its neighbors and neighborhood, these people are likely to forget their commitments to society, to lack interest in local government, schools, hospitals, and other social resources that require sustained support. Moreover, the anonymity that surrounds these families is not conducive to satisfactory modes of social behavior.

With the large inmigration of minority groups into the center city, many existing neighborhoods have been undergoing racial transition. This, plus the other factors noted earlier, has led a substantial proportion of white middle class families, particularly those with children, to abandon the city for suburban areas. In Philadelphia,

for example, in 1954 and 1955 over 22,000 white families left the city for suburbs, while only 2,600 families moved from the suburbs to the city. Families that left were those in the middle and upper income brackets, many of whom were leaders in their former communities.

Mobility is not restricted to households. Industry, too, is on the move. There have been substantial shifts in employment from the central city to the outlying areas as manufacturing firms seek new locations and the type of plant more suitable to modern operation. The multi-story red brick factory that enriched many a northern city in the 19th century is now appallingly obsolete and the firm is attracted to the outlying areas for very much the reasons that the families move. This has meant a decline in the number of skilled and highly paid jobs in the center city which has buttressed the movement of the families to the suburb so that the wage earner can be closer to his place of employment. At the same time, the demands for unskilled service personnel has risen in the center city, all of which creates forces that will make for further inmigration of low income peoples and for continued outmigration of middle and upper income families.

The Physical City

The decline in manufacturing employment is but one indication of the major change that has taken place within the non-residential sector of the city. Perhaps of equal, if not greater importance, is the fact that the downtown areas which constitute the core of urban life have been on the wane. Retail trade, the great mode of distributing the products of the world to the ultimate consumer, has served not only to purvey commodities, but it has also formed the basis of the great meeting place of city dwellers. To the market was later added the theater, the museum, the concert hall, and the community centers which enrich urban life.

Within the past decade and a half, dowtown trade has sorely felt the competition of the outlying shopping center with its ample parking space, designed development, variety of shops, and proximity to a growing market. Outside of the metropolis, and particularly in the middle size city, even office buildings are drifting away from the center. In response to these developments, there has emerged a massive effort to revitalize our downtown areas. Much of it is being done by private real estate investors and by groups of business men. But in substantial measure it depends upon federal and local aid which has been made available for various urban renewal programs. We need only to look at midtown New York or Penn Center in Philadelphia or the Golden Triangle in Pittsburgh to derive an impression of the significant restoration that can come about as the result of these combined efforts.

As one wanders through the older residential areas of our cities, particularly those that lie beyond walking distance or a short journey from the downtown section, one cannot help but be appalled by the enormous mass of grey area. Some of it is slum; miserable and brutal. But much of it, in fact the overwhelming proportion, is semi-slum, still habitable, but obsolescent and ugly. Private financing will undertake new construction of luxury accommodations in the downtown areas, but by no stretch of the imagination will an investor in his right mind move into the grey areas. These sections have no inherent locational advantage and even were a large project by current standards constructed, it would stand as a small island in a sea of decay. The reclamation of these huge sections cannot be undertaken without substantial public assistance, and yet the resources which are available are appallingly insignificant in view of the task. Within the next few years, it will be necessary to reconsider the entire program of urban renewal and to hew new instruments that will be much more powerful and direct in order to cope with the problems that even now are clearly visible.

I do not wish to convey the impression that all is negative in housing. Quite the contrary. Since 1950, well over ten million new homes have been constructed. The proportion of satisfactory units has increased from 63 percent to 76 percent of the total housing supply. The units lacking plumbing facilities have declined during this period from twelve million to eight million and dilapidated units from four and one-half million to four million.

Despite this improvement, the figures still reveal that a substantial proportion of our population is condemned to live in slums. I need not tell this audience what this means. But there is another housing element that the census statistics as yet do not cover; that is the ugly mushrooming of rooming houses in our congested urban areas. If the slum is the breeder of crime, vice and despair, then the rooming house represents its evil blossom. Thousands of children are deprived of such elementary facilities as a bed or running water or a meal cooked on the premises. They are exposed prematurely to squalor and to the behavior patterns of an adult world in which moral restraint is unrewarded. It is not unexpected to find that rooming houses are largely occupied by low income inmigrant minority groups, that the rents are high and profits exorbitant, and that many a family expends more than one-third of its income for housing in these accommodations.

I must confess that whenever I walk through a rooming house area, I feel considerably better about public housing. You all know that it is quite fashionable these days to view public housing with despair. In fact, many of us undoubtedly have witnessed some of the foremost early proponents of public housing beating their chests and crying mea culpa. There is no denying that the clearance of slum areas removes many valuable neighborhood elements a-

long with the decayed structures. One cannot help but be dismayed at the uniformity of income or the increasing ghettoization of public housing. But we must also remember that without public housing these families would be condemned to perpetual slum residence and that the initial experience with interracial housing areas came in public developments. Moreover, carefully designed scientific studies now in process at Johns Hopkins University have found that in public housing the health of the occupants has risen, that neighborly associations have increased, and that there has been a rise in the activities that the family undertakes together, an important finding in a population that is known more for division than coherence in family structure. Moreover, an extremely large percentage of public housing tenants are well satisfied with their residence and are particularly pleased that their children now have a satisfactory place in which to play. The problem then is not to abandon public housing, but rather to seek ways of preserving its advantages and reducing its costs.

Intergroup Relations

To my mind the most significant national problem in mid-century is to remove and obliterate the social barriers that are raised against minority groups and to assure full and unequivocal citizenship for all. Striking advances have indeed been made in this direction within the past generation, in education, employment, access to public facilities, as well as in other areas. Even housing where resistance is perhaps greatest has shown some degree of advance. The social climate has also altered. There is little doubt that prejudice has shown some decline, but we all too frequently find that discrimination persists nevertheless. Today many people may not do the right thing, but they usually say the right thing.

Urban areas are particularly exposed to the full impact of the problem. Many a northern city has experienced a decline in white population and, at the same time, a substantial increase in the number and proportion of non-whites. Here are some figures for a group of cities which cite the rise in the non-white population since 1950: Philadelphia 26 percent; New York City 27 percent; Los Angeles 47 percent; Gary 55 percent; San Diego 82 percent; Syracuse 100 percent; Newark 108 percent. In fact, the rise has been so rapid in some places that people are asking whether the northern metropolis is destined to be comprised of an all-black low income central city surrounded by an all-white middle class suburb. The more careful student, however, has observed that the rate of inmigration within the past two or three years has tapered off in most northern cities and that the pool of southern rural peoples that feeds the stream of migration is diminishing. Thus, we can expect within the next decade a stabilization of numbers which will quell the flow of innundation and give us an opportunity to nurture the type of integration that we consider desirable.

Despite the friction and hostility that may accompany racial transition, there is considerable hope, particularly in the middle class sections, of achieving stable racial balances. In Philadelphia and in Washington, D. C., for example, there has been a remarkable increase in home ownership among Negro families. In Philadelphia, between 1950 and 1956 the rise was almost 100 percent. Minority families are now found in virtually all sections of these and other cities. In all but a few instances, transition was effectuated with a minimum of difficulty and the ensuing relationships, if not intimate, were at least placid.

These experiences have given me a moment's pause and have in a way helped me clarify the meaning of neighborhood racial integration. There are a number of possible situations that are called integrated neighborhoods. On the West Side of New York, low income Puerto Rican families live intermingled with middle and upper income educated whites. There is very little contact between these two groups, and the relationships that do exist only serve to generate friction, misgivings and suspicion. There is a second level such as is found in Germantown in Philadelphia. Here Negro families of similar income and educational status with the resident whites live amicably side by side, share the same community facilities and visit back and forth in neighborly fashion. There is friendliness, but as yet some distance. We have a few examples of integration as we would like to see it, and these are to be found almost exclusively in the privately financed interracial housing projects which were so designated from their inception. Notable among these is Concord Park in Trevose, Pa., and Greenbelt Knolls in Philadelphia, constructed by Morris Milgram. In New York City, there is Morningside Gardens in the vicinity of Columbia University, Queensview, and several other housing cooperatives. In each case, the success of the development hinged largely on the fact that a substantial basis for mutual relationships existed by virtue of the similarities in the level of Negro and whites.

Assigning priority to integration among middle class Negroes and whites increases the likelihood of success and makes available to the Negro of attainment a just reward for the inordinate effort necessary to achieve this standing. It also provides a demonstration to all low income minorities who may feel that the game is not worth the candle. The low income Negro, and particularly the youth, must be shown that they have a stake in society and will share in its rewards. This incentive is doubly important today. The European immigrant of the past severed his relationship with the old country and had no alternative but to make his way in the new land. Our recent immigrants because they come from nearby areas, the South, the islands, Mexico or Canada, retain close ties with their birth places. For a few dollars and in a few hours they can return home if the new environment proves disappointing.

The reward for effort must be evident before we can expect young

people to study, to moderate their behavior and to strive for self-expansion. Without these demonstrations all community efforts can have but limited success. Why should a young Negro boy struggle through college if his employment opportunities are limited to the post office? Or a young Negro girl exercise personal restraint if she is viewed by the outside world as a potential domestic? These demonstrations are everybody's affair and everybody's responsibility - not only the settlement worker's, but the teacher's, the employer's, the public official's, and the police man's. If for no other reason, this must be done to release the productive energies of a large sector of our people. In the process, those who have been deprived will be able to develop a true sense of their inner worth.

The task assigned to me by your Chairman was to present a summary of the Arden House Workshop, but as you can see, I have taken the liberty of interpolating some remarks and views of my own. I had also hoped to have an opportunity to discuss many other points with you, but since the Chairman has instructed me to speak for no more than five or six hours, I am compelled to omit some interesting and vital topics. For example, I had hoped to point out that the low income families today do not represent a cross section of society as they did during the 1930's, but rather include groups that operate under some particular social or physical disadvantage. I wanted to tell you about the increasing tendency of homogeneity of populations in newly constructed areas, be they downtown districts or suburban subdivisions. I had hoped to comment on the increasing strain in family life and particularly the growing numbers of women at work. Today, one-third of all women in the United States work outside the home. Sixty percent of the working women are married and 40 percent of all mothers with children of school age are employed. In addition, I had planned to spend a few minutes on the new patterns of leisure and on the problem of youth in the so-called better families. But I feel that I have tried your patience sufficiently and now come to my closing remarks.

Goals for Neighborhood Centers

As an outsider, it would indeed be foolish, if not presumptuous, for me to do more than suggest the series of major objectives that should govern your policies and day to day programs. You must formulate your own goals through discussions such as those which will be held in the remaining sessions of this conference and at many other places and times.

There are, however, several areas which you will undoubtedly explore. Without question, the settlement house must view itself not only as an instrument for elevating the individual, but also as a community group which is part of a larger urban complex. The

persons with whom you come in contact should be acquainted with this realization and encouraged to participate not only in neighborhood activities, but in the general municipal scene as well. They must be trained for leadership, which should include the devices for directing mass participation without overlooking social idealism.

A major task is in the field of intergroup relations. It is of primary importance that differences among people are accepted as interesting and indeed valuable rather than as criteria of exclusion. Not only must these demonstrations be made in day to day relationships within the neighborhood, but attempts must also be made to bring these views and activities to the outside world in the fields of employment, housing, formal education, and government.

I do not know how much the settlement or neighborhood house can do to aid the adjustment of multi-problem families, the small group of unfortunates that labors under manifold difficulties. But without doubt, some group or agency must assume responsibility for the direction and coordination of efforts on their behalf. Whether this is the neighborhood house, is something that you should consider.

Traditionally your programs have been largely directed towards the youth and this will undoubtedly continue in the years to come. In the past, there was a tendency to concentrate on the more amenable youngster and to expend resources on his behalf. The tough kids either came along or after a brief period were bounced out. This attitude is indeed understandable, for it takes no more than a few incorrigibles to make life difficult, if not impossible. On the other hand, there appears to be a growing proportion of youngsters that are hard to reach. These include not only the street gangs of the slums, for we have seen trouble developing even in the proper middle class suburban areas. The slum kids have the rumble, the others the drag race. Their problems, to some degree, are common to all disorganized adolescents. Their environment subjects them to different types of pressures. With time we are learning more about the means of reaching these youngsters. It is not easy, it never was, and it never will be. But it is a vital area which forces itself upon our attention, even if we direct our primary efforts elsewhere.

Last, there is the problem of the elderly person frequently set aside, for they cause little trouble. But here, too, is a valuable resource that is growing in importance and efforts must be made to provide opportunities for these people who have weathered the storm of life to continue to make contributions to society, for our sake and for theirs.

But in all of the emphasis on psychological adjustment and on com-

munity responsibility, let us not forget that the settlement house from its origin set itself the task of cultivating the individual and of expanding his vista. It has striven to elevate the tastes of people whose daily lives brought them into contact with little but ugliness. It has helped to instill idealistic values and attitudes. It has developed competence and proficiency and appreciation of the arts. In all, the movement has sought to encourage and nurture the creative expenditure of time which after all is life.

4-22-59

May 5, 1959

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Wilton:

I've discussed the Holly Knoll plans with Phil Hammer. He's not certain that he can come; between us, I think he feels oppressed by the crowded schedule that has prevented him from delivering the manuscript he promised you. Maybe you can tactfully relieve his guilt and motivate him to come.

In any case, he feels that Hartsfield might accept if reassured of the strictly off-the-record nature of the affair, and if the lure of another big-city mayor could be added -- e.g., David Lawrence of Pittsburgh, what's-his-name of Philly, or somebody of that caliber. What say you?

I just heard from Hansen yesterday, via Armstrong. I guess I will go for a panel on the 16th. Will you be there?

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, *President Emeritus*

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

OFFICERS

FREDERICK D. PATTERSON, *President*

WILTON S. DILLON, *Executive Secretary and Director of Research*

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

Education: EMORY ROSS

Housing: MILDRED HOOKER DUNCAN

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8669

CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

RECEIVED APR 27 1959

25 April, 1959

Dear Harold:

Loyalty Day parade is going on now outside, and Fifth Avenue is as alive today as when Castro was on it yesterday. Please come back for our folk festivals.

This note is to remind you again of the dates for the Holly Knoll conversations: June 19th to June 21st. Your suggestions about "the central city" or "the exploding Southern metropolis" have been incorporated already into the invitation letters. (I hope there is no charge of inconsistency because last year's theme was on "out-migration" and now we shall be complaining about the problems of too many people staying at home).

From Atlanta, apart from yourself, we are asking Hammer, Milton and Clement. Do you think we could get the mayor as well?

Cordially,

Wilton

Wilton S. Dillon

Harold Fleming, Esq.
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

P.S. I notice that Lt. Gov. Nash, a member of the Society for Applied Anthropology, will address our Madison meetings. Surely you can bring the governor along. Has Hansen been in touch with you yet?

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

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1959 MAY 20 PM 4 30

SY NDA138 DL PD=ND NEW YORK NY 20 350PME=

HAROLD FLEMING, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

63 AUBURN AVE ATLA=

=PATTERSON WOULD LIKE YOU, ON HIS BEHALF, TO INVITE HARRY ASHMORE TO JUNE 19-21 CAPAHOSIC MEETING ON URBAN RENEWAL. CHARGE US WITH LITTLE ROCK CALL. SEE YOU THIS WEEKEND=

WILTON=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

RECEIVED MAY 26 1959

HAMMER AND COMPANY ASSOCIATES
Economic and business research

70 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA. JACKSON 4-6441
1145 - 19TH STREET, N. W., SUITE 804, WASHINGTON 6, D. C. DISTRICT 7-9321
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Capahosic

May 25, 1959

Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, President
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Patterson:

After having assured you by telephone a couple of weeks ago that I would be with you at Capahosic, I am afraid now that I cannot possibly fit the conference into my schedule. I am dictating this letter on Sunday before leaving on a week's business trip early in the morning. Otherwise I would have telephoned you to break the news personally.

I am terribly sorry about having to back out at this late date. As Harold Fleming knows, I had considerable apprehensions about the possibility of making the conference in the first place, but after my fine telephone talk with you I vowed to rearrange all other commitments so that I could definitely be there. However, after much travail, I find that I cannot make things work out.

I have major report deadlines on or around the first of July in Youngstown, Frankfort, Chattanooga, Columbia and Atlanta. This means a great deal of weekend work all during June, certainly taking up all of the Saturdays and some of the Sundays. To further complicate the situation on my deadlines, I have consulting commitments in three Florida cities beginning early Monday morning, June 22, and running the next three days.

I can bravely say that I can pull out for two days and be with you at Capahosic, but I think that the prospects are much more likely that even if I set this as my goal, I would not be able to carry through. I have been reviewing my commitments here today and I do not think it is physically possible for me to get done what is already on the schedule.

Please know that I am distressed that I will not be with you. I am deeply obliged for the invitation and I wish for you and the conference all possible success. I want to help in any and all ways possible and I do hope that you will call on me.

With real regrets and kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

Philip Hammer

PH/sr

cc: Mr. Harold Fleming

May 29, 1959

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Wilton:

Today I had a talk with a student from Basutoland, Laurent Nkhereanye, presently finishing a year of graduate study in economics at Atlanta University. He told me that he is the only Basuto student in the United States. His educational experience is quite cosmopolitan -- he did four years of undergraduate work in India, and hopes to take a two-year economics course at Stanford beginning next September.

As you will have guessed by this time, Nkhereanye may need financial help for the Stanford stretch. During the past year he has been supported by a fellowship from the Basutoland educational fund. He is hoping, but is by no means certain, that it will be renewed. He will know one way or the other in about a month. If it isn't -- and he doesn't get aid from some source here -- he is finished.

Bob Armstrong, I understand, is planning to write you about the academic aspects of Mr. N.'s career. But I thought I would write you more generally to express the hope that, if you know of any possibilities for him, you would see what you could do. From what he tells me, the educated group in Basutoland (except for M.D.s) are very, very few. He intends to teach, and in view of the new autonomy in affairs domestic,

feels that he might also have opportunities to apply his knowledge of underdeveloped economies in more immediately practical ways.

This may be a lost cause, particularly considering the latness of the hour, but I thought you would be interested.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Copy to Dr.

VIA AIR MAIL

June 10, 1959

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Wilton:

A word of follow-up to my conversation with you and Fred yesterday.

I have spoken with both Claude Sitton and Morris Abram. Claude is awaiting final clearance from his New York office, which he feels fairly confident of getting. As soon as he gets it, he will call you.

Morris expressed himself as wanting to attend and feeling that there is a good chance he can. The Abrams are having dinner with us tomorrow night, at which time we will discuss the conference more fully. Meanwhile, I told Morris he could expect a letter from Fred about tomorrow.

Over and out.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Capshaw

June 12, 1959

Mr. William L. Bowden
Regional Programs Associate
Southern Regional Education Board
130 Sixth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 13, Georgia

Dear Bill:

Thanks for your note concerning your travel plans to and from Holly Knoll.

It now seems certain that I will go there by way of New York. But I have made reservations on the same flight returning.

I'm looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

SOUTHERN REGIONAL EDUCATION BOARD

130 SIXTH STREET, N. W. · ATLANTA 13, GEORGIA · TRINITY 5-9211

June 4, 1959

RECEIVED JUN 5 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I plan to leave Atlanta on June 19 to attend the Holly Knoll meeting. I will go via Capital #370, which leaves Atlanta at 12:20 p.m., arriving in Richmond at 3:15 p.m. The only other flight leaves after 4 and gets in just before 8 p.m.

I will return via Eastern #565, leaving Richmond on June 21, 4:15 p.m., arriving Atlanta at 7:46 p.m.

I look forward to seeing you and the others at this important gathering.

Sincerely,

Bill

William L. Bowden
Regional Programs Associate

WLB/jt

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TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8669

CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

June 12, 1959

Dear Colleague:

It is a pleasure to welcome you in advance to the off-the-record weekend discussions at Holly Knoll, June 19-21, where we will talk informally about the "human and educational implications of urban renewal in Southern cities." Though our focus will be primarily on the South, with its still great concentration of Negroes, we look forward to this chance to find out from each other what are the common opportunities and problems facing Negroes and whites, Northerners and Southerners, in: (a) the task of redesigning cities and (b) the parallel task of planning educational systems to prepare people for the responsibilities and complexities of urban styles of life in the redesigned cities.

It is typical of the times that I should write you this welcome on the day that the New York press reports a Trenton, N. J., plan for transforming 187 acres in the heart of the city into an ultra-modern shopping, business and residential area. The planners speak of the hope for a "renaissance of a historic old city." They refer to the decline in property values and commercial activity in the midtown section. They look for inspiration and ideas from such completed projects as the Golden Triangle in Pittsburgh.

At Holly Knoll, we wish to be "planners" for a weekend, and speculate realistically about the chances for a "renaissance" in historic Southern cities. What is common in the pattern of Negro concentration in the "inner cities" of the South with the spread of higher-income people to the suburbs? If urban renewal plans offer ultimate improvements in the lives of all citizens, what are the interim disturbances to business, educational, and religious behavior which can be anticipated? How can low-income whites and Negroes become a part of the planning process leading to urban renewal? These are some of the questions which I hope we will discuss at Holly Knoll. You will have others, and I trust that you will take advantage of the informality of the weekend to raise them in the presence of so varied and representative a group of social scientists, businessmen, architects, educators and clergymen.

This year's discussions will be unique, compared with earlier Phelps-Stokes Fund consultation conferences, in view of the increased

number of Northerners to be present. Starting originally in 1956 to establish or restore communication among Southerners, Negro and white, who were denied easy access to each other to talk about common concerns, we find in 1958 that we cannot realistically discuss this year's theme without taking Northern experience into account. For example, the three documents enclosed as background papers are written by social scientists on the basis of Northern experience in urban renewal and Negro-white relations. They are offered to you as generalizations or propositions to be tested against Southern experience, such as the developments and trends in Louisville, Baltimore, Atlanta, Nashville, Washington, etc.

Dr. Morton Grodzins, who sends his regrets that he cannot be with us at Holly Knoll because of a European trip, writes in The Metropolitan Area as a Racial Problem:

> The central cities of the metropolitan areas dominate the nation...set the tone and pattern for the entire complex of community interdependence in politics, economics, and cultural life...the whole nation is faced with a wide range of deleterious consequences. (p. 26)

Dr. Grodzins' study throws out some challenging prognoses for the next several decades. They dovetail with some of the trends reported by Dr. Chester Rapkin in his speech, "The Challenge of the Urban Community," and Eunice and George Grier in Negroes in Five New York Cities. It will be interesting to hear reactions to these studies and views from such participants as Dr. C. H. Parrish and his fellow citizens of Louisville, Dr. Nick Demerath of St. Louis, and Dr. John Hope of Nashville, as well as others who have had research or civic experience related to urban renewal.

Although there are to be no resolutions or formal recommendations, we hope that our colleagues from other foundations (New World, Ford, and Field) will find the discussions useful as a context for later decisions about what we, as private organizations, can do to encourage more research, democratic planning and civic action leading to handsome and healthy American communities.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson
wd.

F. D. Patterson
President

wht

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(Tentative List)
JUNE 19-21, 1959

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New York Times
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(Observer)

Saturday, April 11, 1959

INFORMATION SERVICE

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BUREAU OF RESEARCH AND SURVEY
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The Political Situation at Tuskegee, Ala.

Macon County, Alabama, in which the city of Tuskegee is located with its well-known Institute founded by Booker Washington, has been since 1957 the center of a political controversy caused by Negroes wishing to exercise their voting rights. This was followed by the action of white leaders to abolish the county by a process known historically as "gerrymandering" so as to avoid the possibility of having Negro voters in a majority. Many Negroes responded with an organized economic boycott against local businesses owned by white persons. As this is written a stalemate continues. The situation is briefly interpreted in this article mainly from a booklet, *Voting Rights and Economic Pressure,* by Lewis Jones and Stanley Smith, both of Tuskegee Institute (New York, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1958. Published in cooperation with the Bureau of Research and Survey, National Council of Churches.)

Tuskegee is situated in the "hard core of the Deep South" which has shown intensive resistance to the Supreme Court decisions since 1954 with respect to desegregation of the public schools. No qualified Negroes attend state institutions of higher learning. In cities there are reports that Negro suffrage is slowly being extended, but in the rural areas, including the typical county seat towns, Negroes for all practical purposes are still without the franchise. At Tuskegee Negroes are a majority of the population, but many of them are of independent economic status because they are employed by Tuskegee Institute and a Veterans Hospital. Friction between the races seldom occurred in the past, but white domination was evident.

Slowly and in dignified, orderly fashion the Negroes of Tuskegee sought to secure their voting rights, but in 1957 at the request of white citizens of Macon County the Legislature reduced the city limits and disfranchised many Negro voters. The Legislature also set up a Committee which is studying means of abolishing Macon County and annexing portions to surrounding counties.

However, in 1957, Negroes of Tuskegee were so organized that they took effective action to challenge the traditional arrangements between the races. The Negroes had no influence on the State Legislature, but they began a widespread campaign to withhold their purchasing power from the white merchants. Thousands of Negroes took part in the campaign and the results were marked. Proponents of white supremacy recognized this show of power by Negroes and then consolidated their own positions. For Negroes it seemed that all their aims were at stake, and they forgot differences in an unprecedented united action.

The Negro community of Tuskegee has been led on this occasion by the Tuskegee Civic Association, whose president, Charles G. Gomillion, has promoted civil rights. Among his co-workers are two Negro ministers, Rev. K. L. Buford and Rev. S. T. Martin. A factor not to be overlooked is the fact that Tuskegee is located only 40 miles from Montgomery, where Negroes carried on a successful boycott of bus transportation under the leadership of Rev. Martin Luther King. At Tuskegee the ministers have had a less dramatic role—they are only a small number among a large group of able, educated professional persons.

Tuskegee Institute has taken no official position, but its administration has spoken clearly on academic freedom, and many members of the faculty are active as citizens.

The white community has its elite with much influence, a group not dependent on doing business with Negroes. It has a group of successful businessmen who are not noticeably dependent on Negro trade. There is also a large group of small businessmen who have had much Negro trade and who are thus directly affected by the current economic campaign of the Negroes.

White clergymen are reported apparently to be in accord with the social views of the elite of the community. Unlike their brethren in Atlanta, the white clergy have issued no statement and have taken no position. It is reported by Messrs. Jones and Smith that most of the persons of great influence in the white community are members of the local Methodist Church.

Thus a major crisis has developed. The white leadership wishes to prevent any significant change in the cultural patterns of the community. The Negro leaders are

Page 1 The Political Situation at Tuskegee, Ala.
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Page 6 Toward Understanding of Delinquency
Page 8 Pasternak
Page 8 Kirkridge
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equally desirous of asserting their rights to vote. Throughout the crises most persons in both groups have been maintaining courtesy and respect. On both sides there have been repeated public denials of enmity. Some white people are reported to have said that they would have done what the Negroes did but they also believe that white people are required to try to maintain political control.

Most observers and participants seem to agree that the present stalemate may continue for a long period unless some new element of adjustment is introduced. A communication from C. J. Gomillion states that the TCA has requested city and county officials to meet for conference, but no public official has agreed to meet.

By the fall of 1958 at least 12 businesses were believed to have closed because of the boycott, Vera C. Foster of Tuskegee reported in *The Christian Century,* Chicago, October 22, 1958. The State Attorney General, John Patterson, sought unsuccessfully to secure an injunction to restrain the boycotters. A petition by 12 Negroes to revise the gerrymander legislation was sent to a United States District Court; they alleged that the legislation deprives Negroes of the rights granted in the 14th and 15th Amendments of the nation's Constitution. The Committee of the Legislature, which is instructed to report in 1959, had not produced a plan for the abolition of Macon County.

On May 20, 21, 22, 26 and June 26, 1958, Representative James Roosevelt read into the *Congressional Record* reports made from Southern states at a meeting held in Washington by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, New Orleans, on restrictions on voting in the South. These were briefly stated by James M. Nabrit, Jr. of Howard University, Washington, as follows:

"A summary of the reports made to this conference on voting restrictions in Southern States supports the shocking conclusions reached by many able students of the Negro vote and voter in Southern States in previous studies.

"These are that: (1) Negro voters must run the gauntlet of apathy, ignorance, fear, bodily harm, and racial discrimination in order to register as voters; (2) having registered, they must then face these same obstacles in order to vote; and (3) if they indicate a desire to run for office or pose a threat to entrenched segregationists, they face repeated purges of the registration or voting lists or actual carving up of entire counties in order to nullify any effective participation by them in politics." There was need, said Mr. Nabrit, for strong support of the work of the Civil Rights Commission, and wide campaigns to persuade Negroes to register and to instruct Negroes on how to register and vote.

The federal Civil Rights Commission held hearings at Montgomery, Ala., in December 1958. It heard complaints from Negroes resident in Macon County. It was testified that out of 1,585 Negroes who had sought registration in Macon County only 510 were certified. The voting list of Macon County was made available to the Commission. However, in six other counties officials refused to surrender their records to the Commission. Attorney General John Patterson, of Alabama, also Governor-elect, publicly advised county registrars not to surrender their records. As this was written the Civil Rights Commission had appealed to the federal courts.

On March 6, 1959, Federal Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., dismissed a suit brought by the U. S. Department of Justice against the state of Alabama, holding that the Civil Rights Act of 1959 did not grant authority to sue a state in order to assure Negroes of their voting rights. The suit involved an effort by the Federal Civil Rights Commission to permit certain qualified Negroes in Macon County to vote. The Department of Justice announced that it would appeal. (*New York Times,* March 7, 1959.)

"The Plight of the Southern Liberal"

After a visit to the home of a college president in the Deep South, Norman Cousins, editor of *Saturday Review,* New York, reports by request of a group there assembled a statement made by the wife of a prominent physician, who as a white community leader had participated in interracial cooperation. A portion of her statement as it is printed by Mr. Cousins in an editorial in his periodical, December 20, 1958, under the above title is here quoted:

"Consider what has happened here in Alabama. Only four years ago we had a promising race relations council. It was a mixed group. Some of the people here were on it; helped to found it, in fact. A number of Negro leaders were part of the group. When we met it was on a nonsegregated basis, of course, and we got the support of many of our important business and local government people.

"Those activities were concerned not only with the education of the Negro but many of the more insistent economic and social welfare needs of the Negro. It's important to be concerned about what happens in the schools, of course, but too many people in the North seem unwilling to do any hard thinking about other problems that are just as pressing. What about food, health, doctors, hospital facilities, jobs, salaries, decent housing? These are survival problems, not abstract questions.

"And these are the problems that our race relations council tried to cope with. Please note that I said 'tried,' not 'try.' It's all past tense now. The race relations council no longer exists. The Southern liberals who organized it and manned it are no longer a force. In fact, the liberal Southerner is on the run. We've lost the cooperation of many of the community and business leaders. Today there is no interracial council or anything like it here. In the present temper, it would be impossible to start one. We couldn't hold a mixed meeting; it would be extremely risky even to try to bring a mixed group together in one's own home. In short, there is no longer any real or effective leadership for bettering the condition of the Negro in the South.

"External and internal pressures have just about put the Southern liberal out of business. There is very little sympathy in the North for our position. There is very little understanding of the conditions and circumstances in which we have to work. Instead, we get a lot of advice about what we ought to do and even more criticism because we don't put the advice into effect within the hour.

"What do we suggest? We're not sure we know what to suggest. A few years ago we thought we were making some marks. Specific things in medical care, jobs, housing were being done. We had time on our side. Now time is working against us. Demands are being made to achieve certain objectives on a deadline basis. Meanwhile, a wall of resistance has been building up against any change. A showdown psychology is being created. If such a show-

down comes, it won't be healthy for anyone, white or black.

"What do we want you to do? Just think about what we've said. Think about the Southern liberals you know —in public and private life—and ask yourself whether you have made any real attempt to see our problem in our own terms. Don't condemn us out of hand. We're in a big fight and we need help. Most of all we need time to regroup our forces. Don't think we've lost our souls. And please don't think that the only thing that is keeping us from being effective is an insufficiency of moral judgments from the North. That is all."

Housing Integration and Property Values

The arrival of a colored family in a previously all-white neighborhood may not affect property values, according to Algernon D. Black in a pamphlet, *Who's My Neighbor?* published by the Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38th St., New York (1958, 25 cents). Everything depends on the attitude of the home-owners, Mr. Black, of the New York Ethical Culture Society, writes. "The property values will either go down, stay stable, or go up depending on the other forces at work in the neighborhood."

"Of course," he adds, "if home-owners believe that the arrival of a colored family will bring a deterioration in property values, and if they panic and put up 'For Sale' signs, their actions will glut the market and drive property values down. . . . But it is clear that what affects values is not the entrance of the non-white family but the panic selling by the previous residents."

Studies show that "if the physical character of the housing and grounds is maintained," Mr. Black continues, and "if city services maintain good neighborhood standards, property values will remain stable no matter who moves in."

Low-income families, colored or white, the author adds, tend not to keep up their homes so well as others. But the presence of low-income families is a result not a cause of property value decline.

"Now, it is true," Mr. Black adds, "that most colored people have lower incomes than the white population. Most of them have had to live in poorer housing and in poorer neighborhoods than whites. . . . But before a colored family can afford to buy a house in an all-white neighborhood, and before they have the desire to move into such a neighborhood or suburb, they usually have achieved a level of education, employment, and aspiration that indicates that they have just as much interest in keeping their property as any other family."

In fact, there is evidence that "they frequently outdo white families in their care of house, lawns, walks, and fences, planting flowers, painting and repairing and improving their property."

In view of this situation Mr. Black suggests a possible course of action for an individual home-owner in the event a colored family moves into his neighborhood.

It is suggested that he "call together his friends and those he has reason to believe are democratic and courageous people. Together they might decide on the following steps:

"1. Agree not to fight against the moving in of a colored family but see to it that, when it happens, it is done in such a way that a happy outcome is assured both the new family and the old-timers.

"2. Make it clear that he and others will not offer their property for sale, will not panic and leave the community. They may even put 'Not for Sale' signs in their windows.

"3. Work quickly to track down and answer all rumors and dispel any bigoted untruths or half-truths involving neighborhood affairs.

"4. Form a welcoming committee to make certain that neighbors visit the new family and help them understand that they have friends."

"Where Shall We Live?"

The report of the Commission on Race and Housing, an independent citizens' group organized in 1955, presents "conclusions from a 3 year study of racial discrimination in housing," under the title above (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1958. $1.50).

"The focus of research undertaken for the commission was on the problem of inequality of housing opportunity connected with minority group status, both in general and with specific reference to four groups: Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and Orientals." The Commission was financed by grants from The Fund for the Republic, New York. Other materials are to be published in 1959.

"The residential segregation of a minority group leads directly to segregation in other areas of life: schools, churches, hospitals, places of public accommodations, recreation, and welfare and civic activities. Although compulsory segregation in public schools has been declared unlawful by the Supreme Court, many schools in the North and West are actually segregated, not by law but in consequence of the racial pattern of residence."

"These restrictions violate fundamental principles of American democracy and Judeo-Christian morality."

Various means of moving toward equality of opportunity in housing are reviewed: Judicial decisions, municipal and state laws, federal administrative action, private developments, and voluntary organizations working for equal rights, the last including religious organizations. This observation occurs, however, with respect to the voluntary organizations: "It would be misleading to give an impression that the organized groups dedicated to racial equality are powerful."

Many recommendations are made: Federal programs of urban renewal should encourage developments on open land. Federal and other authorities should vigorously act to "combat the tendency for public housing projects to become low-income and racial 'ghettos.'" States should repeal all existing laws requiring racial segregation. Realtors are urged to offer residential properties to any qualified buyer without reference to race or religion. Intergroup voluntary organizations are advised to conduct "programs of combined action and community education."

"What We Know About 'Race'"

Ashley Montagu, an anthropologist, sums up and interprets the topic above, particularly for youth, in a booklet published, 1958, by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y. (25 cents).

Professor Montagu, who was for some years chairman of the Department of Anthropology at Rutgers University, examines the physical differences among ethnic groups. He prefers the term ethnic group to that of race.

His concluding paragraph reads: "Finally, let this be said: the facts about 'race,' intelligence, and environment are helpful and important in enabling us to understand the human condition a little more clearly. But what is

really important to understand is that the idea of equality in no way depends upon these facts. The idea of equality, equality of opportunity and equality of rights, does not depend upon the idea that human beings are of equal biological endowment. Rather, that idea depends upon the ethical principle that every man by virtue of the fact that he is human is therefore entitled to all the rights and privileges that go with being human, and the greatest of these rights is the right to development. This is the long and the short of it."

Segregation and Desegregation in the North

Housing is the most serious problem of Negroes in five upstate New York cities. School integration is "an accepted fact." Discrimination in employment is regarded by many to be a widespread obstacle. Negroes generally have access to places of public accommodation. "Segregation and desegregation are proceeding hand-in-hand," but in four of the five cities there are trends "toward increasing segregation." These are statements found in a report, *Negroes in Five New York Cities,* by Eunice and George Grier, published in mimeograph form, 1958, by the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, 270 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y. The subtitle reads: "A Study of Problems, Achievements, and Trends."

We reprint below most of the "Summary of Findings":

This is a study of race relations today in five medium-sized cities of upstate New York—Albany, Troy, Binghamton, Rochester, and Syracuse. It examines the progress which Negroes in these cities have made to date, and the obstacles remaining to attainment of full equality. It explores the effects of recent population changes upon residential patterns and racial attitudes.

The five cities are different in many respects. In population they range from 72,000 to 332,000. In recent rate of change and future prospects they vary from stability to dynamic growth. In an industrial composition they differ considerably, but in combination provide employment opportunities almost equalling in variety the entire United States. From locomotives to cameras, from television sets to men's suits and pottery—most major products manufactured anywhere in America are made in these cities. All are regional trading centers; one is an important center of government. While extreme caution must be exercised in generalizing from these to other northern cities even of similar size, it may nevertheless be possible to gain from their experiences a . . . comprehension of the dynamics of race relations in the cities of the North today.

The Changing Population Picture

All the cities studied have had at least a few Negro residents for a century or more. The Negro populations in most cases remained tiny and relatively stable until World War I. In the war period they expanded rapidly; then there was another period of stability until World War II. An influx of Negroes began into most of the cities at that time and has not abated since. In fact, in recent years the rate has increased. Between 1940 and 1957, Rochester's nonwhite population more than tripled; that of Syracuse more than doubled. Only Binghamton did not experience a rapid rise in nonwhites. There, the growth was less than that to be expected from natural increase (normal excess of births over deaths) alone. Metropolitan Rochester today has about 16,000 nonwhites; Syracuse about 11,000; the Albany-Schenectady-Troy area about 14,000; and Binghamton about 1,000.

The Negro newcomers include highly-skilled professionals, recruited from distant places by local industry. The bulk, however, appear to be unskilled or semi-skilled workers. Though no firm statistics exist on their origins, the impression is widespread that they are mainly from the rural South. They are believed to be largely untrained in the skills most in demand in industry and unaccustomed to the ways of the city. Many may be among the 5,000,000 displaced in recent years from the cotton farms of the South.

Especially in the Rochester area, many are believed to come north first as agricultural migrant workers, then to drift into the city. The good pay available in large industrial plants is believed to exert a pull. The "grapevine" and the "laddering-up" process by which one person sends money to bring another, are believed to be important mechanisms in the migration pattern.

The nonwhite influx in these five cities has accrued mainly to the older central areas where Negroes have traditionally lived. Formerly these areas, though open to Negroes, held a majority of whites. Now, for the first time, some of the cities are witnessing the development of heavily-Negro areas of substantial size. Racial change has had its effects on schools, churches, social clubs, social agencies and stores. In some of these metropolitan areas, Negroes of higher income levels are becoming dispersed to other parts of the city and even—though more slowly—to the suburbs. But at the same time the rapid influx is resulting in concentrations in the central districts. Thus segregation and desegregation are proceeding hand-in-hand. Binghamton, whose Negro population is relatively small and stable, is the only city of the five yet to break the trend toward increasing segregation.

The Negro newcomers are not meeting cordial receptions from the "established" populations of these cities. Both by whites and by Negroes of more secure position, they are judged to be generally irresponsible, lazy, dirty, and socially unacceptable. Moreover, leaders both Negro and white almost always are unaware of the numerical extent of the influx. In part this may be a matter of wishful thinking. In part, it may result from the compression of the in-migrants into the areas where Negroes have traditionally lived. The newcomers are largely being ignored and left to their own resources in a new and strange environment.

Employment and Economic Status

Hiring discrimination has been reduced both in major manufacturing industries and in government. In manufacturing, jobs are increasingly available at both the highly-skilled and "bottom-rung" levels. Climbing the promotion ladder from routine jobs to the middle-range craftsman and foreman positions is still regarded as much more difficult for Negroes than whites. Here, discrimination may be compounded with disadvantage due to lower seniority—a hangover, in turn, from past discrimination.

Hiring discrimination may still remain in many places, particularly among some smaller employers. Negroes are seldom hired, as yet, for jobs where the worker makes personal contact with the patron public—bank tellers, store clerks, waitresses in restaurants, customer service representatives, driver-salesmen, etc. Office jobs may still be closed to Negroes in many places. But there are employers who have sought actively for Negro clerical workers and been unable to find them. Increasingly, there is a need to prepare Negroes for the skilled jobs which have opened in growing numbers in recent years. On the

other hand, a major depression at this time might wipe out many of Negroes' recent gains. One reason for this is their low seniority; another that many of the gains appear to have occurred mainly because severe labor shortages made discrimination increasingly uneconomic.

At the time of the 1950 Census, the great majority of Negro workers were in the laboring, service, domestic, and routine assembly-line jobs which stand at the bottom of the employment hierarchy. Few were professionals, proprietors, or white collar workers. During the 1940s, many Negro males moved out of service jobs into laborer and assembly-line categories; Negro women moved from domestic jobs to service occupations outside the home and to factory production work. The rise in occupational status from these moves was slight; the raise in pay often substantial.

From 1950 to 1957, it would appear that there has been a marked increase in the number of Negro professionals and technicians in all five cities. But these categories still represent a small proportion of the whole. Movement of Negroes into factory production jobs apparently has continued, but perhaps at a slower rate than in the 1940s. The slow rate of expansion of many upstate industries has been a factor in limiting new opportunities. Movement into new and better jobs probably has been balanced by continuing in-migration of southern Negroes of predominantly low skill.

Although employers are often at pains to disclaim prejudice, discrimination is believed by many informants to remain a widespread obstacle. "Token" employment may be practiced by some firms to give the impression of nondiscrimination while admitting very few Negroes. Yet shortages of qualified Negro applicants are frequently cited, especially for clerical jobs. Discouragement and fear, resulting from a long history of discrimination, are widely felt to impede the present progress of Negroes.

Educational Opportunities

School integration has been an accepted fact in all five cities for many years. There are usually concentrations of Negro pupils in certain grade schools, resulting from residential segregation. But there are few public schools in these cities which do not have at least some Negro students, and rarely a school in which Negroes make up the majority. Almost without exception, colleges and universities are now reported open to qualified Negro applicants, although the number enrolled is quite small. Very few difficulties have resulted from educational integration.

Today, however, the rapid influx of Negro youngsters from the South is bringing problems to the public school systems of most of these cities. In part, these problems arise from the concentration of the newcomers in traditionally Negro areas, which is causing formerly integrated student bodies to become largely Negro. Many of the new Negro pupils are having difficulty adjusting—both to the higher educational standards of Northern schools and to racially integrated situations. Again and again, teachers tell of Negro youngsters who, placed in grades comparable to those from which they came, are "in over their heads." Often Negroes are reported to act frightened and insecure in the presence of whites. Frequently it is even impossible to obtain adequate transfer records from southern schools. The schools which have had the highest influx of southern Negroes also are those which are experiencing a lowering of scholastic standards and severe pupil adjustment problems. Thus, the North is being made to suffer for the sins of the South in denying its Negro youth adequate educational foundations in integrated classrooms.

The situation in Binghamton, where most of the Negro youngsters are native born and the schools are thoroughly integrated, contrasts markedly with that in other cities. Binghamton school authorities report that Negro pupils show about the same range of capacity and achievement as whites. There are Negroes in all the course curricula in high school—about one-quarter being in the college preparatory course. Negro youngsters have been granted high honors in school elections. By comparison, school officials in other cities report that large proportions of their Negro students are in low-ability groups requiring special attention.

Opinions differ widely on Negro youngsters' levels of aspiration—with some sources believing that they aspire as high or higher than whites, but a larger number believing that they are chiefly in the low-ambition group. Data for another study for SCAD suggest that the difference in opinions may occur because some teachers compare Negro pupils with all whites, regardless of background, and others only with whites of equally low economic levels. That study, made in the city of Elmira, found that Negro students there generally aspired higher than whites of the same low economic status.

Housing Opportunities

Housing is almost unanimously regarded as the most serious problem in race relations in all five cities. The older central sections where most Negroes live are those where housing is oldest and most dilapidated, facilities least adequate, overcrowding most severe, surroundings least pleasant, and crime and disease rates highest. These are the sections where it is difficult to maintain a decent living environment for oneself and one's family.

Many Negroes cannot afford better private housing because of low incomes, and there is insufficient public housing to accommodate all those eligible. But the growing number of highly-trained Negroes with both the capacity and the desire to obtain good housing in good neighborhoods have encountered wide-spread discrimination in their attempts to find it. Whether a family can endure the search will depend on its situation, the urgency of its housing need, and its willingness to brave rebuff.

Sales housing is not considered an insuperable problem within the limits of most of the cities, although its acquisition may involve considerable difficulty and expense. In the suburbs, however, Negroes still are reported to find it almost impossible to purchase a home. Good rental housing is reported almost totally unavailable to Negroes in any of these cities. Since rental housing is the type generally desired by persons just arriving in a city, its lack is reported to be causing losses of highly-skilled Negro professionals and technicians. Those persons, recruited by major upstate industries because of their merit, have sometimes left in despair after months of searching for an adequate apartment.

Once a Negro family has purchased or rented a place, opposition still may be encountered from neighbors. In most cases, however, physical violence is not to be expected; coldness and social ostracism represent the limit to which the hostility usually goes. In most cases the situation "cools down" rapidly.

Redevelopment of heavily Negro areas in several cities will soon present the necessity of relocating many Negro families. Syracuse is presently conducting an extensive

survey of its redevelopment area to determine the housing needs of the families to be moved. Difficulties are in prospect in most of the cities because of past and present resistance to entry of Negroes to all-white areas. Both Rochester and Syracuse have experienced vigorous public opposition to plans to locate new housing open to nonwhites in areas where nonwhites had not previously lived. On the other hand, Binghamton, with a small and relatively stable nonwhite population, recently accomplished the feat of reducing what little racial segregation it had by redeveloping two blocks where Negroes were mainly concentrated and relocating the Negro families elsewhere. No similar concentration has resulted.

Low-income public housing has been built in all five of the cities. However, the adequacy of these facilities relative to the need varies greatly, with Troy scoring high and Rochester scoring low. In none of the cities is there any indication that Negro families are excluded from public housing projects; virtually all projects have at least a few Negroes. Nevertheless, most of the Negro families tend to be located in the projects nearest to the areas of Negro concentration. Some housing authority officials cite difficulties in persuading Negro families to take apartments in projects far from the social life and familiar institutions of the Negro areas. Sources in areas where southern Negroes have come in recently in large numbers report increasing tenant problems in public housing projects. Relationships between white and Negro occupants, long healthy, are reported deteriorating. In Binghamton, by contrast, officials report few incidents of a racial nature.

Despite the magnitude of housing problems, there are encouraging signs in the growing interest displayed by civic groups and the responsible leaders of the community.

Public Accommodations

By and large, Negroes report acceptance at first-class places of public accommodation in all the cities. Unequal treatment sometimes occurs in second-rate restaurants and taverns and those outside the central areas, and Negro informants sometimes report feeling uneasy when they go into a place for the first time. Hospitals in these cities neither discriminate nor segregate. Barber and beauty shops are one area where the races seldom mingle. . . .

The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates

The complete texts of the debates conducted by Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas in 1858 are recorded with extensive notes and a full introduction by Paul M. Angle in a book, *Created Equal?* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1958. $7.50.) To the texts of the speeches in the noted debate are added the words of five other speeches, three by Lincoln and two by Douglas, that were integral parts of the campaign for the U. S. Senate. In this group is Mr. Lincoln's famous "house-divided" speech.

Mr. Angle, who is director of publications of the Chicago Historical Society, writes that the campaigners debated three great national issues: the extension of slavery, the status of the Negro, and the right of the states to regulate the Negro's status. Only the first was settled by the Civil War, he says; the other two are as pressing and prominent 100 years after the campaign as when Lincoln and Douglas spoke.

The Legislature of Illinois did not send Abraham Lincoln to the Senate in 1858, but the new Republican party amassed more popular votes than the Democrats in the elections for the State Legislature. Mr. Douglas, while he went to the Senate, was forced to take positions which made him unacceptable to one wing of his party as a candidate for the Presidency in 1860. And Abraham Lincoln attained through the debates a degree of national publicity that influenced his nomination for the Presidency two years later.

(In 1958 the U. S. Senators from Illinois, Messrs. Dirkson and Douglas, traveled for a time across their state and debated isues, making references to the issues of 1858.)

"South Dakota's Christian Martyrs"

In 1955 the South Dakota Legislature passed a bill that later became law denying to the Hutterian Brethren, a religious sect living in colonies organized in communal corporations under state charter, "the right to create any new organizations or to expand their operations," writes Richard S. Meryman, Jr., in an article, title above, in *Harper's* New York, December, 1958. Mr. Meryman is religion editor of *Life*.

In a test case, the Supreme Court of the state has expressed the opinion that the law of 1955 is constitutional. The Hutterites "must search in other states to support their rapidly increasing numbers."

Mr. Meryman found much hostility expressed by South Dakota citizens toward the Hutterites. "The group was despised, apparently, for being prolific, efficient, and different, and I wondered suddenly how much of the persecution of the earliest Christians, whom the sect imitates, stemmed from simply being different." After hearing the critics of the Hutterites, Mr. Meryman thought it was time to meet them and know those who held to the doctrine of "all things in common."

Among many others are these descriptions:

"The sect originated in Moravia in 1528 as ultra-fundamentalist dissenters in an Anabaptist sect called the 'Swiss Brethren.' . . . The dissenters insisted on community-of-goods, and had as their first Minister a Tyrolean hat maker named Jacob Hutter (after the German word for hat). Hutter not only gave his name to the sect, but laid down the laws and customs which still survive.

"After two hundred years of persecution, usually brought on by the refusal to bear arms, the small remaining group of communal Hutterites ironically received sanctuary in then monarchist Russia. The Emperor promised the Hutterites one hundred years of freedom from army service. The pact was kept, but was not renewed ninety-nine years later.

"In 1874, to avoid military duty, 250 Hutterites emigrated from Russia to South Dakota, forming the Bon Homme and Wolf Creek Colonies near the Nebraska border. In the depression and droughts of the 1930s, the industrious Hutterites were welcomed throughout the Dakotas and Montana as people able to buy farms and bolster the farm industry. But they still refused to bear arms and in both world wars were conscientious objectors. Currently there is a continuous crew of Hutterite draftees in C. O. camps building roads and dams in the Black Hills."

Toward Understanding of Delinquency

A book written "to bridge the sometimes too wide chasm between the scientific disciplines and the thinking and practices of churchmen" is written by Haskell M.

Miller who teaches social ethics at Wesley Theological Seminary, Washington (*Understanding and Preventing Juvenile Delinquency.* New York and Nashville, Abingdon Press, 1958. Cloth $2.75; paper, $1.25).

"Juvenile delinquency is a serious problem . . . costly in personal happiness and social resources, and appears to be increasing in incidence and gravity in American society. . . ."

The factors involved in its rise "are not easily ascertained, but obviously are related to conditions of change and instability in society and the general culture, especially as these come to focus in families and in certain aspects of community life."

He deals with juvenile delinquency in its specific, legal status, "meaning an offense committed by a juvenile in violation of a law." Most of the 300,000 juveniles before the courts in 1948 were between 14 and 18 years of age. "The average age of girl delinquents is higher than that of boys. . . . Boys greatly outnumber girls in both arrest and court cases." There appears to be a reluctance to arrest girls, but when they are arrested a higher proportion are sent to court.

"No one can say exactly what is the relationship between delinquency and intelligence." It seems that delinquents "are of the same intelligence as non-delinquents from the same types of social and economic backgrounds."

"The vast majority of delinquents live in and around cities," but they come mainly from areas "of transition resulting from changing land values, changing population characteristics, or disorganization caused by some other influence." Most of the delinquents who come to court are from "the extremely low-income and low-status groups." But "more and more official delinquents come from middle and upper income families." It may be that there is as much delinquency among those of wealth and advantage, but the official figures do not reveal it. Some studies show that almost as much delinquency occurs among privileged children and youth, but "their families and status-serving institutions provide them much greater protection against official handling."

Complete data are not available but it appears that most juvenile delinquents "have had about the average formal exposure to the church's influence." "There has been no definitive study of the type, quality, or intensity of religious training and experience of delinquents as compared with non-delinquents."

Lay people tend to see simple "causes" and to seek for panaceas, while the specialists see complexity and recommend "corrective treatment rather than punishment." However, "there are not enough juvenile courts and not enough other facilities and services provided on a comprehensive and integrated scale to indicate that society has yet taken the matter of therapy and rehabilitation very seriously."

Prevention is not easy, but much could be done if communities and churches would "put the worth of children and youth foremost among" their values and dedicate themselves to efforts "that will focus on individual needs, on family life, on community improvement, on expansion and coordination of welfare services, and on sincere efforts to reorganize and redeem many aspects of culture patterns and the social structure." Specific recommendations are directed to local churches. One is that local churches should "learn the lessons of cooperation." Another is, "to develop a program with daring and imagination to meet the changing needs of children and youth."

An Interpretation For Teachers

Though teachers are not expected to be experts in juvenile delinquency, there is no doubt that they are constantly concerned. But the big stumbling block—for the general public as well as for teachers—is the scarcity of reliable information on the subject compared with the abundance of "medicine-man prescriptions," says a recent study.

To interpret what is known and what is not known about the "causes," patterns, and treatment of young people with behavior problems, the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, a department of the National Education Association, 1201 16th St., N.W., Washington, D. C., has published a 68-page booklet, *Juvenile Delinquency: Research, Theory and Comment* by Bernice M. Moore (1958, $.50). The booklet offers a resumé of theories, plus information useful in distinguishing normal and healthy rowdiness from behavior pathology.

Contrary to much popular literature, Dr. Moore says, there is no over-all "cause" and no over-all "cure" for juvenile delinquency. In fact, even the number of delinquents in the United States remains a blank. The only accurate figures are those reported by actual arrests and they are jumbled because of the wide discrepancy in state definitions of what is a "juvenile" and what is a "delinquent."

That juvenile delinquency is both real and intense is agreed by most scholars in the field. They further agree that:

Between 95 and 98 per cent of school-age children are normal personalities, reasonably healthy, and law abiding.

Delinquency has no single cause. Rather, it is an end product of a variety of situations, attitudes, motives, personality characteristics, and other personal and social factors.

Only a small and selected group of offenders are apprehended and counted as delinquents.

Those in institutions chosen for study are a "hardy breed" quite different from others who are occasional deviants.

The school can be a negative or positive force in the life of a potential delinquent. It may provide a social refuge or haven of security. It may provide a program of activities which will develop a feeling of satisfaction among youngsters sufficient to keep them from, or move them out of, delinquent behavior. On the other hand, it may offer frustrating experiences and build up tensions which court delinquency.

A contradiction that specialists face as they look for the answers is summarized in this quotation from the booklet: "Slums *do* breed delinquency. Yet millions of sturdy citizens began their lives in families which lived in slums or under slum conditions. Rejection and overindulgence of children by parents have contributed to the growing list of offenses, but others suffering under the impact of these same experiences are not delinquents. Children and youth from "rich' homes as well as 'poor' from the 'right' neighborhoods as well as the 'wrong' have gotten into trouble."

Why some youngsters indulge in delinquent behavior, and others do not, is said to be the "stickler" question. But even without the answer to that one, the ASCD booklet is designed to steer teachers, parents, and interested citizens in a constructive direction and away from quack substitutes.

Bernice Milburn Moore, the author, is assistant to the

director, Community Services and Professional Education, The Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, University of Texas.

Pasternak

The official Soviet detractors of Boris Pasternak, who first accepted and then declined the Nobel Prize for literature, "have missed the mark entirely," writes Harrison Salisbury in a guest-editorial in *The Saturday Review,* New York, November 8, 1958. "Pasternak's indictment covered the Organization Man as well as the Party Man." Mr. Pasternak's now famous novel, *Doctor Zhivago,* was published in many nations but not in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Salisbury, who was the Moscow correspondent for *The New York Times* from 1949 to 1954, also comments: "Pasternak takes his stand and sets himself apart from the modern tendency, not only . . . of his own country but the tendency of conformist, materialist America."

The Nobel Committee, he thinks, "has honored not only a literary talent but a philosophy of life and a life lived according to that philosophy."

"It may be that only in Russia, only in soil deep scarred with ideological plows, could such genius be nurtured."

The British poet, Stephen Spender, speaking at Winnipeg, Canada, has observed that Boris Pasternak's life had now been made intolerable. He would be no better off in the West than in the Soviet Union, even if he wanted to live in the West. He would probably not be permitted to lead a quiet life. "Pasternak would be exploited and used as a tool with which to beat the Russians." (*New York Herald Tribune,* November 11, 1958.)

Kirkridge

The following is from a statement issued, 1959, by Kirkridge, Bangor, Pa.:

"Since 1942 a mountain at the far-eastern edge of Pennsylvania has been a retreat center for several thousand 'hungry' men and women, ordained and unordained, of every race and Christian creed. These have come to Kirkridge for several-day gatherings or week-long study periods to deepen their faith by worship, quiet, ideas and handwork; to discover their *koinonia* with other Christians in common intention, and to quicken their action at those points where faith confronts modern culture: social barricades, art forms, liturgy, psychology, theology.

"Many have found help in implementing these objectives by observing an agreed 'rule' of living—the Kirkridge Discipline.

"The center itself is a 350-acre tract, mostly mountain woodland. On it you will find a raftered old farmhouse equipped for twenty guests, a modern ridge-top lodge for fifteen, and for Kirkbridge households. Here staff families and a flock of sheep are the year-round inhabitants, but on most weekends and many days between, there is intensified life as groups settle in quietly to fulfill an intention. On days not claimed for a Kirkridge group, facilities are available for any small gathering with like purpose.

"For structure, Kirkridge consists of a Board of eleven and a Council of fifty, whose members set up the yearly program, call staff workers, and enlist support. No agency or denomination has provided money: current expense has come from those who use the place or believe in the idea, while buildings have been underwritten by a few friends and by handwork of those who come. . . .

"Publications: the annual *Discipline and Lectionary;* the *Retreat Program* for the year. Occasionally, *Kirkridge Contour,* a printed leaflet exploring Kirkridge concerns; newsletters and other mailings of material to aid in implementing the rule; *Retreats for Protestants.* . . .

The Discipline

"There is no Kirkridge 'membership.' Those who take its purpose seriously do seek to follow the common rule and to support others of the group in thought and prayer. This Discipline is not something imposed nor an end in itself. A person can begin with portions most useful and move on in growth and obedience. These are the components:

"1. *Prayer.* At least a half-hour daily in private devotions using the Kirkridge or other lectionary. Wherever possible this basic period should be early in the morning and then supplemented with family worship, grace at meals, flash prayers for persons and causes, devotional reading and whatever helps one more and more to 'practice the presence of God.'

"2. *Identification.* Specific sharing with person suffering by prejudice, pain, poverty, or unwisdom to bring unobtrusive compassion and strength for new life. Responsibility for others in personal habits. Practice of redemptive non-violence.

"3. *Study.* Reading for intellectual growth and a sounder understanding of the faith that is within us the equivalent of at least a solid book monthly, to interpret past and present in Christian maturity.

"4. *Stewardship.* Drastic disciplining of time, energy and money so that ample and increasing margins may be available for deepest concerns.

"5. *Church.* Assumption of responsibility in the life and work of a local congregation and cooperation in the wider Christian fellowship.

"6. *Nurture Group.* Regular participation with a few others of similar purpose in study, prayer, sharing of problems and experience with this or other Discipline.

"7. *Retreat.* Withdrawal at least annually with other Kirkridgers where possible, and monthly for two or more hours alone, to regain Christian perspective in silence and worship and to review and renew priorities.

"8. *Support of Kirkridge.* In prayer, recruiting, and annual financial contribution."

Study Packet on Farm Policy

A Study Packet on *The Churches and Agricultural Policy* is being distributed by The Department of the Church and Economic Life, National Council of Churches. It contains a paperback edition of the book, *Social Responsibility in Farm Leadership,* by Walter W. Wilcox; a statement of the National Council's General Board, "Ethical Goals for Agricultural Policy"; "Representative Actions of Official Church Bodies on Agricultural Policy," mimeographed; and a "Study Guide" for use with the Wilcox book.

Social Security Corrected

In our issue of March 14, the important word "not" (underscored below) was omitted from a sentence with respect to the tax on self-employed persons. The corrected version reads:

Also beginning with 1959 earnings, the tax on self-employed persons rose from 3⅜ per cent to 3¾ per cent. (This increase does *not* apply to the tax on 1958 self-employment earnings, due in 1959.)

VIA AIR MAIL

June 16, 1959

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Capahosic Fl

Dear Wilton:

I trust this will reach you before your early departure for Capahosic and interim stops.

Eastern Air Lines has put me on its Flight #63 leaving New York at 3:30 P. M. Friday and arriving in Richmond at, I believe, 4:49. If this is too late to make the organized safari to Holly Knoll, please have your secretary or somebody give me the word at the Commodore Thursday.

Last night I got the sad word from Morris Abram that he can't make it -- he must move his household on Friday.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Cafahosie

MF--

Please have 35 sets of the L Reports assembled and ~~mailed~~ airmailed to Dr. F. D. Patterson, Holly Knoll, Route 1, Box 136, Gloucester, Va.

HCF

Sent June 17, 1959

July 2, 1959

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Wilton:

Belatedly, I join the other cheapskates in submitting my expenses for the Holly Knoll conference, to wit:

Round-trip air fare between Atlanta and Richmond $75.13

Thanks to your very efficient hospitality, this is all I can extract from you. As everyone must have said or written, the conference was a great success. Congratulations to you-all.

I have the recent communications from you and Fred and will respond next week. I will do my level best to think up something critical to say about the conference, but I'm doubtful of success.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HC/hs

Carpenter

VIA AIR MAIL July 8, 1959

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Wilton:

This is in cheerful compliance with your request for a statement about continuance of the Civil Rights Commission. My comments at the conference were to the following general effect:

There are various strong arguments for the extension of the Commission's life. One, which I would like to speak to particularly, concerns the state advisory committees established by the Commission. Setting up such a committee in each state was a gigantic organizing task and consumed a great deal of the Commission's staff time, energy, and ingenuity. The greatest difficulties, as one might expect, were encountered in the South; accordingly, many of the Southern committees were activated only recently. If the Commission should expire in September, much of this effort would be wasted. In fairness to itself and to the nation, the Commission should be allowed to endure long enough to give its "grassroots" machinery time to function. Since the state committees are purely citizen groups, with no staff or budget, the guidance and direction of the parent body will be essential to their meaningful performance as fact-finding or opinion-making groups in their respective states.

Others in the conference advanced additional important arguments for the continuance of the Commission; therefore, I will limit my comment to this one point.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Phelps-Stokes Fund
30 June, 1959

Memorandum

To : John Wheeler
A.T. Spaulding
Luther Foster
Harold Fleming
Rufus Clement

From : Wilton Dillon

Subject : Supporting Statements for Continuing Work of the Civil Rights Commission

During the recent Phelps-Stokes Fund consultation conference at Holly Knoll, several proposals were made suggesting that testimony in favor of continuing the work of the Civil Rights Commission might be offered to the Commission for use in any way its staff deems pertinent. Accordingly, Dr. Patterson today consulted with Harris Wofford, Jr., legal counsel to Father Hesberg, a member of the Commission, as well as our trustee, I.N.P. Stokes, for suggestions about how this might be done. Both agreed that it would be useful to solicit statements from those of you who spoke voluntarily on this subject during the Capahosic conversations, June 19-21. These brief statements would then be sent to John Hannah and Gordon Tiffany in sufficient supply to permit them to use them as talking points with interested legislators or others who are, during the next several weeks, considering the matter of whether the Commission will continue or expire.

Thus I am appealing to you, on behalf of Dr. Patterson, to send to us as soon as possible your second thoughts on this question: why should the Civil Rights Commission be continued?

To refresh your memories, Wofford started the discussion by emphasizing the positive, educational uses of the law (vis-a-vis housing, voting, etc.), and proposed a greater use of the presidential office in giving unity to civil rights efforts at federal, state and local "levels." President Foster urged that the Commission "just sit for another year" even if they do not perform other functions. Mr. Wheeler reminded us that the Commission is the only "sounding board" or platform for bringing public attention to a variety of civil rights questions (e.g., employment, housing, voting, national guard, etc.) My rough notes do not contain the comments by Mr. Spaulding, Mr. Fleming or Dr. Clement, but we remember that you did voice some interest in the Commission, and are inviting you all to send us your statements at your earliest convenience.

RECEIVED JUL 1 1959

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PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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Housing: MRS. DYSON DUNCAN

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

June 29, 1959

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It was a pleasure to have you share the Phelps-Stokes Fund consultation at Holly Knoll, Capahosic, Virginia. While there have been many favorable comments on the worthwhileness of these off-the-record sessions, we are quite anxious to have constructive criticisms as well as compliments.

One such participant suggested that each person present might be asked to write a one-page evaluation of the conference in terms of the usefulness of the experience and to include at the same time any critical comments which will help us in the future to make such conferences of greater usefulness. We will be glad to have any comments you care to make.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Fred

F. D. Patterson
President

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Capahosic

VIA AIR MAIL

May 27, 1959

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Wilton:

What with the Little Rock recall election, I succeeded in reaching Ashmore only today. Though he feels kindly toward the Capahosic enterprise, he has planned his vacation for June and, so, regretfully declined.

This, plus Hammer's reneging letter, is discouraging. What luck have you had otherwise? I had hoped to get brought up to date in New York last weekend, but a miserable cold drove me to depart on Saturday -- and Les Dunbar tells me that, if you were there Sunday, he didn't identify you. Anyway, at some point when you can find time, give me a progress report.

Incidentally, Ashmore was quite elated over the outcome of the recall election. He reported his remark on election night, when most of the returns were in, as: "For once, I am prepared to concede victory."

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

July 20, 1959

Dr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Wilton:

This is just for the purpose of getting to you my expense statement for the conference at Holly Knoll. The check for $75.13 (plane fare round trip Atlanta - Richmond) should be made out and sent to the Southern Regional Council.

Forthcoming, as soon as I get back into the swing of things at home, will be (1) a note to Dr. Patterson giving my impressions of the conference; and (2) a report to you on the progress of the research project in Louisville.

My time has not been my own during the last few weeks. Still I am about to leave here without completing my job. The meeting at Holly Knoll and another with the CSLEA in Chicago, July 8-11, were costly interruptions. However, Harold has been patient and I feel obligated during the next few weeks to pull together the materials I have been working on.

Let me hear from you.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish

CHP/sl
(signed in his absence)

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REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, 1911-1958

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CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

August 6, 1959

RECEIVED AUG 10 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Indeed our trustees will be interested to hear about the Phelps-Stokes Fund responsibility in engaging in "integration, subversion and apostasy" in Ole Miss., the university of my ancestors. The Chattanooga Times piece will be reproduced soon in our trustees' newsletter along with the unhappy developments at dear old Highlander.

Incidentally, Gordon Tiffany has thanked us for sending your statement and others supporting the Civil Rights Commission.

Cordially,

Wilton

Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary

WSD:wrw

PS. When can we pin down Will for a full explanation of his heinous practices?

WORLD AFFAIRS CENTER FOR THE UNITED STATES

United Nations Plaza at 47th Street New York 17, N.Y. OXford 7-39

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1959

August 7, 1959

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Executive Secretary
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Wilton:

We are now in the process of planning for the third series of Community Leaders Programs this fall, which the Center has been running in cooperation with the United States Delegation to the United Nations. Enclosed is a copy of last year's letter of invitation and descriptive brochure as the easiest way to give you an idea of how the program is set up.

I am writing to you now to ask for your suggestions of leaders in or known to your organization at state, county or community level who might be usefully included in this year's list to receive similar invitations from Ambassador Lodge. We are anxious to have a very broad geographic and occupational cross-section of influential or potentially influential people. Participants in previous years have included top executives from major business corporations as well as top level professional and civic leaders from many other walks of life.

When last year's participants have been approached for suggestions for this year's list of invitees and for information on the way in which the program had been useful to them, a large percentage of them have sent in extensive lists of the same calibre and have reported using their experience as the basis for talks to their own companies, industries or club groups, as well as finding that it has helped greatly in the understanding and interpreting of world news.

While the program leans over backwards to avoid seeming to "sell" any point of view or technique or particular kind of participation, the postscript discussions in the afternoon have attracted a good portion of the group to some discussion of problems of community education in world affairs. A good number of these participants have, on their own initiative, asked how they could follow up on this experience with groups in their own communities. For this reason we hope you will consider the possibilities of this program as a possible entering wedge to open doors which generally proved sticky.

Again for your own background information: about 6000 invitations are sent out -- last year's lists were made up from the leadership in such organizations as the Young Presidents Organization, the National Retail Manufacturers Association, state leaders in various real estate and banking organizations, the National Planning Association, management of the hundred largest corporations, etc. All who have attended have appeared to be as much impressed by the other participants as by the content of the program itself.

This is a long letter, but it seemed worthwhile to go into this detail to explain the kind of names we are looking for, and the ways in which we hope this activity can be useful to your organization.

I'll look forward to any lists you may care to send and any other suggestions you may have concerning this program.

Sincerely yours,

Dick

Richard S. Winslow
Director

RSW:nn

P.S. We will of course be pleased to include your own name on the invitation list.

PR - Suggestions
HCF

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PHELPS-STOKES FUND

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CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

August 12, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Richard Winslow of the World Affairs Center, near the U.N., has asked me to give him the names of some "un-reconstructed" isolationists and segregationists who might accept an invitation from Henry Cabot Lodge to visit the United Nations as part of a program you will find described in the enclosed correspondence. I thought you might find this assignment both amusing and challenging and I look forward to your sharing it with me.

Last year I observed such "conversion behavior" on the part of judgers of Southern radio and television stations. I have no idea how they were affected personally, or how the content of their programs were changed, as a result of brief exposure to multi-colored delegates to the United Nations. I do not think, however, that we need to do evaluation studies to agree that this is a good idea.

May I hear from you soon?

Cordially,

Wilton

Wilton S. Dillon
Director of Research

WSD:wrw
Encls.

September 4, 1959

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Wilton:

You're right about Sitton and, happily, he's not the only one. But you're dead wrong about that easy tribute from the foundations. I suspect all the philanthropoids have been sitting out the summer in Martha's Vineyard blithely ignoring the New York Times and everything else.

Like the man said to his "authoritative" friend, "You so smart, why ain't you rich?"

Glad you find the "Race and Intelligence" piece to your taste. For such hackneyed doctrine, it's attracted a surprising amount of interest. I'm sending you the 10 copies separately.

If you people will get your crime orgy under control, I'll be in New York again sometime soon -- perhaps mid-October. In that event, I'll hope to see you and Virginia.

Yours for supra-racial unity,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 3-8578
RECEIVED SEP 2 1959

31 aout, 1959

Dear Harold,

Ol' Sitton sure is giving you a good press these days. You are probably quite blase about such references to "the authoritative..." etc. S.R.C., and are sitting back while the foundations pay tribute, a la $.

Your Race and Intelligence piece is excellent for our purposes. We need more copies. Could you spare an additional 10?

John Morris had a spirited meeting here the other day at the Cathedral to lay the basis for organizing his Church Society for Racial Unity (the title being cussed and discussed to a point that it shall be changed probably to something else, as yet undecided, to embrace Puerto Ricans, Chinese and other types who don't like tobe perceived in "racial" terms).

The Basutolander about whom you wrote me is about to land a scholarship at the New School for Social Research.

Fred is still in Monrovia, and Raphael O'Hara in Conakry. I wish I were in some glamorous place like Atlanta.

Virginia sends her best, too.

Cordially,

Wilton

Harold Fleming, Esq.

VIA AIR MAIL

November 30, 1959

Mr. Wilton S. Dillon
612 West 112th Street
Apartment 12
New York 25, New York

Dear Wilton:

Thanks for the word, at long last I've called your office a time or two, only to be told that "Mr. Dillon is on vacation." Some life you lead -- to say nothing of the upcoming sabbatical.

Your friend M. Nemo called the other day. Unfortunately I will not be here next Thursday and Friday, when he is to be in Atlanta. However, I made a few random suggestions and offered him the courtesies of the shop.

The silver lining, such as it is, is that I will be in New York on these days.

I hope your galloping schedule and mine will permit us to get together, preferably including Virginia. Anyway, until we meet again, my best to you both.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

WILTON S. DILLON
APT. 12
612 WEST 112TH STREET
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

19 November, 1959

Dear Harold,

Imagine, we have not had a glimpse of each other since June. Virginia and I had wanted to stop off in Atlanta to see you and Madame F. on our October return to NY from a month in Florida, but Virginia's Richmond grandmother died, and we stopped there instead for the Welsh* wake which followed the funeral we missed. (We returned to NY sick from overeating the Southern goodies which were borne in my consoling neighbors).

A friend of mine, André Nemo, a French political scientist, qui travail pour les services culturelle, press et information, French Embassy, NY, will be in Atlanta December 8-10 and wants to see you, Horace Mann Bond, and Rufus Clement. He is paving the way for some distinguished French specialists on African affairs who would like to find some Southern audiences for discussing the economics of under-developed (i.e., pre-industrial) areas. He will go to Durham to follow in the steps of Sekou Touré: A. Spaulding, J. Wheeler, L. Hodges, et al. before reaching Atlanta. (I suspect the French are sending in a "truth squad," to give perspective to Touré's Southern chalk talks). André is English-speaking, having studied at London School of E., and once taught at Georgetown. But I told him he would find you familiar with his native tongue, at least in the presence of some martinis.

I'm going on a leave from PSF in January to work on that silly book, and then to Africa for some fieldwork

W

* Please Virginia Gwathmeys.

which will involve taking Va. with me, perhaps in October.

Please let us see you in NY.

Best,

Millard

P.S. Bill Trent has just been refused* admission to the Westward Ho Hotel dining room and bar, the place where he was to have been one of the principal speakers at the National Congress of American Indians, who will be taking over that Phoenix hotel during their Dec. 7 meetings. So I am cancelling my reservation as a sympathetic strike, and sending a copy to Sen. Barry Goldwater so that Arizona will be in for some of the "suffering" that so often is identified with my beloved Southland. The irony is almost too much to consider: red Injuns, some three times blacker than Trent, have the run of the Westward Ho, and Trent, with all those English ancestors* showing in his face, is told he can sleep there, but can't eat or drink there. Does the S.R.C. embrace Arizona? Southern Baptists do.

* by mail

December 29, 1959

Mr. Wilton S. Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Wilton:

With time at a premium because of your early departure date, I am writing briefly to give you a progress report on the research project to which the Phelps-Stokes Fund has contributed and, as you may have guessed, to ask your advice about the securing of additional funds.

Our concern, as you will recall, has been with pupils and teachers in the Louisville Public Schools. The specific questions asked were: (1) What has happened to the young people who showed scholastic promise at sixth-grade level in 1950? and, (2) Why did they make the choices they made regarding high school graduation, college entrance and occupational career? A little over one-half of the Phelps-Stokes grant has been spent to provide partial answers to both of these questions. The remaining money (approximately $450.00) will be used to interview fifty-odd individuals with I.Q.'s of 120 or above for whom there is no indication of high school graduation.

The next step in the research program, projected for March 1960, is an attempt to determine the nature and extent of the differences in values, goal preferences, and behavior norms among contrasting socio-economic and racial population segments. For this

purpose, a battery of appropriate instruments will be submitted to ninth graders in junior high schools selected on the basis of the socio-economic ranking of feeder elementary schools.

Somehow I must find an additional $3,000. This would make it possible to collect the data for the value study described above and would also permit full-time operation for six weeks next summer in order to tabulate and analyze all the collected materials.

I am enclosing a copy of the questionnaire used with the 1950 sixth graders, and a set of propositions indicative of my research objectives. Please let me have your reactions.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish
Program Associate

CHP/mf
cc: Dr. F. D. Patterson

HCF

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 3-8578

Good Friday, 1959

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Here is a copy of the discussion paper youreque sted--the same which Harold Fleming had when he participated in the Capahosic Conference last June.

Apropos the pamplet, "Human Resources and Southern Development," we are still awaiting word from Philip Hammer. Perhaps you could help us give him a friendly nudge from your side in Atlanta?

I shall send you along other possible relevant materials as they develop.

Sincerely,

Wilton Dillon

Wilton S. Dillon
Research

your department?

VIA AIR MAIL

January 5, 1960

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Wilton:

As an old hand at both hope and malaise, shadows and light, old porticos, and shores dimly seen, I would be pleased and privileged to meet with the trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in April, if I should be asked.

I am delighted to hear that Rufus Clement is a new trustee -- a sound decision on both sides. But I feel it only fair to point out that Clement has had more than his share of opportunities to hear me wax analytical, analogical, anagogical, etc. But I leave such considerations to your and Fred Patterson's tender consciences.

Your expeditions projected for the coming year arouse my keenest envy. I will hope to see you in one of your rare state-side moments, if I can catch the right moment to be on the spur of.

Meanwhile, all the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

December 29, 1959

M E M O R A N D U M

To : Trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund

From : The Executive Secretaty

Subject : Dates of Spring Meeting of the Board at Holly Knoll, Capahosic, Virginia

Time and Place

In view of the attention which trustees, no doubt, are giving to their 1960 calendars, the following informal notice is given of the spring meeting of the board to be held Tuesday, April 19 at Holly Knoll, Capahosic, Virginia. The meeting will start at 9:00 a.m.

Committee Meetings

The Finance Committee will meet at 10 a.m., Thursday, April 14 at the headquarters of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. The Housing Committee will meet at 10:30 a.m. immediately following the meeting of the Finance Committee. (Notice will be given as to whether the offices will be operating at 101 Park Avenue, or at the new address, 295 Park Avenue South).

Members of the Executive Committee, the Education Committee, and the Nominating Committee, will meet after dinner at Holly Knoll, Monday evening, April 18.

Transportation

The Phelps-Stokes Fund staff will be happy to make travel arrangements for trustees through the Sarah Marquis Travel Agency. Please, therefore, inform Mrs. Wilhelmina Walker about your travel wishes. A preferred flight from New York to Richmond is Flight No. 343, Eastern Airlines, leaving New York at 12:03 p.m. and arriving at Richmond, 1:38 p.m. Luncheon will be served. Automobile transportation will be available to take trustees to Holly Knoll, 60 miles from the airport. Dinner will be served to trustees at 6:30 p. m., Monday evening, April 18. For return transportation, a preferred flight is Flight No. 344, Eastern Airlines, leaving Richmond at 5:45 and arriving in New York at 7:05 p.m. Dinner will be served.

Agenda

While it is too early to predict specific items on the agenda, trustees will be consulted during the spring meeting about the leadership the Fund is being asked to take in planning the forthcoming centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation. Moreover, two members of the staff, Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier and the Director of Research, will have returned by that time from Africa with a number of suggestions, from Africans, about educational priorities to which the Fund and other agencies might give attention. At the luncheon ending the meeting Tuesday, April 19, it is hoped that a special speaker, possibly Mr. Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, will discuss the role of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in various aspects of education and race relations today. In this context, future uses of Holly Knoll as an adult education center and conference site will be explored.

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 3-8669

28 December, 1959

Dear Harold:

I am very sorry to have missed you during your last trip; please come again soon. (I shall leave in March for a month in Africa, and then Virginia and I, as I may have told you, will spend six months there starting in October).

In the meantime, this is a "feeler" to find out if you would be "available" to speak to our trustees at a luncheon for them at Holly Knoll next April 19. (See enclosed). I am writing informally to find out whether you might entertain an invitation from Fred Patterson. The point is to give some of our Yankee trustees a "feel" of the Southern scene, to provide both hope and malaise, to see both shadows and light from those porticos looking out at that old York. (Don't you think I should ghost-write for Ellis Arnall with all those distant shores and stuff like that?)

Eric Larrabee and Eleanor, fresh from exploring Diane de Poitier's boudoirs on the Loire, called on Christmas afternoon, inquiring about you.

Did I tell you Rufus C. is one of our new trustees?

Cordially,

Milton

VIA AIR MAIL

March 30, 1960

Dr. F. D. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Fred:

Enclosed is a film bibliography compiled by our research staff.

Of those dealing with the schools, the only general treatment of suitable length is the Murrow kinescope titled "Segregation in the Schools." If I remember this accurately, it is a good, brief, overall treatment. Most of the others are good, too, but deal with particular community experiences.

Under "Other" on page 3, I have starred George Mitchell's map speech (which you may well have seen, filmed or live), and the kinescope of the Civil Rights Commission's hearings on voting discrimination in Alabama. The latter is a powerful documentary, as you may know.

Since you have several weeks, you or one of your staff might have time to screen several of these and select the one that will best serve. If I can help further, call on me.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

File

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

MEMORANDUM April 15, 1960

TO: Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, President

FROM: Aaron Brown, Project Director

It is my hope that the following brief statements will serve as a summary of major activities related to projects under my direction. It covers the five month-period since the last Trustee meeting.

I believe it safe to say that in general the overall progress is good.

I. 1960 Emphases:

1. Attendance at nationally recognized professional conferences and meetings
2. Contacts with state teachers organizations
3. Affiliations - such as Urban League, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Film Council of New York, Adult Education Association, American Association of School Administrators
4. Subscription to several major professional journals - such as Science News Letter, N.E.A. Journal, Phylon, state education association magazines.
5. Visits to observe best current practices in action.

II. Final Report Preview - Project for the Improvement of Instruction in Secondary Schools:

A meeting of five persons (two workshop directors, a coordinator, the evaluation consultant and the Project director) was held in Atlanta on April 2nd and 3rd for the purpose of hearing the first rough draft of the Final Report. The statistical tabulations are about completed. It was established at this conference, by the analysis of all major data, that the Five-year Project was significantly successful.

III. Staff Change:

While the change in duties of the Project secretary was good for the Fund generally, it did strengthen one phase of the Fund program while weakening the phase under my supervision. I am happy to report that the new Project secretary is rapidly becoming familiar with our techniques and procedures. She is doing a good job in meeting the varied demands of the position.

IV. Social Science Travel Kit:

Fisk University has developed and placed in the field a most unique social science instructional kit. It bears the title "Toward a Wider World Understanding: A Flannel Board Visual Project for High School Social Studies." It was released in March, 1960 with a forty-five page manual explaining its proper use and potential.

V. Interview with The New York Times Editor:

An encouraging interview was held with Mr. Fred M. Hechinger, Education Editor, The New York Times, on March 30. He was unusually conversant regarding Fund projects and gave the assurance of more educational reporting on our activities.

VI. Recent Requests for Assistance:

During the period under discussion we have received a large number of requests (individual and group) for the type of assistance the Fund has granted as reflected in the types of services rendered through the projects under my direction. I have classified the more impressive ones which number twelve from eight states - Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, New York, North Carolina, South Carolina, Pennsylvania and Virginia. They show imagination and sensitivity to urgent needs.

VII. Member of The Commission on Civil Rights Panel:

The United States Commission on Civil Rights invited me to participate in its Second Annual Conference on Education which was held in the Mountain View Hotel, Gatlinburg, Tennessee on March 21 and 22nd, 1960.

Dr. John Hannah, chairman, stated that the eighteen persons on the Panel were selected because of their understanding of the issues involved and demonstrated ability in the field. He said that the Commission had approached Civil Rights from three angles - voting, housing, and education.

The theme of the Conference was "The Problems of Schools in Transition from the Educator's Viewpoint."

Approximately ninety (90) persons attended:

Commissioners	6
Special guests (U.S. Office of Education & N.E.A.)	2
Official observers	6
State advisory committee members	22
Commission staff	8
Press (estimated)	16
Visitors (estimated)	12
Panel members	18
	90

The Panel members were state, district, county and city superintendents; a university professor; a representative from the New York City Board of Education; and a foundation representative (Aaron Brown). Sixteen of the eighteen Panel members came from eleven (11) Southern states.

My remarks have been referred to in several leading dailies including The New York Times, the New York Mirror, The Washington Post, and the Atlanta Constitution. It was necessary to mimeograph the statement because of the large number of requests for copies.

Some major findings at the conference were:

1. Integration has not resulted in lowered achievement of white pupils.
2. Integration has motivated Negro pupils to higher achievement.
3. Many desegregated schools have taken out of their program all social activities (dances, parties, etc.).
4. Negroes are accepted very readily in athletics.
5. Many systems employ a policy of voluntary transfer of students if requested (usually to a school where the highest percentage of children are members of his race).
6. Desegregation works best when leadership is strong and when the preparation of the Community was carefully made.

VIII. Some Activities of Aaron Brown Since the Last Trustees Meeting:

1959

December 1	Address - Philadelphia, Pa., Berean Institute
December 3	Elected to Executive Board, University of Chicago Alumni Association, Eastern Region

December 9	New York Adult Educational Council
December 15	Address: Frontiers of America, Atlanta, Georgia
December 28	Moderator of Panel, Cincinnati, Ohio Alpha Phi Alpha and College Youth 1960

1960

January 2	Selected by Rheingold Brewery for a full-page spread in several papers. (Declined because of implications)
January 13	Represented Fund at funeral of Dr. George E. Haynes
January 15	Participated in N.Y.U. Conference
January 23	Human Relations Conference, N.Y.C. (AJC)
January 31	Met at Mr. Lester Granger's home for planning community work for child welfare
February 13	National Society for the Study of Education, Atlantic City (Yearbook contained a review of The Phelps-Stokes Fund Project)
February 14-17	American Association of School Administrators, Atlantic City
February 24	Address: American Orthopsychiatric Association, Chicago, "Impact of Segregation on Child Development"
March 21-22	U.S. Civil Rights Commission. One of eighteen on Panel. Meeting held in Gatlinburg, Tennessee (remarks have been reported in several papers)
March 25	N.E.A. Council - "Legislation for Education" - N.Y.C.
April 1	Dinner honoring Dr. Alonzo F. Myers of N.Y.U. (represented by substitute)

April 2-16	Trip through Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana (see sixteen day itinerary)
April 4	Trustee Meeting - Interdenominational Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia
April 7	Address: Georgia Teachers and Education Association - Savannah, "Pursuit of Excellence"
April 11	Address: Adams County Teachers - Natchez, Mississippi, "Some Examples of Effective Guidance Programs"
April 12	Consultant - Principals Conference, Dillard University, New Orleans
April 16	Address: Wilmington, Delaware, "Future of Greek Letter Fraternities"

Engagements for Immediate Future

May 23	Commencement Address: Lane College (UNCF) Jackson, Tennessee
May 29	Address: Mothers' Club, Brooklyn, "Parents Can Assist Schools"
June 3	Commencement Address: Anderson High School, Jacksonville, Florida
June 6	Commencement Address: Talladega College (UNCF), Talladega, Alabama

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

ITINERARY - APRIL, 1960
Aaron Brown, Project Director

April 1	Leave New York City	
April 2 & 3	Atlanta, Georgia:	Project for the Improvement of Instruction Conference, Atlanta University
April 4	Atlanta, Georgia:	Trustee Meeting of Interdenominational Theological Center
April 5	Henry County:	Visits to County schools
April 6-8	Savannah:	State Teachers Association Meeting Address: Principals - "Pursuit of Excellence" Address: "Higher Education's Challenge"
April 9	Montgomery:	Alabama State College
April 10	Jackson:	Jackson State College, Mississippi President Reddix, Dr. Jane McAllister, Mr. John Hall
April 11	Utica:	Utica College President Washington
April 11	Lorman, Miss.	Alcorn State College
April 11	Natchez, Miss.	Edwards County Teachers Address: "The Guidance Program"
April 12-14	New Orleans:	Principals Workshop, Dillard University
April 16	Delaware (Wilmington):	Alpha Phi Alpha, Dupont Hotel Address: "The Future of Alpha Phi Alpha"
April 17	Brooklyn, N.Y.:	First A.M.E. Zion Church Easter Program
April 18-19	Capahosic, Va.:	Phelps-Stokes Fund Trustee Meeting
April 22	New York:	Conference with Mrs. Eddy and Dr. Patterson
April 25-26	New York:	Phelps-Stokes Fund move to 23rd Street office
April 25-26	Philadelphia:	Berean Institute Staff Meeting
April 29		Alpha Phi Alpha Formal

April 20, 1960

Dr. F. D. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Fred:

It was a pleasure to meet with you and the other Phelps-Stokes Fund trustees and staff yesterday. I hope my slight contribution was of some help, and I will expect to hear from you further about the forthcoming Capahosic Conference.

Following is a statement of my expenses:

Airplane fare (Atlanta-NYC-Atlanta)	$119.13
Limousines and Taxis	6.75
Hotel	15.18
Meals	6.20
Total:	$147.26

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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1911 - 1958

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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WILTON S. DILLON, *Executive Secretary and Director of Research*

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

Education: EMORY ROSS

Housing: MILDRED HOOKER DUNCAN

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8669

CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

22 April, 1960

Dear Harold:

Larry Moore tells me that you were among such visitors as Adlai Stevenson and Dr. Hastings Banda the day the Field trustees were meeting. I am delighted that we had some small, unwitting part in making possible this summitry at 250 Park Avenue.

It is to give some economic meaning to that "small part" that I am reminding you please to request your expenses from Mrs. Wilhelmina Walker, Acting Controller, Phelps-Stokes Fund. That is, your expenses incurred in providing the Phelps-Stokes trustees with the most thoughtful Big Picture they have had in ages, a B.P. garlanded with tactical details and wise counsel. Bless you.

I regret that the meeting went on far too long for me to have reached the Commodore before you flew away, dining on Yankee food far above where the national will isn't.

Cordially,

Wilton

Wilton S. Dillon

Mr. Harold Fleming, sage and seer
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta

Send Nicole out to E. Phillips

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
297 PARK AVENUE SOUTH
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.
GRamercy 3-8015

Moreland Report
Price Report

8 May, 1960

Dear Harold,

Your cup of coffee peace was another superb dipping of the Fleming pen; your muses are working marvelously.

Put your pen, too, please, to the attached list, and keep it before you so that we can arrange a telephone talk on the basis of it. Would you call me collect when you get it and have some suggestions so that we can coordinate the invitation letters. I have been telegraphing several to have them hold the dates.

Seeing good old Eagle Friday to help prepare him for his African baptism.

We will surely want 35 or so copies of the LeRoy Collins pamphlet for "background reading" forthe conference. It's first rate.

Best,

Wilson

P.S. Are you
planning to be
at the Pittsburgh
anthro. meetings
May 27-30?
Segregation
again —
Pierre.

PLANNING LIST FOR CAPAHOSIC CONFERENCE, JUNE, ~~XX~~ 1960

ATLANTA:

RUFUS CLEMENT
HAROLD FLEMING
PHIL HAMMER
JOHN MORRIS

FOUNDATION REPS.

VERNON EAGLE
MAX HAHN AND LARRY MOORE
DAVE FREEMAN
STEPHEN CURRIER
F.D. PATTERSON
W.S. DILLON

NASHVILLE
Mayor Roach Gibbs
Mayor Ben West
Dr. Stephen Wright
Earl Mays, Fisk Student
Nashville Lawyer: Barrett

LAWYERS
Harris Wofford, Jr. (civil disobedience)
CORE Lawyer in South
Benjamin Muse, Monassas, Va.
George Barrett, Nashville

RELIGION
Will Campbell
Neal Tarplee
John Morris
Martin Luther King
(Col. Francis Perkins Miller)

SOCIAL SCIENCE
Dr. Tom Pettigrew, Harvard
Kenneth Morland
Clarence Patrick
Killian

DALLAS

Maceo Smith
white citizen

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

Wm. Trent
Calvin H. Raullerson

DIME STORES

_____

_____

_____

_____

Salisbury businessman (Trent)

OTHER MAYORS

_____

NEGRO AND WHITE STUDENTS

Greensboro
Nashville (Earl Mays)
John C. Smith, Charlotte
Lawson?

May 12, 1960

MEMO: To; JC, BC, et. al.

The new address for the Phelps-Stokes Fund is as follows:

297 Park Avenue, South
New York 10, New York

TRUSTEES

EMORY ROSS, *Chairman*
I. N. PHELPS STOKES, *Vice-Chairman*
JOHN H. REISNER, *Secretary*
EDWIN K. MERRILL, *Treasurer*
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TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8669

CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

April 28, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Warmest thanks for your most helpful statement to the Trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund on the present Southern picture both in terms of desegregation and the sit-ins. You gave us just the orientation we need as we plan for the Capahosic Conference and to think in terms of other types of effort in behalf of integration.

I had the chance to talk with Mr. Erwin Canham, retiring president of the United States Chamber of Commerce. He thought very well indeed of our plan for the Capahosic meeting to bring together chain store executives along with those who have participated successfully and unsuccessfully in efforts to desegregate eating facilities in Southern cities. I am to contact the chief officer of the retail group here in New York. I hope he will prove equally interested. You may expect to hear from us further.

Warmest regards:

Sincerely yours,

Fred

F. D. Patterson
President

(Our new address: 297 Park Avenue South, NYC 10)

Cagahosie 6/17-19

1. Dallas -
2. Nashville - Barrett
3. Greensboro -
4. Salisbury -
5. Florida -
6.

x Clement
King
x Benjamin Muse -
Chains
x Hammer -
Freeman -
Eagle -
Stokely -

May 12, 1960

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
297 Park Avenue, South
New York 10, New York

Dear Wilton:

Have the Stokelys ever been to Capahosic? They've recently dug into the sit-ins for the Progressive, and of course are generally among the few most knowledgeable people down here.

It occurred to me that you might want to consider them if you run out of names and decide to break through the sex barrier.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

MF--

Please send to Wilton Dillon at Phelps-Stokes Fund 35 copies of the Collins pamphlet and one copy of the Moreland report, when ready.

Sent 5/13/66

HCF

Dinkla

MF - Please file for future reference.
H.

SUGGESTED ROUTES TO HOLLY KNOLL (MOTON RESIDENCE)

CAPAHOSIC, VIRGINIA

Telephone at Holly Knoll: GLoucester 3-1233

By Automobile from Washington: (Approx 150 miles)

1. Take U. S. Highway 301 to U. S. Highway 17;
2. Take U. S. Highway 17 to Ark, Virginia;
3. At Ark, make right turn on Route 606 pass general store and forestry tower, and proceed to Capahosic. Watch for sign for Holly Knoll and sign to nearby Allmonds Wharf. House faces York River.

By Automobile from Richmond Airport: (Approx 70 miles)

1. Turn right on U. S. Highway 60 upon leaving airport. Follow along Route 33 through West Point into Glenns;
2. Turn right into U. S. Highway 17 at Glenns proceeding to Ark;
3. Turn right on Route 606 at Ark and proceed to Capahosic. Holly Knoll is marked by sign near Allmonds Wharf.

(Alternate Route from West Point: Take Route 14 to Adner, turn right into U. S. 17 and proceed to Ark)

5-27-60

RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

file
Capahosic
copy

May 27, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Mr. Wilton S. Dillon of the Phelps-Stokes Fund has invited me to take part in the informal weekend discussion at Capahosic, Virginia, June 17-19, and I am sure I am indebted to you for the invitation.

I want very much to go, but, as I wrote Mr. Dillon, there is one complicating factor. Beginning June 13 I am to teach in the University of Georgia summer session at Athens, and one of my classes is scheduled to last until 3:20 Friday afternoon. Not knowing the policy of the University about dismissing classes or making alternative arrangements, I am not sure if I can leave in time to arrive in Capahosic Friday evening.

But in event I can get out of teaching on Friday, I thought we might get together on transportation, if you are planning to leave from Atlanta. I have just been talking with Neil Tarplee, and I understand it is difficult to get from Richmond to Capahosic. A U-Drive-It is about the only feasible way. Neil attended last year and is highly enthusiastic about the session.

I am happy to see the Texas desegregation report in print, and I appreciate the SRC's sending the New South to those who were of special help to me while in Texas.

Sincerely,

Ken

Kenneth Morland
Chairman

June 3, 1960

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
297 Park Avenue, South
New York 10, New York

Dear Wilton:

You must be up to your eyebrows in details of the Capahosic Conference, among other things, and I apologize for adding another logistical problem.

When we first discussed the dates of the conference, I mentioned to you and Fred that I had to make a speech at Blue Ridge that Friday night. We agreed that missing the Friday night session wouldn't be fatal. However, I have just discovered the enormous problems of getting from Asheville to Richmond. As it turns out, the best I can do is drive to Charlotte Saturday morning and catch a plane that reaches Richmond at 12:45. Several questions:

(1) Is it worth my coming this late?

(2) If so, would you prefer to have me met? have me rent a car by pre-arrangement from this end? arrange for a car to be there for me?

(3) Or what?

It distresses me that I can't get to Holly Knoll at least for the start of discussion on Saturday. I will await your orders.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

June 20, 1960

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
297 Park Avenue, South
New York 10, New York

Dear Wilton:

As you must have divined, Eastern Air Lines sabotaged me -- and this after a 100-mile dawn drive across the mountains from Asheville to Charlotte. I tried to call Holly Knoll and let you know, but Southern Bell sabotaged that. Gloucester doesn't know you-all, man, and won't even admit there is such a number; neither will any of the other nearby exchanges.

Anyhow, I am disconsolate at missing the conference and only hope that the pilot's strike didn't cause too many other flunk-outs. I'll look forward to word of what transpired, in due course.

Please share my regrets and regards with Fred.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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FREDERICK D. PATTERSON
RT. REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, Jr.
JUAN T. TRIPPE CHAUNCEY L. WADDELL

REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, 1911-1958

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

297 PARK AVENUE SOUTH

NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

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Housing: MILDRED HOOKER DUNCAN

TELEPHONE: GRamercy 3-8015

CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

June 22, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

My divinations were correct; Eastern Airlines sabotaged several others as well. Moreover, I had the same trouble myself with the telephone number at Holly Knoll. The number we sent you for the house should have been Oxford rather than Gloucester, though it is to be reached through the Gloucester exchange. I mention this so that you will have it for your next year's attendance at the conference.

Fred and I wish to thank you for your great help in lining up the people who contributed to the conference by their presence and remarks. Colonel Miller, for example, was a splendid court jester and I mean this in both the sense of being courtly and filled with good pungent humor. I think the Sears, Roebuck man had never beheld a Southern gentleman quite like him.

Phil Hammer proposes that we start thinking now about the theme of next year's conference and proposes that we consider law enforcement problems. In the meantime, I am trying to write a quick summary for our trustees' Newsletter and will send that to you as soon as it is out. I shall think about entitling the summary with the question occurring in the current Look magazine story on sit-downs, that is, "Can Business Stay Neutral?" The Capahosic answer was a resounding "No."

Sincerely,

Wilton

Wilton S. Dillon

WSD:w
Enclosures

DYNAMIC FACTORS IN THE SOUTHERN NEGRO SITUATION: THE 1960's

by

Dr. Eli Ginzberg

(Dr. Ginzberg, one of America's noted economists and social thinkers, Professor of Economics at the Columbia University Business School, is also director of Columbia's "Conservation of Human Resources". He has contributed the following paper especially for the Capahosic Conference.)

The following factors, many of which have been ignored or minimized in recent appraisals, are likely to alter significantly the position of the Southern Negro during the 1960's:

1. Demographic changes which will result in substantial increases in the absolute and relative numbers in the white population who entered adulthood during or after the onset of World War II. By the middle 1960's and surely by the end of the decade politicians who today find it necessary or desirable to cater to the "older generation" will have more latitude in ignoring, if not challenging, the most reactionary positions, which tend to be held by members of the older generation. One need only recall the millions of Southerners who will have served in the desegregated Armed Services. The fact that more Negroes will be voting should accelerate this trend.

2. The intensity with which segregation is supported depends among other things on the net excess of gains over losses that the white population experiences. If the losses are great and the gains small, the maintenance of segregation becomes unattractive to all but the most bigoted. The continuing and increasing pressure being exerted both by the courts and the Negroes

themselves (economic boycott and social unrest - sitdowns) foreshadows a mounting deficit.

3. There is every likelihood that the United States will become ever more deeply involved economically and politically in African affairs with the consequence that more members of Southern white leadership groups will come into close contact with African Negroes - an experience which will probably unsettle many of their fixed positions.

4. The likelihood that the cold war will be intensified on the psychological front will tend to force the next President to take a more aggressive position with respect to segregation.

5. Companies dependent on professional and scientific manpower - in which the South is seriously deficient - are experiencing increasing difficulties in attracting and retaining such personnel in their Southern plants.

6. For this and related reasons the South will face increasing difficulty in attracting new plants.

7. It is likely that Northern Negroes, assisted by some whites, will succeed in putting increasing pressure on both private industry and the Federal Government to desegregate.

8. As the states on the periphery of the South speed up desegregation, strong competitive pressure will be exerted on the hard-core states. Once the major walls of segregation begin to crumble in the South, the rest of the facade cannot long be maintained.

9. The Southerner's claim that he wants desegregation to wait upon a narrowing of the gap between white and Negro in terms of educational, social, and political development, and general

culture will have decreasing validity as the gap, at least with respect to many urbanized Negroes, will in fact be narrowed.

10. As pressure increases, many agencies of society, including Federal departments, professional societies, and trade unions will be forced to disassociate themselves from the systems of segregation.

The foregoing trends offer a challenge and an opportunity. Careful consideration should be given to the methods by which they can be accelerated and exploited. But they cannot alone bring about the total elimination of segregation. Indeed, the collapse of legal segregation alone cannot eradicate the disastrous consequences of three hundred years of acute discrimination.

A parallel challenge and opportunity exist in the actions that should be taken to improve the competence and otherwise help to facilitate the adjustment of Southern Negroes to the dominant competitive middle class culture. Among the most important areas for constructive action are:

1. Accelerating the outmigration of younger Negroes from the farm, preferably after they have received some orientation and training that will help them to adjust to an urban industrialized society.

2. Educating Negro parents and youth to the importance of taking advantage of all educational and training opportunities that exist not only in the formal school system but also in industry and the Armed Services.

3. Increasing the stress that all leadership groups should place on quality and high standards of performance by Negroes in school and on the job. The more the walls of segregation fall the

more exposed the Negro will become. He must be able to compete with the whites or his gains will turn out to have been pyrrich. More Negroes must complete an academic high school education and more must attend good interracial colleges and universities. Obtaining high school diplomas and college degrees from weak segregated institutions will not equip them adequately.

4. There is great need for the Negroes to develop more and stronger community organizations in which the more successful members are willing to help the less successful. The Negro must look increasingly to his own for help. He has a right to demand equality from the whites but he cannot expect much more. The closer he comes to full emancipation the less he can afford to rely on old fashioned "hand-outs".

5. The recent sitdowns have demonstrated the tremendous gap between generations. It is most important that younger people of ability have an important voice in the organizational effort of the future. There is also great need for Negroes to support adequately these organizational efforts so that the new opportunities can be fully exploited. The protagonists of segregation are seeking to shore up the system by making all challenges to their front increasingly expensive.

The foregoing can be summarized thus: There are powerful trends under way that are weakening segregation in the South to a point where the system may shortly topple over. The speed with which this is accomplished largely depends on the dedication and skill that the Negroes themselves demonstrate in challenging the system.

But it would be a grievous error if in the excitement of accomplishing this major objective, Negroes overlooked the fact

that the end of legal segregation is but one step - though a most important one - in their struggle for full equality. This will require additional and intensified efforts. They must prepare themselves to compete with the whites. To do this they must meet the standards of white performance in school, on the job, and in the community.

***

SEGREGATION AND MANPOWER WASTE

by Dr. Eli Ginzberg,
author, The Negro Potential

(The following comments and predictions of Dr. Ginzberg are drawn from his papers to the Southern Economic Association.)

Human Factor and Productivity: Economists have long studied increases in productivity resulting from alterations in the composition of resources used in production but they have substantially neglected to study the changes that come about primarily from alterations in the labor factor alone.

The recent concern with the economic development of non-industrialized societies has helped to focus attention, however, on the significant role that social institutions exercise on the skills and competence of the working population and therefore on the productivity of the economy.

Here is a brief account of (1) how the institution of segregation in the Southeastern states influence the shape of Negro manpower resources and (2) the consequences of segregation for the present and future development of the region.

The focus is on the broad institution of segregation, not on manifold and subtle forms of discrimination that are characteristic of every labor market. Nor does the concentration on segregation overlook that much of the analysis is also pertinent to the manpower problems of disadvantaged groups other than the Negro, both in the

South and in other regions of the country.

This analysis will primarily trace the impact of segregation on the ways in which Negroes prepare themselves for work rather than on the more frequently studied consequences of a segregated labor market on their employment and wages.

Segregation Conditions Negro Development: The institution of segregation conditions the development of the Negro population of the South through its impact on their attitudes toward work, their educational background, their occupational choice process, their work experience, and their migration. They are closely interrelated. While these (several) conditions affect the development of Negro manpower, they inevitably also leave their mark on the development of the white population of the South, whose adjustment is always in a reciprocal relation to that of the Negro. Standards and practices affecting a significant minority always help to condition the behavior of the majority.

Attitudes Toward Work: Too little attention has been paid by economists and other social scientists to the extent to which basic attitudes towards work are shaped in the home during the formative years of a child's life. The principal vehicle is through the child's ability to identify with the parent of the same sex.

How can the Negro child develop positive attitudes towards work when he early comes to recognize that almost all of the desirable jobs in the community are closed to him? To the extent that a high proportion of Negro men are more or less dissatisfied with the lack of opportunity at work, to that extent will their children tend to group up with a negative orientation towards the world of work--to view it largely as an unpleasant necessity bereft of any positive quality.

The problem is compounded by the fact that in a high proportion of Negro families the man is not the responsible head. In part, this is a legacy of slavery; in part it reflects the heightened instability of family life as more and more men and women seek to escape the confines of segregation through relocating themselves in more favorable areas. In brief, a high proportion of Negro youth grows up without any understanding of, or belief in, their capacity to shape their lives through work.

Educational Background: Next to the home, the school represents the most important agency of society in helping to prepare young people for work and life. Negroes have access to poorer schools both in terms of teaching staffs and physical accommodations. But schools influence the development of young people in many ways other than through providing basic instruction. The good school helps to widen the horizon of young people so that they are challenged to exert themselves. It is very difficult for the segregated school--as well as for the non-segregated school in an impoverished neighborhood--to do this, for it does not have within it the wide range of diversity that is generally characteristic of schools that draw children from the community at large.

The segregated school is also hard pressed to establish and maintain proper standards. It is handicapped by having to draw its staff exclusively from among Negroes who generally have had poorer preparation than white teachers. Further, the able or superior Negro child cannot be easily stimulated to do his best because his teacher is forced to adjust the space to the average and the school is not likely to be able to sponsor special classes for the gifted. Worst of all, the able Negro student is likely to acquire a mistaken view of excellence since he can measure himself only against his classmates.

Segregation significantly influences the training Negroes receive. The vocational courses available to Negroes in the high schools of the South, provide instruction mainly for those fields where Negroes can find employment. Negroes have little opportunity to be trained in school for the metal trades, electrical work, and the better paying work on which modern industry is based.

The school also contributes to the socialization of the young through a great many ways that have little to do with formal classroom instruction. It facilitates the making of friends and the sharing in a large number of activities ranging from sports through amateur theatricals. Some children participate more than others in these extracurricular activities but to be prevented, as Negroes are, from participating jointly with white children during their school years places them at a major disadvantage if they later are to make their way in a world dominated by the white community which does not practice segregation.

Occupational Choice: The extent to which young people are motivated to develop their potential and take advantage of educational and other available opportunities depends in considerable measure on how successfully they develop in occupational choice which serves both to challenge and guide them during adolescence. Segregation takes a heavy toll.

Many young Negroes, including some with above average endowment, adopt the view that there is little point in their making a special effort since they are arbitrarily barred from entering any of the preferred jobs. The pressures to enjoy the present rather than to plan for the future are very powerful in adolescence and the young Negro has an easy rationale to give up the struggle to make the most of himself even before he starts.

Segregation also leads to faulty occupational choices among the minority who are determined, despite the difficulties in their environment, to aim high. Since few skilled occupations and professions are open to Negroes, they tend to be oversupplied because those who want to better themselves have so few alternatives. Many who have prepared themselves for teaching have done so not because they have an interest in and aptitude for instructing young people but largely because it offered them the best chance to advance themselves.

Work Experience: What men can accomplish in the labor market depends not only on their native abilities and their education but also on their work experience. Since Negroes are not generally hired for production jobs, they are automatically cut off from on-the-job training which plays such a key part in the worker's adquisition of skill. He also has no access to the wide range of formal courses that modern corporations have established to raise the skill level of the work force.

Restricted as Negroes largely are to menial jobs and cut off from the production line, the gap between them and the rest of the work force is constantly widening as industry becomes ever more dependent on advanced technology and a higher order of skill.

Migration: Young Negroes growing up in the South today either on the farm or in the city cannot fail to realize that increasing numbers of their race are moving away to the North and the West in the hope of finding a better job and a more desirable place to live.

It is difficult to know just what the impact of such widespread uprooting on the attitudes and behavior of young people may be, but a few speculations can be ventured. It is very difficult for a young person to resolve the problem of his occupational choice even if he need weigh only the alternatives in his immediate environment. But his difficulties are greatly enhanced if he realizes that he must later on relocate himself in a strange community.

The problem is most difficult for young people who are growing up in an agricultural area. The odds are overwhelming that they will, if they move, become city dwellers. Yet there is little in their immediate environment which can help them to prepare effectively for life in a modern industrial community.

Many who should move are held back by their fears. But among those who do move are certainly the abler and the more aggressive. Their departure further depresses the community which slips even further behind the growing dynamic centers of both South and North. This adds to the problems of those who remain.

The Costs of Segregation: The preceding sketch should help make clear the pervasive influence that segregation has on the development of Negro potential. Young people are likely to waste a good part of their endowment because they see little point in putting forth effort and the discipline required to develop good work habits. Their schooling will leave them in a weak competitive position. They will have been exposed to poor teaching, and they will have missed many of the broadening opportunities that are available to the majority. Many will also fail to make an occupational choice or will make a forcedone -- in both instances the result will lead to a waste of their potential. They will be further handicapped by their limited work experience which will block their acquiring the skills required to advance in the industrial world. A high proportion will be further handicapped by growing up in a community unlike the one in which they will eventually live and work.

How Does This Square With Negro's Improved Economic Position? It is difficult to square the impact of segregation wigh the marked improvement in the economic position of the Negro during the past two

decades and with the even more striking advance of the economy of the South.

First, as to the Negro: In considerable measure his gains have come about as a result of opportunities outside of the South. Next, to the extent that the Southern Negro has made significant gains -- and he has -- these have occurred primarily in the cities where segregation has at last begun to give way. Finally, the Federal Government has contributed greatly both directly and indirectly to improving the economic position of the Southern Negro.

The Southern economy has made significant gains despite the underdevelopment -- and under-utilization -- of its Negro manpower. The South has been, and continues to be, characterized by manpower surpluses, particularly untrained manpower. This helps to explain, more than any other single factor, the persistence of segregation in the face of mounting legal pressure and moralchallenges.

What of the future? The improvement that has taken place in the position of the American Negro, North and South, presages an alteration in his expectations and behavior. He has more understanding of and is less inclined to accept disabilities which are based on irrelevant considerations of race. The evidence is clear that the pressures from his side against segregation are mounting constantly and will continue.

A substantial and ever increasing number of the white population of the South have begun to question the future of a system that is under constant attack throughout the rest of the country and the world and that is absorbing an even greater share of Southern communal and governmental energy to buttress.

Segregation involves much more than manpower resources and economic development, but a clearer impact in this area may contribute to the constructive resolution of the issue.

The costs of segregation in manpower terms can be briefly summarized. Much of the potential of the Negro minority goes to waste because it fails to be developed. Many just coast through school; others drop out prematurely because they see no point in continuing. Still others, because of a lack of opportunity, never become aware that they possess special aptitudes. Much of what is developed is lost to the South through out-migration. The Southern Negro who be-

comes an electronics specialist in the Armed Forces is not likely to return home after discharge. He will relocate in the North.

The Southern Choice: Economists have long argued against arbitrary power in the market place, emphasizing that it can lead only to a faulty allocation and a lessened efficiency in the use of resources. The rapid expansion of the nation's economy during the past two decades had hidden from the South the price that it has been paying for the maintenance of segregation. This price is constantly rising. The time is not far distant when the South must choose between 1) a rear guard action to protect segregation or 2) a positive program to make the fullest use of all of its resources -- particularly its manpower resources. The two are incompatible. What is more, rapid economic progress is incompatible with the continuing social unrest. The South can probably maintain the system of segregation for a considerable period of time but only at the price of sacrificing its opportunity to share fully in the future economic progress of the nation.

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SOME PERSPECTIVES ON THE NEGRO QUESTION

(An Address at Tuskegee Institute given by Dr. Ginzberg)

Introduction

When I told my daughter that I was coming to Tuskegee, and would have an opportunity to address you, I asked her what I should say. She reminded me that she had never made a speech in her life and that she had never been to Tuskegee. I have made many speeches but this is my first visit to Macon County, Alabama. In order to gain some background for my remarks this afternoon, I asked Dr. Foster to send me some materials, which he did. But after reviewing them I was still in search of a theme. Statistics can tell us much about what has happened and what is likely to happen in the South, but they frequently obscure rather than illuminate some of the more important determinants.

Searching for a point of departure, I recalled my first contact with the South, which occureed in 1933 when I drove from Florence, Alabama, to Decatur, Georgia, some six months after the Scottsboro trial. No one can question that a great many things, almost all of them good, have occurred since that time. Without trying to be a Pollyanna, I think it is important for each person to establish a meaningful reference point for himself. This is all the more important because of the current exacerbation of racial tensions which can prove very misleading unless it is put into perspective.

After considerable reflection I have decided to proceed as follows. I will begin by putting some unconventional ideas before you in the hope of stirring you up. I will follow with an estimate of the realities of the present situation and likely developments in the near future. I will then draw from these assessments some implications for Tuskegee. And, finally, I will indicate some of the more important relationships between these conditions and the changing position of the Negro in the United States.

Some Unconventional Ideas

One must be very careful not to think about the more than 17 million Negroes in the United States as a homogeneous group. The easiest way to make this point is to suggest that there are vast differences in the opportunities and disabilities facing the Negro sharecropper in the backwoods of Alabama and the Negro civil servant in New York City. To emphasize this point, I would like to take the argument one step further and ask whether the Negro civil servant in New York and his children, despite their continuing disabilities, might not be better off than a poor white farmer in Alabama. Clearly, race remains a pervasive disability in the United States, but it is by no means any longer overriding, assuredly not outside of the South, and before long perhaps not even in the urban South.

Without denying for a moment that Negroes, North and South, continue to suffer from serious lack of opportunity -- something which is also true, regrettably, for many of our white citizens -- I would like to submit that outside of the South the problem is rapidly being transformed. Not lack of opportunity, but failure to make effective use of such opportunities as do exist is increasingly the major issue. I will limit myself to a single example. The Northern Negro has long had access to desegregated high schools, and, in New York City and some other places, to desegregated free colleges. For a series of understandable reasons, he has, until recently, taken relatively little advantage of these educational opportunities. The emphasis on "understandable reasons" does not alter the basic fact that the opportunity has been his but he has not responded.

In thinking about why Negroes have been slow to seize their new opportunities, I have been impressed with the way in which the past continues to shape the present. Specifically, the failure of the Negro to develop a conventional family structure has taken a heavy toll. Many Negro youths grow up without the type of preparation and values which serve as the foundation stones for success in our type of competitive society. I would submit that the strengthening of the family is an essential prerequisite for the Negro's full exploitation of his expanding opportunities.

While it may appear premature to those of you who live in Macon County, I do not think it is too early to raise the question of what happens to Negroes as a group when individual Negroes finally succeed in gaining their full legal rights. Every minority is confronted with the challenge of finding a rationale for their position. Since I do not believe that segregation will disappear in social and marital relations, the question that I pose is this: At the present time there is a reasonable identity of interest among Negroes as they seek to

break down the remaining legal pillars of segregation. What happens when they succeed? Unless the Negro can find positive elements on which to build a meaningful group existence, he is in for serious frustration -- he will be free with no place to go.

The last challenge that I want to raise is whether your present stance is a good one or whether you could gain by taking another. While I think you are right to consider the behavior of the whites as the key to your own full emancipation, I wonder whether you may not be exaggerating their importance and minimizing the very considerable margins for constructive action which you already possess as individuals and as a group.

These then, in brief summary, are the five unconventional ideas that I have just placed before you:

Seventeen million Negroes must not be thought of as a homogeneous group

There are more opportunities available to Negroes than they are taking advantage of

Until the Negro's family structure is strengthened, many young Negroes will not be able to take full advantage of their opportunities

The elimination of segregation is not an adequate long-time base for constructive group developments

Negroes might gain from paying more attention to areas within which they have scope for action and less to those where the whites largely control the outcome

Major Centers of Discrimination

I will now briefly set out my evaluation of likely developments in five major areas which are currently at the forefront of concern of those who are seeking to eliminate discrimination from contemporary American life. These five areas are the schools, housing, the job market, civil rights, and community relations. A few words about each:

School Integration

As far as the schools are concerned, I am sure you appreciate the fact, but I think it is one worth stressing, that there is a wide gap between the elimination of segregation and effective integration. I come from a city which in my lifetime and long before has been free of segregation, but I did not attend truly integregated schools. There were always a few Negroes in my class but that was all. Currently, my children go to a public school where much the same pattern prevails except that Negro and Puerto Rican children comprise a much larger percentage of the total. The school is, of course, desegregated, but there is only one Negro child in my daughter's class, the members of which have been selected by their scores on an aptitude test.

I do not want to minimize the importance of securing compliance

with the Supreme Court's decision, which as you well know, in making segregation illegal did not order integration. When the South finally complies with the Court's edict, this will enable relatively small numbers of Negroes to attend the same schools and more particularly the same classes as white children. As long as members of a particular income level or racial or ethnic background are concentrated in particular localities, just so long will the schools tend to have more or less homogeneous populations. I do not anticipate, therefore, that the elimination of discrimination in the schools will in the near future go far beyond a legal victory. Effective integration can result only from a great many simultaneous adjustments for which the legal principle is only a precondition.

Housing

As regards housing, I cannot fail to mention at the outset that America's worst slums are on the farm, and that as more and more Negroes migrate into urban centers, many are likely to experience an improvement in their housing. Now the fact that they are migrants carries with it the implication that they are also in a weak economic position. This being so, it is more or less inevitable that they will initially have access only to the least desirable housing. Moreover, I want to point out that when whites panic because of an incursion of minority groups into their neighborhoods, Negroes may sometimes get better housing per dollar than other persons because of the resulting disorganization of the real estate market.

Admittedly, this is the exception rather than the rule. Discrimination has usually operated in the past and still operates to contain Negroes artificially within a small area, thereby raising their rents disproportionately. However, in communities where there has been a large amount of public housing, some Negro families may secure good housing at low rents.

Looking ahead, it appears that Negroes will tend to congregate even after many of the discriminatory practices embedded in law and custom have given way. People with the same background, in the same income level, tend to live together. In short, desegregation in housing is likely for a long time to come to affect only relatively small numbers of Negroes. I would expect that the next significant breakthrough will occur among Negroes at the top of the income ladder; some wealthy Negroes are likely to move into expensive apartment houses in New York City in the immediate future. In fact, some already have. It may also be worth pointing out that there is evidence that Negroes may be disinclined to move into interracial housing developments because they do not want to spend so high a proportion of their income on rent and because they are uneasy about moving away from members of their own group.

It would seem to me, therefore, that one cannot anticiapte any large-scale gains in interracial housing in the immediate future, surely not until the income level of Negroes more nearly approximates that of the average white family.

Jobs for Negroes

With respect to the problems of discrimination in job markets, I think it is necessary to begin by sharply differentiating North

from South, although in so doing I surely do not want to create the impression that all is well in the North. As I see it, improved opportunities for Negroes in the South are a function of the rate at which the surplus labor in the region is absorbed as a result of either accelerated economic development or migration. While it is correct to stress the sizable gains in the Southern economy during the past two decades, surplus labor remains a pressing problem. One must remember that the South continues to produce a very large number of babies, which helps to explain why, even in the face of rapid economic expansion, labor surpluses have not been fully absorbed.

Against this background, it is not surprising that the Southern Negro has experienced considerable difficulty in really gaining a firm place in the expanding urban labor force. That he has made gains during the past two decades is incontestable, but these have resulted largely from new opportunities that have opened up in the service sector, in government employment, and in self-employment. I would expect these trends to continue, which is another way of saying that I anticipate, at least in the short run -- the next decade or so -- that discrimination in employment in the South, especially in the industrial sector, will at best recede only slowly.

The best opportunities for accelerated gains in employment can come from more aggressive action on the part of the several federal governmental agencies, especially the Government Contracts Committee, in pressing employers with governmental contracts to lower the bars against Negroes in their hiring, training, and promotion policies. While the Committee has made progress, I am sure that Southern Negroes can present evidence that the progress has been too little and too slow.

There is one aspect of this problem of discrimination in employment that I would like to place forcibly before you. From the viewpoint of the employer, even one who is color blind, Southern whites would generally be hired before Southern Negroes, for they would on the average have more and better education and would therefore be easier to train. Proof thereof can be found in the experience of the Armed Services. Anyone who passes the Armed Forces Qualification Test and is otherwise qualified for enlistment or induction is accepted, white or Negro. The figures point up that Negroes are severely handicapped by their inability to meet the higher educational standards. This means that Negroes, as they look forward to the elimination of segregation, must succeed in placing themselves in a truly competitive position with white applicants. The removal of the color bar is not enough to insure that they will be hired.

Civil Rights and Negro Voters

In the area of civil rights I am considerably more optimistic even as regards the short run. I do not think that one can minimize the importance of the fact that every Southern senator but one voted for legislation that, after almost a century of delay, will finally enable the Negro to exercise the rights of a citizen to vote. I am sure that here, as in other areas, there will be diehards who will fight the new legislation and the Civil Rights Commission, but I suspect that the breakthrough in federal legislation which occurred last year is only a prelude of more to come. Moreover, I am impressed with the great power of

the Federal Government to insure that its own laws are not violated. I am no lawyer, and I do not want to introduce distinctions which have no validity, but it seems to me that it will be much easier for the Federal Government to bring to heel recalcitrants who seek to thwart the Civil Rights legislation, than it will be to enforce the Federal judiciary's decisions on school desegregation.

But here, too, I see some need for caution. I was impressed by the remarks of President Clement at the inauguration of President Foster, which pointed out that for many reasons, some good, but most poor, a high proportion of Southern Negroes were failing to make use of their right to vote. Negro leadership faces a major challenge in learning how to come into effective contact with the Negro masses and help them understand how to make effective use of this most valuable right of citizenship.

It may be out of order for me to raise another note of warning about the gap that must be closed between the right to vote and the effective use of voting. We have recently had a campaign in New York City in which the behavior of the Negro political leadership left much to be desired. I am not unaware of the shenanigans that go on among other groups, but this should only heighten the determination of Negro leaders to see that the Negro vote is used constructively and is not exploited by demagogues.

It seems to me that one of the most significant gains over the last few decades has been the increasing personal security of Negroes in the South, particularly those who live in cities. Looking ahead, I suspect that the battle for civil rights will lead to relatively speedy victory not only for Southern Negroes who live in cities but also for those in rural areas where they account for only a minority of the population. Serious problems will remain in areas with heavy concentrations of Negroes. As you know all too well from personal experience, whites will struggle hard not to lose control of the governmental machinery.

The Churches' Role in Integration

It is my understanding that both whites and Negroes concerned with race relations have been most distressed by the almost complete breakage in the lines of communication between the two groups in the South during the past few years. I need hardly elaborate on this point to those of you who know Macon County as it was and as it is. But I am reasonably optimistic that slowly and surely if hesitantly, the lines of communication will be reopened at least in some areas and whites and Negroes will again participate in joint community projects. Considering the reluctance of the churches until very recently to assume leadership in the matter of race relations, I think one has reason, good reason, to feel encouraged by what now is happening, even though one might wish for deeper involvement of the lay as well as the clerical leadership.

Negroes and the Professions

Next to churches I see the best hope in professional relationships. It is my understanding that even during the past difficult years some of these have not only been maintained but even strengthened. For instance, it is my understanding that at tomorrow's meeting of the Southern Economic Association, which I will be addressing in Atlanta, there

will be an interracial audience at one of Atlanta's leading hotels. I know that in the border states physicians and other professional groups have begun to open their membership to qualified Negroes.

The fact that most international unions have adopted strong policies aimed at the elimination of segregation should not be brushed aside even though they have been unable in most instances, to convince the local leadership in the South to act accordingly. Pressure is being exerted in the right direction within most international unions even though it has not been sufficient as yet to result in major breakthroughs.

I was impressed sometime ago with a short newspaper item about a Georgia legislator who moved to table a bill which would have required the labeling of blood as white or Negro. When interrogated by the press, he explained that if his life were in danger, he didn't care whether he received white or Negro blood. Perhaps one has a clue here to the potentialities for better community relations based upon a broadened understanding by the whites of how many important matters depend on the elimination of segregation. Let me just point to one: If the erosion of the center of the larger cities which is going on all over the country, in the South as in the North, is to be arrested and reversed, joint planning by whites and Negroes is essential.

In summary, then, I see as likely a complete legal victory for the Negro in the desegregation of the schools but only slow substantive gains. In housing, I suspect that the gains will be even slower, for the legal situation is less clear-cut. In the job market there have been important gains and I think these can be accelerated, particularly if the Federal Government will step up its efforts. But even if this occurs, Negroes must improve their education if they are to take advantage of the broadened opportunities. My greatest optimism relates to the probable gains on the civil rights front where I see continuing difficulties primarily in rural areas where the whites are in a minority. And while it may take some time before the lines of communication have been reknit, I do expect a steady and continued improvement to take place in community relations.

Implications for Tuskegee

I will make my remarks under this heading very brief indeed because you must draw your own implications after you have had a chance to determine for yourselves how much of what I set out above checks with your reading of events, past, present, and future.

As far as teaching is concerned, I would encourage you to place maximum stress on raising standards, for as segregation declines and is finally eliminated, the Negro inevitably will find himself in a more intense competitive position. He will no longer be pitted only against members of his own group but also against those who have had more advantages.

Because the economy and the society are changing so rapidly there is need in my opinion to stress the fundamentals in education rather than narrow vocational skills. The best vocational preparation for a young person is to master the written and spoken language, mathematics,

and the fundamentals of natural and social sciences. With such a foundation a young person should be well prepared for the world of work.

A further consequence of living in such a rapidly changing environment is the need for strong guidance services, which will provide not only necessary information but will also help motivate young people to study hard and do their best.

Since the results of your educational effort will be greatly influenced by the quality of the students that you attract, I would think that Tuskegee should do as much as possible to strengthen the high schools in the area from which it draws most of its students.

Although your president may find the next recommendation difficult to implement, there will be little disagreement with the proposition that the success of Tuskegee in the years ahead will be greatly affected by the investment that is made in the faculty, through intramural work and through opportunities for study and research at other institutions.

Now a few words about research, the second mainstay of an institution of learning. It seems to me that you have special need to stay abreast of important changes in your student body, your alumni, and the larger society. Research is the best and perhaps the only way in which you can secure the facts you need for effective planning and operations.

Just a few illustrations to suggest the type of research likely to yield useful answers. It would seem to me that you would want to know about the educational background and occupational experience of the parents of your students so that you would be more aware of the forces that have helped to shape them. As regards your alumni, I would think that you would want to know to what extent your graduates during the last four decades differ as regards their residence, occupational experience, military service, further education, and aspirations for their children. Finally, as far as the larger Negro community is concerned, I would think that you would want to explore who is remaining in the Southeast and who is leaving; who is going into the Armed Services; who among those who leave return and many other related questions. As one whose life is centered on research, I hope you will appreciate that the briefness of my presentation is no indication of the importance that I ascribe to the area.

Major Trends and Implications

The first, and from many points of view the most important, conclusion is that as more and more opportunities are opening up for the Negro, he has need to learn more about them and how to take advantage of them. There are many companies in the North that offer excellent opportunities to secure training on the job. Many of these companies do not practice discrimination. In short, the Negro must prepare himself so that he will be hired. The same is true of opportunities in the Armed Services and in the civilian sector of the Federal Government.

A second point is that the white community is altering its attitudes and behavior toward the Negro. The challenge that the Negro faces, therefore, is to see what he can contribute to speeding the process. In

this effort he can make use of both money and ideas. The bus strike in Montgomery proves that money counts, even in the South. An even more striking illustration of the force of economics is the integrated Veterans Administration Hospital at Jackson, Mississippi. Moreover, it should not be too difficult to prove that Mr. Faubus has cost Arkansas much in terms of new industrial development. While many whites will respond to economic pressures, others can be moved by ideas if they are forcibly expressed and skillfully communicated. I will offer just two examples. If a brochure were prepared showing how the Communists are using the race problem in the South to weaken the United States, patriotic citizens, of which the South has a great many, might be willing to reconsider how far they were willing to go to uphold such a system. Likewise, if a clear presentation were made of how arbitrary discriminatory practices led to the death of an injured child, because he could not be admitted to a segregated hospital, there would be some whites who might be moved to rethink their position.

A third conclusion is the need for an enlargement of Negro leadership and a greater involvement of Negroes in self-help activities. I believe that more money can be raised from Negroes for scholarships and loans to Negro students. The day has passed when Negroes need rely so heavily on the white community for financial assistance. Much can also be done without large sums by a skillful leadership that seeks to involve large numbers in neighborhood projects the objective of which would be to make the community a better place to live.

Finally -- and I suppose this is a result of my economic background -- the speed with which many desirable objectives can be accomplished will depend on the efforts that are made toward improved information, greater involvement of individuals and groups, and better leadership.

By way of perspective, I think it is important to stress that the biggest gains which Negroes have made over the past decades have resulted from forces that had no direct connection with issues of race -- the cutting off of immigration, World War II, and the continuing expansion of the economy. This means that the factors which may exercise the greatest influence on the future position of the Negro may not yet be operative. It does appear, however, that the ever more effective use by Negroes of the courts and the ballot will continue to raise the price to whites of maintaining segregation so that it will eventually become intolerable.

Because I am confident of the outcome, I would like to stress the need of Negroes to act, individually and collectively, to improve themselves so that they can take fuller advantage of the opportunities that have already opened up, as well as those that will undoubtedly open up in the future.

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June 14, 1960

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The following are two articles taken from newspapers of Greensboro, North Carolina concerning the stance taken by Dr. Frank Porter Graham on the 'sit-down' movement of Negro college youth.

From: The Greensboro Record, May 30, 1960

DR. GRAHAM PRAISES NEGRO STUDENTS HERE FOR 'SIT-DOWN' MOVE

by Dorothy Ann Benjamin
Record Staff Writer

Dr. Frank Porter Graham, educator and statesman, today called for a rededication of all Americans to equal freedom under law and human brotherhood under God in this atomic age.

"It is a matter of pride to me that this newest youth movement (the student sit-down demonstrations) in our land had its origins, not in Moscow, but in North Carolina," he told the audience at the 87th commencement exercises at Bennett College.

Dr. Graham, former president of the University of North Carolina and now a United Nationa mediator, said this movement has its head waters in the Judean hills and its sources in the American revolution.

He stated that the educated Negro college youth were more aware of the remnants of discrimination in North Carolina and "started a youth movement with the lawful petition that stores selling to the public should provide the same quality and quantity of service to all people."

Dr. Graham described the student demonstrators as having "the Bible in their hands; the national anthem on their lips and non-violence in their hearts" and offered a hope of a future where the majority of citizens were without tyranny and the minority without fear.

He urged the Bennett graduates to struggle for "a fairer America . . . . We, in this critical hour, must rise to the responsibility of our greatness."

"The collapse of the Summit conference must cause us to remember that the United Nations is an institution not to be bypassed by the great powers but should be a forum of the great powers. It is fortunate that it again became a world forum where the delegates could blow off steam and shout at each other instead of the youth of the land shooting each other on the battlefield.

"The people of the United States learned the hard way that isolation would not keep them out of war. They learned that keeping out of the League of Nations did not keep them out of World War II. They decided to be in the UN and try to prevent World War III," he said.

Dr. Graham pointed out that although the UN is only 11 years old and has only moral power it has helped prevent World War III and "helped cool off six hot spots" in the world.

"We are having it emphatically borne in upon us in these crucial days that the UN must be strengthened," he said and called for effective universal disarmament, an international police force, bold long-range economic programs, establishing the jurisdiction of the UN over problems in outer space and in ocean beds beyond continental shores and greater

use of the world court.

However, he reminded his audience that while "we are looking worldward, we must also look homeward. We need in our own America a rebaptizing in the principles and meaning of the American revolution .... that our proclamations and declarations are the present and living source of America's faith in herself."

Dr. Graham stated that while the principle of states' rights had a noble origin it has become, in this time, the massive armament of massive resistance - "states' rights should also be the states' responsibility for equal dignity and freedom of all people."

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From: The Greensboro Daily News, May 31, 1960

SITDOWN PROTESTS IN STATE PRAISED BY FRANK GRAHAM

by Conrad Paysour
Greensboro Daily News Staff Writer

Dr. Frank Porter Graham, a United Nations mediator, said yesterday he is proud that the sitdown demonstrations against segregated lunch counters "had their origins in North Carolina."

Dr. Graham, former University of North Carolina president, made the statement in speaking at Bennett College's 87th commencement exercises.

While the college itself is not connected with the demonstrations, individual Bennett students have played an active part in the movement which began here and has since spread throughout the South.

In mentioning the demonstrations, Dr. Graham called it a movement "with the lawful petition that stores selling to the public should provide the same quality and quantity of service to all people."

Memorial Day Noted

Noting that yesterday was Memorial Day, Dr. Graham called on the graduating students to do their part to strengthen the principles on which this country was founded.

He also urged them to do their part towards making the United Nations a stronger body.

Dr. Graham said the collapse of the Summit Conference has "caused us to remember that the United Nations . . . is not to be by-passed by the great nations of the world."

As an aftermath of the summit break-up, the U.N. has once again become a world forum "where delegates shout at each other instead of millions of youths shooting at each other," he said.

Calls On Graduates

He called on the graduates to do their part in helping the U.N. toward accomplishing disarmament, a world-wide police force, new economic development and the establishment of jurisdiction over outer space and ocean beds beyond continental shores.

Dr. Graham, a former U.S. Senator from North Carolina, said he is proud of the progress the South has made.

He said he believed he was the first to dig up the fact that while only one-tenth of the Negroes of the world are in this country, there

are more Negroes in college here than in the rest of the world combined.

He called states rights and political monopolies two great barriers toward complete human equality.

States Rights Abused

Dr. Graham said that while he himself believes states rights are a good thing as they were conceived in the early days of this country, they have now been abused.

"States rights have been used as excuses for slavery in the South, corporate privilege in the North . . . and in our days as massive resistance to the U.S. Supreme Court decisions which are now the law of the land," he said.

Dr. Graham said the second stumbling block to complete human equality has been political monopolies. He recalled there have been times in this country when people could not vote or hold office because they were Jews, Catholics, or Negroes.

***

June 15, 1960
hh/wsd

Phelps-Stokes Fund
297 Park Avenue South
New York 10, New York

CAPAHOSIC CONFERENCE
Holly Knoll

June 17-19, 1960

George E. Barrett, Attorney at Law
216 Third Avenue North
Nashville, Tennessee
Member of Board - Tennessee Council of Human Relations

Dr. Aaron Brown, Project Director
Phelps-Stokes Fund
297 Park Avenue South
New York 10, New York

Robert Campbell, Editor
Winston-Salem Journal-Sentinel
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia
Elected Member - Atlanta Board of Education

Wilton S. Dillon, Executive Secretary and Director of Research
Phelps-Stokes Fund
297 Park Avenue South
New York 10, New York

Dr. S.E. Duncan, President
Livingston College
Salisbury, North Carolina
Member - North Carolina Council on Human Relations

William H. Gamble, Dean
A & T College of North Carolina
Greensboro, North Carolina

Philip Hammer, Economic Analyst and Planner
President, Hammer and Company Associates
Atlanta, Georgia

Karl H. Helfrich, Vice President - Public Relations
S.H. Kress and Company
114 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

John Hope II, Sociologist
Department of Race Relations
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Joseph Charles Jones, Student
Johnson C. Smith University
Charlotte, North Carolina
Major - psychology and religious education
Member - 1959 World Youth Festival, Vienna, Austria

Paul LaPrad, Student
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

James T. McCain
317 West Bartlette Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Earl R. Mays, Student
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee
Major - Sociology

Col. Francis Pickens Miller
Box 3665 University Station
Charlottesville, Virginia

Andre Moore, Student
Arkansas A. N. & M. College
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Dr. Kenneth Morland
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia
Member - Virginia Council on Human Relations
Author - "Racial Recognition by Nursery School Children in Lynchburg, Virginia"

The Rev. John B. Morris, Executive Director
The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity
50 Whitehall Street, Southwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Editor - South Carolinians Speak

Benjamin Muse, Consultant
Southern Regional Council
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia
Member - Virginia Council on Human Relations
Former Virginia State Senator

Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, President
Phelps-Stokes Fund
297 Park Avenue South
New York 10, New York

Dr. Thomas T. Pettigrew, Assistant Professor
Department of Social Relations
Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts
Author - Christians in Racial Crisis: A Study of the Little Rock Ministry
Member - Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

Calvin Raullerson, Director of Educational Services
United Negro College Fund
22 East 54th Street
New York 22, New York

David Richmond, Student
A. & T. College of North Carolina
Greensboro, North Carolina

Saul Silverman, Staff Assistant
Governor's Commission of Race Relations
800 Twigg Street
Tampa, Florida
Currently on leave from School of Social Welfare, Florida, State University

J.J. Seabrook, President
Juston-Tillotson College
Austin, Texas

Maceo Smith, Housing Official
Federal Housing Administration
2407 Thomas Avenue
Dallas, Texas
Co-Chairman - Dallas Citizens Council for Improved Group Relations

William J. Trent, Jr., Executive Director
United Negro College Fund
22 East 54th Street
New York 22, New York

W. Wallace Tudor, Vice President, Personnel and Employee Relations
Sears, Roebuck and Company
925 Homan Avenue
Chicago 7, Illinois
Chairman of Employee Relations Committee, American Retail Federation

John H. Wheeler, President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina
Member - North Carolina delegation to White House Conference on Children and Youth, 1960
Exchangee (1959) for United States - South African Leader Exchange Program

Harris Wofford, Jr., Assistant to Senator Kennedy
c/o Senator Kennedy
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.
Former legal assistant to Commissioner Hesburg, Civil Rights Commission, and editor of the Commission,Report; recently on faculty of Notre Dame School of Law; graduate of Howard University School of Law
Author - India Afire (co-authored with wife)

James Wood, Administrative Assistant and Director of Public Relations
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Virginia State College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dr. Stephen J. Wright, President
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Andover Productions, Inc.

107 WEST 43RD STREET, NEW YORK 36, NEW YORK

JUdson 2-0616

The first of a planned series of films and tapes documenting the vital events in the world of Negro affairs, is now ready for release by Andover Productions Incorporated, New York. Both report on the historic struggle for integration.

The film is an on-the-spot record of the events that range from the Montgomery bus strike to the recent sit-in demonstrations, and includes such historic moments as the Children's March for Integrated Schools. Filmed on 16 mm. black and white, the running time is some twenty minutes.

The tape recording focuses on the sit-in movement that has been sweeping the South and carries stirring interviews with student participants, student and adult leaders, as well as members of white communities. In addition to these on-the-spot interviews, taken in most of the cities where the sit-in demonstrations have occurred, entire mass meetings and workshop conferences on the non-violent approach are recorded.

With these documentary film and tape releases, Andover Productions has made a start in a program that it believes will fill a paramount need.

Despite the uniquely exciting and historically significant current events of the colored peoples of the world, and especially in the United States, there has been no serious organized attempt to report and document them.

Andover Productions was formed to fill this need through the

medium of film and tape. The plan is to make two film reports and at least four taped reports of such events each year.

Our first release, dealing with integration, is now ready. Future projects include documentary films on Voting Registration, concentrating on rural areas of both the North and the South; the role of the Negro Church in America; and the contribution of Negro Artists to American culture.

Planned future tape recordings include reports on A Survey of School Desegregation; Housing in New York City; and Job Opportunities for Minority Groups.

Andover Productions plans to bring such documented information on Negro current events in America to the attention of the public through a system of distribution not normally considered by commercial distributors. We plan to reach educational, religious and labor groups, and fraternal and social organizations. And whenever possible, this market will be augmented by releases to theatres, the television and radio.

The annual film and tape recordings will help not only to supply audiences with a record of events as they occur, but will establish a permanent record of these historic events for a still greater audience of the future who, through film and tape, will be able to see history as it was in the making.

Inquiries for the purchase or rental of films and tape recordings should be addressed to:

ANDOVER PRODUCTIONS INCORPORATED
107 West 43rd Street
New York 36, New York

Attention: Mrs. Madeline Anderson

CWD ✓
MF

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
297 PARK AVENUE SOUTH
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.
GRamercy 3-8015

July 15, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I thank you for sharing with me the paper "EXCELLENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF HIGHER EDUCATION." It is a good statement.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Fred

Frederick D. Patterson
President

FDP:t

August 18, 1960

Mrs. Harriette C. Hamilton
Secretary to Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
297 Park Avenue, South
New York 10, New York

Dear Mrs. Hamilton:

I appreciate your recent letters informing me of Wilton Dillon's efforts on behalf of the overseas visitor problem in Atlanta. Please convey my thanks to him.

As soon as I can determine when a New York trip is possible, I shall be writing Mr. Winslow as Wilton suggested.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, 1911-1958

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

297 PARK AVENUE SOUTH

NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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Housing: MILDRED HOOKER DUNCAN

TELEPHONE: GRamercy 3-8015

CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

August 4, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Before Mr. Dillon officially left on vacation this month, he was in contact with the Foreign Policy Association - World Affairs Center regarding his letter to William Collison, a copy of which was sent to you. The F.P.A. recognizes the grave problem that the Southern Regional Council is having planning and financing the sojourns of foreign visitors in the South, and Mr. Dillon suggests that you write a brief memo stating the particular nature of your problem to Richard Winslow, Vice-President, Foreign Policy Association - World Affairs Center, 47th Street & United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. On this basis, Winslow will be more than happy to arrange a meeting for you in New York this September which would include U.S. State Department officials, U.N. Foundation representatives and representatives from any other agencies who might be able and who would be willing to help alleviate the problem of the Southern Regional Council.

Mr. Dillon will be stopping into the office from time to time during this month; therefore, rest assured that any correspondence from you concerning the above will receive his personal attention.

Sincerely,

Harriette C. Hamilton

(Mrs.) Harriette C. Hamilton,
Sec'y. to Wilton Dillon

P.S. Mr. Dillon feels that in the covering note to your memo to Winslow you should mention the fact that he (Mr. Dillon) suggested you send the memo.

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 3-8669

July 29, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E. Rm 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed please find a letter addressed to William Norwood Collison of the Foreign Policy Association concerning a study of your problems with foreign visitors in Atlanta and elsewhere in the South.

May I take this opportunity to apologize for the incorrect spelling of your name in this letter; I have not ventured to change it without your permission, and simply must admit the error. I have informed Mr. Collison of such.

Sincerely,

Harriette C. Hamilton

Harriette C. Hamilton
Secretary to Mr. Dillon

Enc.

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297 PARK AVENUE SOUTH

NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

July 29, 1960

Dear Bill:

During a recent visit to New York of Mr. Harold Flemming, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, I learned once again of a problem which has been troubling a number of us in New York for some time. I am referring to both the opportunities and the problems related to the increasing number of visits to the American South on the part of foreign visitors to this country, including those sent to the South through State Department programs as well as foundation sponsored visits.

The opportunity, of course, is that the American South represents a valuable part of America's resources in our communications with the outside world. Mr. Flemming has recently written about this point in a New York Times Magazine article, pointing to the common elements in the experience of the South and the areas of rapid social change in much of the non-western world.

The problems are two-fold: (1) the fear on the part of programming groups that foreign visitors, particularly those of color, will find embarrassing situations in their Southern visits; and (2) the logistical problems imposed on host institutions in the South, particularly the Southern Regional Council and Atlanta University.

Atlanta in some ways can be considered the capitol of the South, and Mr. Flemming is Secretary of State in so far as the key role of both the city of Atlanta and Mr. Flemming himself in interpreting the South to curious visitors from the outside world.

I am writing to you about this now in view of our recent telephone conversations and because of Mr. Flemming's great interest in having some person or organization from New York to make a study of the problem and some recommendations which might help meet the problem in the interest of both improved international relations and improved world affairs education on that part of the American public residing in the South.

Specifically, I am wondering if you might take up with your colleagues at the Foreign Policy Association the question of whether the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the F.P.A.-World Affairs Center might collaborate in initiating a staff study which then could be presented to foundations for possible financing. Dr. Patterson has already agreed that the Phelps-Stokes Fund would be happy to underwrite the expenses of your making a trip to both Washington and Atlanta to talk with officials in the State Department and Mr. Flemming of the Southern Regional Council

to come to some kind of constructive solution to dealing with foreign visitors.

Mr. Flemming, for example, considers the problem so acute that he is going to have to start turning down requests of both agencies and individuals to be briefed on Southern problems when visitors come to Atlanta. The Southern Regional Council is extremely busy on a variety of fronts and, while considering foreign affairs indeed one of its interests, it cannot devote sufficient staff time to deal with this unexpected aspect of its duties.

One idea that you may wish to explore is the possibility of establishing a full-time liaison officer for international affairs to be assigned to the Southern Regional Council and to deal with various community groups in Atlanta and the rest of the South interested in foreign affairs. It would be important that such a person have contacts with both the Negro and white communities. The Southern Regional Council is the perfect organization combining a number of Negro and white Southerners in its effort. Particularly important in such a service would be the role of Atlanta University and Tuskegee Institute both being on the main line of foreign visiting in the South.

My thought is that a report written by you and bearing the auspices of both Phelps-Stokes Fund and the F.P.A.-World Affairs Center would represent a positive contribution to a problem which has been growing in size with the increase of government grants for foreign visitors. We could then submit your study to other foundations for financing which could be done then through the Southern Regional Council. One person who could give particularly eloquent testimony to this problem is Dr. Frank Loescher of the African-American Institute in New York. He has already recognized the situation to the extent that the South African Leader Exchange Program pays the Southern Regional Council for the processing of foreign visitors to Atlanta.

Please give this idea some thought and let me know whether you think there is any chance for our working out an arrangement that you could go to Washington and Atlanta sometime in August on what would promise to be a significant mission for both world affairs education and American foreign relations.

Sincerely,

Wilton S. Dillon,
Director of Research

Mr. William Norwood Collison
Foreign Policy Association
World Affairs Center
United Nations Plaza at 47th Street
New York, New York

cc: Mr. Harold C. Flemming

wsd:hh

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REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, 1911-1958

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

297 PARK AVENUE SOUTH

NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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9/19/60

September 16, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are having a meeting of the Executive Secretaries of State Teachers Associations in our office as indicated on the enclosed tentative agenda. They represent these states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Your report, "A Report on School Desegregation for 1960-61," will be discussed. Please send twenty (20) copies of the report and any other reports appropriate for such a conference. Send the bill to Phelps-Stokes Fund in care of Dr. Aaron Brown.

Sincerely,

Aaron Brown, cgg
Aaron Brown
Project Director

1 Incl.

AB:cgg

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
297 Park Avenue South
New York 10, New York

Project For The Improvement Of Instruction
Dr. Aaron Brown, Project Director

Conference of
Executive Secretaries of State Teachers Associations

Tentative Agenda

Sunday, September 25, 1960

6:00 P.M. Dinner - Hotel George Washington

7:00 - 8:00 P.M. Buzz Session - Hotel

Monday, September 26, 1960

9:00 A.M. Phelps-Stokes Fund Conference Room

Welcome and "Overview" of Fund's activities - Dr. F. D. Patterson, President

The Purpose of the Conference - Dr. Aaron Brown, Project Director

10:00 A.M. Deciding on Conference Goals

12:00 P.M. Lunch

2:00 P.M. Panel Discussion

"Urgent Association Problems"
Mr. L. H. Pitts, Chairman (Chairman, NCOSTA)
Dr. Porter, Dr. Picott, and Mr. Solomon

4:00 P.M. Review of Special Report, Southern Regional Council

"A Report on School Desegregation for 1960-61"

5:30 P.M. Dinner

Evening Free

Tuesday, September 27, 1960

9:00 A.M. Phelps-Stokes Fund Conference Room

Discussion: "Areas of Mutual Concern" - (State Teachers Associations and Private Organizations)

11:00 A.M. Remarks by Conference Visitors and official photographs

11:30 A.M. Conference Summary

12:30 P.M. Closing Luncheon

January 13, 1961

Dr. F. D. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund
287 Park Avenue, South
New York 10, New York

Dear Fred:

Mrs. Tilly has spoken to me of her recent conversation with you, and of your kind offer to seek further support for the program of the Fellowship of the Concerned. At her suggestion, I am enclosing a brief request, with the understanding that she is supplying more detailed information about the program activities.

We are more grateful than I can say for all you have done to make possoble Mrs. Tilly's work for and with the church women.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure

A REQUEST TO THE PHELPS-STOKES FUND FOR RENEWED ASSISTANCE TO THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

January 13, 1961

For a number of years the Phelps-Stokes Fund has given generous assistance to the Southern Regional Council's work with church women under the direction of Mrs. M. E. Tilly. Much of this work is done through the informal association of Southern women known as the Fellowship of the Concerned.

The Fund has been kept informed of the programs and activities of the Fellowship of the Concerned. However, in requesting a renewal of the grant of $2,000 for 1961, we should like to emphasize that these funds provide a remarkably high return in program effort.

From the Council's general budget, provisions are made to cover Mrs. Tilly's salary, secretarial costs, travel and related expenses. All funds earmarked for use by the Fellowship of the Concerned are directed solely to program effort. On a program budget of approximately $5,000 per year the Fellowship of the Concerned is able to accomplish the following:

a) A two-day regional meeting of the leadership of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish women's groups, representing 11 states and both races. Held in the fall of each year, these meetings focus on the immediate and long range problems of race relations in the region. Specific programs in the protest movements, and the like, are developed for implementation during the coming year;

b) Follow-up meetings in each of the Southern states, in which the information and techniques developed by the Southwide conference, are translated into detailed local programs:

c) The rallying of moral leadership of local church women in areas where tensions and emergencies develop. There have been many of these situations in the past in which the women of the South have played a vital role. And as the challenge of integration now reaches into the heart of the deep South there are likely to be many more crises of this nature.

That so much can be accomplished with relatively modest funds is an indication of the dedication of this body of Southern church women and the extent to which they are willing to volunteer their efforts and limited personal resources.

The Council feels that it is fortunate, indeed, to have the devoted services of Mrs. Tilly and the strength of this body of committed women during the difficult period of transition in the South. We are deeply grateful to the Phelps-Stokes Fund for assistance provided over the years. It is our earnest hope that the Fund will share the Southern Regional Council's feeling that this program deserves its renewed support in the coming year.

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REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, 1911-1958

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

297 PARK AVENUE SOUTH

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TELEPHONE: GRamercy 3-8015

CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

January 20, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W. Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is to advise you that the Executive Committee of the Phelps-Stokes Fund has appropriated a sum of ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS ($1000) for the program effort of the Fellowship of the Concerned in its series of conferences for church women. Please expect payment of this grant before the end of the month.

Sincerely,

Wilton S. Dillon

Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Director

cc: Mrs. M.E. Tilly

January 25, 1961

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
297 Park Avenue, South
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Dillon:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council this is to acknowledge with great appreciation your letter of January 20 informing us that the Phelps-Stokes Fund has appropriated $1,000 for the work of the Fellowship of the Concerned. We will be sending our official receipt when the grant is received.

Meanwhile, let me say that we recognize the special interest in Mrs. Tilly's program which this action by the Fund's Executive Committee signifies. Thus, our gratitude, and that of Mrs. Tilly, is especially great.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

January 20, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W. Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is to advise you that the Executive Committee of the Phelps-Stokes Fund has appropriated a sum of ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS ($1000) for the program effort of the Fellowship of the Concerned in its series of conferences for church women. Please expect payment of this grant before the end of the month.

Rec'd Feb. 2, 1961
1,000.00

Sincerely,

Wilton S. Dillon

Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Director

H.

cc: Mrs. M.E. Tilly

January 26, 1961

Dr. F. D. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund
297 Park Avenue, South
New York 10, New York

Dear Fred:

Wilton Dillon has advised us of the very heartening action of your Executive Committee in support of the work of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

This is to say a word of special thanks to you for this further evidence of your commitment to the objectives of this unique program. Mrs. Tilly regards you as a staunch and indispensable supporter of these efforts, and I want you to know that the rest of us here at the Council are no less appreciative of all your help.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, 1911-1958

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297 PARK AVENUE SOUTH
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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TELEPHONE: GRamercy 3-8015
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

January 27, 1961

RECEIVED
JAN 30 1961

Dear Harold:

If your magnificent manifesto to the federal executive were not enough to have you very much on my mind these days, I have had further reason to think of you this week through the visit of Marion Wright and Courtney Siceloff. I developed a bit of a cauliflower ear on the phone yesterday trying to beat down some unlikely doors (with cash on the other side) for their Claflin college research and publications scheme which you apparently have endorsed. Mr. Currier and Lady Eddy at Taconic apparently have made sweeter sounds than anybody else so far. Siceloff reports, however, that Pincus of Ford's public affairs, despite his "out-of-program" litany, "just couldn't have been nicer, nicer in fact, than the James people who have put money into our program."

The above is to let you know that Africa has not taken me completely away from the domestic scene and that I hope very much to see you in New York before we leave. I still do not know the date, but I plan to be at Sierra Leone's independence celebrations with Madam Ella on April 27th. Fred left for Liberia, Nigeria and Kenya last Saturday and will return March 15.

Violaine Junod will arrive in the U.S. aboard the African Rainbow early in April, a self-imposed exile from the Union. Paton apprently is preparing his defense against newly awakened treason charges based on his alleged remarks to Americans while here. Is there a job in Atlanta for Violaine?

What encouters are you having with the nouvelle vague a la Maison Blanche?

Best,

Wilton

Wilton S. Dillon

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

February 24, 1961

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
297 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York

Dear Wilton:

It's my turn to congratulate you on your effective use of the columns of the New York Times. Ever since your letter on the training of African scholars appeared, I have been meaning to drop you a note of appreciation. It's an excellent statement, and the times accorded it and you the prestigeful treatment that was called for.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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May 9, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forysth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We are delighted that you will be present at our Race Relations Conference on June 9-11, 1961 in Capahosic, Virginia.

Enclosed are (1) a short statement concerning Holly Knoll, the conference site; (2) directions for reaching Holly Knoll by car; (3) a form for listing your travel plans; and (4) an expense account form.

Please return the travel plans form as early as possible.

We look forward to greeting you in Capahosic.

Sincerely,

F.D. Patterson,
President

enc.
hh

Phelps-Stokes Fund
297 Park Avenue South
New York 10, New York

The following are the scheduled flights we would recommend:

June 9, 1961

NEW YORK to RICHMOND

Eastern Airlines Flight #565:	Leaves Idlewild Airport:	1:40 p.m.
	Arrives Richmond:	4:23 p.m.

WASHINGTON to RICHMOND

Eastern Airlines Flight #565:	Leaves International Airport:	3:40 p.m.
	Arrives Richmond:	4:23 p.m.

(or)

Capitol Airlines Flight #10:	Leaves Int'l. Airport:	3:45 p.m.
	Arrives Richmond:	4:25 p.m.

June 11, 1961

RICHMOND to NEW YORK

Eastern Airlines Flight #322:	Leaves Richmond:	1:45 p.m.
	Arrives Idlewild Airport:	3:35 p.m.

RICHMOND to WASHINGTON

Eastern Airlines Flight #568:	Leaves Richmond:	1:22 p.m.
	Arrives Int'l. Airport:	2:12 p.m.

(or)

Eastern Airlines Flight #68:	Leaves Richmond:	3:45 p.m.
	Arrives Int'l. Airport:	4:25 p.m.

SUGGESTED ROUTES TO HOLLY KNOLL (MOTON RESIDENCE)

CAPAHOSIC, VIRGINIA

Telephone at Holly Knoll: Oxford 3-1233 through Gloucester, Va.

By Authomobile from Washington: (Approx 150 miles)

1. Take U.S. Highway 301 to U.S. Highway 17;
2. Take U.S. Highway 17 to Ark, Virginia;
3. At Ark, make right turn on Route 606 pass general store and forestry tower, and proceed to Capahosic. Watch for sign to Holly Knool and sign to nearby Allmonds Wharf. House faces York River.

By Automobile from Richmond Airport: (Approx 70 miles)

1. Turn right on U.S. Highway 60 upon leaving airport. Follow along Route 33 through West Point into Glenns;
2. Turn right into U.S. Highway 17 at Glenns proceeding to Ark;
3. Turn right on Route 606 at Ark and proceed to Capahosic. Holly Knoll is marked by sign near Allmonds Wharf.

(Alternate Route from West Point: Take Route 14 to Adner, turn right into U.S. 17 and proceed to Ark)

HOLLY KNOLL

MOTON MEMORIAL FOUNDATION CONFERENCE CENTER

The Moton Memorial Foundation Conference Center in Capahosic, Virginia was initiated in 1958 through the efforts of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. The property was purchased with funds contributed by private individuals, foundations and educational organizations. The Center, know as Holly Knoll, is the former residence of Robert Russa Moton, eminent Negro educator. It is a pleasant and comfortable place where Negro and white leaders meet to discuss regional, national and world affairs in an informal atmosphere.

Located on the York River, Holly Knoll occupies a commanding position on a seven acre tract about 25 miles from Williamsburgh and 60 miles south of Richmond. The house was built by the late Dr. Moton as a permanent residence and christened Holly Knoll by Mrs. Moton, a name suggested by a group of Holly trees beside the walkway leading to the river and boat landing. The Center has the capacity for housing 35 persons for conference purposes in addition to spacious meeting, dining and recreational facilities.

Informal off-the-record interracial discussions were distinctive of Holly Knoll during Dr. Moton's lifetime as he "like Booker T. Washington, was an emissary between the races, the Negro negotiator for the Harding-Coolidge dynasty, the honest broker, the dispenser of patronage . . ."* At various times he served as consultant and performed speical assignments for Presidents Harding, Coolidge and Hoover. As president of Tuskegee Institute, Dr. Moton

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* Quoted from reveiw of Robert Russa Moton of Hampton and Tuskegee by Hughes and Patterson (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1956) in "Journal of Southern History".

took an active interest in international affairs as the school became an attraction for foreign visitors wishing to study race relations and the significance of education to human and rural economic development. Personal papers and photographs of Dr. Moton remain in the Center as a record of the leadership role he played during his career.

Holly Knoll is administered by the Moton Memorial Foundation which was organized for this purpose.

******

May 9, 1961

April 26, 1961

Dr. F. D. Patterson
President
Phelps-Stokes Fund
297 Park Avenue, South
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Patterson:

I look forward to attending the Capahosic Conference in June. It ought to be an especially valuable meeting for me at the beginning of my new assignment. Thank you for inviting me.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf

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April 24, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I am pleased on behalf of the Phelps-Stokes Fund to invite you to our Fourth Annual Race Relations Conference at Capahosic, Virginia. This is an off-the-record meeting to discuss informally urgent problems in the field of race relations and particularly those concerned with civil rights. While in past years deliberations have been chiefly informational, we should like this conference to examine specific procedures which should be employed in efforts to secure constitutional rights for Negro Americans and other minority groups. With a new administration in office and recent decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court dealing with civil and constitutional rights, this seems a good time to talk of techniques and procedures to be employed or given greater emphasis.

Although this meeting takes no formal action as a group, all conferees are persons who bear important organizational responsibilities and therefore may gain insights or suggestions which will be useful.

We shall be delighted if you can share our deliberations which will begin on Friday evening, June 9, and last through noon on Sunday, June 11. We enclose a set of directions for reaching Holly Knoll, the home of the late Robert Russa Moton, where our conference will be held. At this season of the year the weather should be delightful; we suggest that you plan to dress informally. If you like to swim the river is $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide in front of Holly Knoll with an excellent pier. The food is good; the fellowship outstanding.

This invitation carries with it the proviso that those who do not come at organization expense will be reimbursed. Further instructions and information will be sent after we have heard from you.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson
President

SUGGESTED ROUTES TO HOLLY KNOLL (MOTON RESIDENCE)

CAPAHOSIC, VIRGINIA

Telephone at Holly Knoll: GLoucester 3-1233

By Automobile from Washington: (Approx 150 miles)

1. Take U. S. Highway 301 to U. S. Highway 17;
2. Take U. S. Highway 17 to Ark, Virginia;
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By Automobile from Richmond Airport: (Approx 70 miles)

1. Turn right on U. S. Highway 60 upon leaving airport. Follow along Route 33 through West Point into Glenns;
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3. Turn right on Route 606 at Ark and proceed to Capahosic. Holly Knoll is marked by sign near Allmonds Wharf.

(Alternate Route from West Point: Take Route 14 to Adner, turn right into U. S. 17 and proceed to Ark)

June 21, 1961

Dr. F. D. Patterson
Director
Phelps Stokes Fund
297 Park Avenue South
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Patterson:

The Capahosic Conference was for me both an instructive and enjoyable occasion. Having the government people and the student representatives there with the rest of us made for a most interesting interchange of thoughts. Thank you for inviting me.

Enclosed is my statement of expense; please make the check payable to the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:a

July 26, 1962

Dr. Aaron Brown
Project Director
Phelps-Stokes Fund
297 Park Avenue, South
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Brown:

I am glad to hear that you will be taking part in the program at Livingstone and especially that the conference will be turning its attention to "next steps."

I think the school integration issue in the South has, generally speaking, three levels. On one there is vigorous activity, and though there is a long way to go there is much progress. The second we are now beginning to tackle. The third is as yet hardly touched. The first is, of course, the achieving of some desegregation either through court action or by voluntary decisions of school boards. The second is overcoming the whole nexus of problems and obstructions which we have come to call tokenism. The third has to do with lifting the educational standards of Southern children and the raising of median and modal achievement, first of all to national levels, and secondly to twentieth century requirements. We have an enormous supply of disadvantaged children in this country and an unhealthy proportion of these are in the South, yet the southern school systems have hardly begun to give thought to the concerns which have found expression elsewhere, such as Higher Horizons, the Shepard plan in St. Louis, and

your own Phelps-Stokes program in high schools. I do not believe that integration can be accomplished, much less be successful, until the South undertakes the burden, which should be a welcomed obligation, of massive improvement in the education of all its youth and the counterbalancing of cultural deprivation. I think it is not too early to get public discussion in the South centered on this need.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

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July 13, 1962

RECEIVED
JUL 20 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friend:

Several months ago I assumed the responsibility of participating in the General Convention on Christian Education and the General Assembly and National Christian Youth Council of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. This meeting will be held August 5-10 at Livingstone College in Salisbury, North Carolina.

I am to participate in a panel during a general session entitled, "Equality of Opportunity in Education". This is, of course, related to the general theme of the convention which is "The Church's Responsibility for Freedom". During this panel the four of us, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President of Atlanta University; Dr. James M. Godard, Executive Director of the Council of Protestant Colleges and Universities; Dr. Edward W. Brice of the Office of Education and myself, will discuss several phases of the panel topic. My specific topic is "Some Next Steps for Achieving Equality of Opportunity in Education".

I deliberately waited until a few weeks before the convention to write a few friends whom I know will be qualified to make a comment in this area. Therefore, I am asking if you would be kind enough to jot down one or two sentences related to this special topic that I am to discuss, "Some Next Steps for Achieving Equality of Opportunity in Education". My main focus as requested by the Panel Chairman, Dr. Samuel E. Duncan, President of Livingstone College, is "On the basis of the historical background of the problem of equalization of educational opportunity and present efforts toward integration, what seem to be some of the next appropriate steps that should be taken for continuous progress?"

I should be happy to receive these comments as early as possible and certainly before August 1.

Sincerely yours,

Aaron Brown

Aaron Brown
Project Director

The Trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund

in cooperation with representatives of
independent African states
request the honor of your company at a

Dinner

commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Fund
and in recognition of

African American Collaboration
in the Advancement of Education

Friday, the fourteenth of December, 1962
in the Windsor Ballroom of the Commodore Hotel
42nd Street at Lexington Avenue
New York City

at quarter past seven in the evening

Reception 6:30
Dress Optional

Subscription Fifteen Dollars
Reply Card Enclosed

Program on next page

Speakers

The Honorable Robert K. A. Gardiner
Officer in Charge of United Nations Operation
in the Congo

and

The Honorable Chester Bowles
The President's Special Representative
and Adviser for African, Asian and
Latin American Affairs

Special Tribute

to

Dr. Emory Ross
Chairman Emeritus of the Board of Trustees
by
Dr. Frederick D. Patterson
President of the Phelps-Stokes Fund

Phelps-Stokes Fund

297 Park Avenue South

New York 10, N.Y.

I enclose my check for $_____ in payment for _____ tickets to

PHELPS-STOKES FUND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY DINNER

to be held in the

Windsor Ballroom of the Commodore Hotel

on Friday, the fourteenth of December, 1962

Name_____

Address_____

Please make checks payable to the Phelps-Stokes Fund

Please list names of guests on reverse side of this card

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May 18, 1964

MEMO TO: All Participants
The Capahosic Conference
June 19-21, 1964

FROM: F. D. Patterson

The Phelps-Stokes Fund deemed it appropriate to hold a conference which would provide an opportunity for discussion between foundation and organization officials concerned with grants and programming in the area of higher education for Negro youth to sit down with college presidents of both public and private institutions for a further assessment of the problems involved in strengthening existing opportunities in higher education as well as creating new ones.

There has been a substantial heightening of interest in this area of concern by foundations, which in all probability relates itself to a national awakening of the need to do something constructive about grassroots problems of integration in many areas.

It is obvious that no one approach is adequate to the need to prepare Negro youngsters for meaningful integration. There is both a short-term and long-term approach to be made, with the need for weighing the relative emphasis to be given each. And there is always the question of how to bring into full effectiveness the resources which are or may be made available.

Presidents and others close to the work of Negro colleges are aware of the shortcomings of these institutions. They believe, however, that the extent of the contribution these institutions make is not fully appreciated and therefore believe it will be useful to have a frank discussion dealing with the assets and liabilities represented in these institutions.

Another question concerns the extent to which efforts now directed toward talented or high-ranking Negro students is anything more

than a partial answer to the larger problem of making available education of sound quality to youth with varying levels of ability--assuming of course that at least the minimum potential for successful college effort exists, even though this in many if not most instances requires some preliminary pre-college strengthening. The question of pre-college strengthening needs to be discussed in terms of how much and at what level it is feasible to undertake it.

It is increasingly evident in student writings on the problem of the Negro lag that this lag is not merely one of inadequate educational opportunity as basic as this is, but it represents a whole consortium of relationships involving lack of motivation, resulting from a failure to appreciate the extent to which new opportunities may be available and an attitude of self-deprecation created by the persistent and negative indoctrination coming from the total environment in which Negro youngsters attempt to live and function. This seems to suggest, therefore, that creating self-respect and self-confidence must be an important ingredient of opportunities which are to become available. To place Negro students in an environment which stresses academic excellence but which does nothing to overcome the unfortunate conditioning of past experience will accomplish far less than those who support it have reason to hope.

In no sense are the discussions to be limited to these possible topics or, necessarily, to include all of them. What we hope for is full, free, and frank discussion to achieve an understanding that may be widely useful. Much of the value derived in past conferences has come from the informal "bull sessions" taking place in chance groupings as conferees fellowship together.

File
Phelps Stokes Fund
Capahosic Conf.

June 8, 1964

Dr. F. D. Patterson
President
Phelps-Stokes Fund
297 Park Avenue South
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Patterson:

Thank you for the invitation to attend this year's Capahosic Conference. I shall be there.

I regret not having replied sooner, but for a while I was faced with a difficult schedule problem.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure

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CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York

May 18, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Each year the Phelps-Stokes Fund sponsors an off-the-record conference of persons concerned with some phase of intergroup relations in the United States. The meetings, held at the Holly Knoll Conference Center in Capahosic, Virginia, provide an opportunity for a free exchange of ideas, information and knowledge on subjects vital to human development. This year the conference will focus attention on critical and urgent problems and increasing opportunities in higher education for Negro youth. We believe that if the many efforts under consideration are to be fully effective, the complicated relationships involved should be understood and implications for new directions must be appreciated.

Because of the current interest of private foundations and educational bodies in this area, we are inviting representatives from these groups to meet with a like number of presidents and administrative officers of colleges for Negro youth. We shall be pleased if you can share in the conference discussions which will begin on Friday evening, June 19, and continue through noon on Sunday, June 21. The group will be kept small to facilitate full participation.

The Holly Knoll Conference Center in Capahosic was the home of the late Robert Russa Moton, immediate successor to Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee Institute, who attained national distinction as an educator. The site, about 1½ hour by car from Richmond, Virginia is in Gloucester County on the banks of the York River whose tidal waters are excellent for swimming, fishing, crabbing or just restful gazing.

Please let us know as early as possible if you will meet ~~with us so~~ that we may send you 1) suggested travel schedules from your city to Richmond, 2) our plans for meeting planes and trains, and 3) forms for ~~listing your~~ travel plans and expenses. This invitation carries with it the proviso that those who do not come at organization expense will be reimbursed.

We look forward to greeting you in Capahosic and having the advantage of your experience and interest in these very important deliberations.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson
President

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1207 (4-55)

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To DR. F. D. PATTERSON June 12 1964

Street and No. PHELPS-STOKES FUND

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ARRIVING RICHMOND FROM WASHINGTON 4:43 PM, EASTERN AIRLINES #87, JUNE 19. LEAVING RICHMOND 1:05 pm UNITED AIRLINES #600, JUNE 21.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR

Les,
These were confirmed before wiring info to Dr. Patterson.
MMJ

Senders's name and address (For reference)

Sender's telephone number

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DR LESLIE DUNBAR, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

FIVE FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA

PLEASE ADVISE MODE OF TRANSPORTATION AND ARRIVAL TIME AT RICHMOND VIRGINIA FOR CAPAHOSIC CONFERENCE JUNE 19

F D PATTERSON 297 Park Ave NYC

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GEORGE W. CARPENTER LANSDELL K. CHRISTIE
MILDRED HOOKER DUNCAN OLIVIA STOKES HATCH
CARROLL V. NEWSOM GUY B. JOHNSON
FREDERICK D. PATTERSON
RT. REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, Jr.
JUAN T. TRIPPE CHAUNCEY L. WADDELL

REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, 1911-1958

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

297 PARK AVENUE SOUTH

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010

FOUNDED IN 1911

OFFICERS

FREDERICK D. PATTERSON, *President*
IDA WOOD, *Administrative Secretary*

PROJECT DIRECTORS

AARON BROWN, *Improvement of Instruction*
ROBERT S. BROWNE, *Career Development*
JOHN P. DAVIS, *Editor of Special Publications*
ROBERT L. SHERMAN, *Student Assistance*

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

Education: GUY B. JOHNSON
Housing: MILDRED HOOKER DUNCAN

TELEPHONE: GRamercy 3-8015
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York

June 9, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We are delighted that you will attend the Capahosic Conference, June 19-21, 1964. Enclosed are 1) suggested air schedules to Richmond, Virginia where we will provide automobile transportation to the conference center; 2) directions for reaching Holly Knoll by car; and 3) a form for listing your travel plans.

If you plan to travel to the conference by air, it is highly desirable that you arrive at the Richmond, Virginia airport before 5 p.m. on Friday, June 19. This will facilitate our formation of carpools at the airport for the 1½ hour drive to the conference center. It is our hope that no conferee will miss the famous Friday night dinner at Holly Knoll.

If you plan to travel by train, please try to arrive in time to take a taxi which will get you to the Richmond airport by 5 p.m. -- about ½ hour drive. You can thus join conferees arriving by plane for the auto trip to Holly Knoll.

Conferees travelling by car are asked to plan their arrival at Holly Knoll between 2 and 5 p.m. Mrs. Lillian Booth, house manager, will be on hand to greet you.

Since the conference will end after luncheon on Sunday, June 21, we suggest your arranging air or rail departures from Richmond beginning at 2:00 p.m. on that date.

As soon as your travel plans have been made, please return the form to us. I am looking forward to greeting you in Capahosic.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson
President

to CAPAHOSIC by car

From Washington: (Approximately 150 miles)

1. Take U. S. Highway 301 to U. S. Highway 17;
2. Take U. S. Highway 17 to Ark, Virginia;
3. At Ark, make right turn on Route 606 pass general store and forestry tower and proceed to Capahosic. Watch for sign for Holly Knoll and sign to nearby Allmonds Wharf. House faces York River.

From Richmond: (Approximately 75 miles)

1. Follow Route 33 through West Point into Glenns;
2. Turn right into U. S. Highway 17 at Glenns proceeding to Ark;
3. Turn right on Route 606 at Ark and proceed to Capahosic. Holly Knoll is marked by sign near Allmonds Wharf.

From Richmond Airport: (Approximately 65 miles)

1. Turn right on U. S. Highway 60 upon leaving airport; Follow along Route 33 through West Point into Glenns;
2. Turn right into U. S. Highway 17 at Glenns proceeding to Ark;
3. Turn right on Route 606 at Ark and proceed to Capahosic. Holly Knoll is marked by sign near Allmonds Wharf.

(Alternate route from West Point: Take Route 14 at Shacklefords to Adner, turn right into U. S. 17 and proceed to Ark.)

Telephone number at Holly Knoll (conference center at Capahosic, Virginia): Call Gloucester, Virginia, Area Code 707, OXford 31233. Mrs. Lillian C. Booth is house manager.

SUGGESTED FLIGHTS TO & FROM RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

June 19, 1964

NEW YORK TO RICHMOND:

Eastern Airlines Flight #565:	Leaves Kennedy Airport at 1:05 p.m. Arrives Richmond at 3:07 p.m.
Eastern Airlines Flight #87:	Leaves Kennedy Airport at 1:30 p.m. Arrives Richmond at 4:43 p.m.
Eastern A rlines Flight #337:	Leaves Newark at 1:55 p.m. Arrives Richmond at 4:02 p.m.
Eastern Airlines Flight #321:	Leaves Kennedy Airport at 3:20 p.m. Arrives Richmond at 4:36 p.m.

WASHINGTON, D. C. TO RICHMOND:

Eastern Airlines Flight #527:	Leaves Washington National at 11:35 a.m. Arrives Richmond at 12:12 p.m.
Eastern Airlines Flight #87:	Leaves Washington National at 4:00 p.m. Arrives Richmond at 4:43 p.m.

June 21, 1964

RICHMOND TO NEW YORK:

Eastern Airlines Flight #117:	Leaves Richmond at 2:00 p.m. Arrives Kennedy at 3:11 p.m.
Eastern Airlines Flight #522:	Leaves Richmond at 3:00 p.m. Arrives Newark at 4:03 p.m.
Eastern Airlines Flight #664:	Leaves Richmond at 6:00 p.m. Arrives Kennedy at 7:13 p.m.

RICHMOND TO WASHINGTON:

Eastern Airlines Flight #338:	Leaves Richmond at 2:00 p.m. Arrives Washington National at 2:33 p.m.
Eastern Airlines Flight #88:	Leaves Richmond at 5:20 p.m. Arrives Washington National at 6:00 p.m.

*****

See: Foundations - Phelps-Stokes Fund "Capahosic Conf - 1964"

June 26, 1964

Dr. F. D. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund
297 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Patterson:

I want to tell you how much I benefitted from the Capahosic Conference last week. I'm afraid I made little contribution, but I was much instructed. It was one of the few meetings that I have attended in a long while of which I could say this. And I think the quality of the meeting came from having the gathering made up of well informed people, most of whom have responsibility for making decisions in the matters being discussed.

Both because I had so little to contribute, and because I had to be in Washington last Friday anyhow, I am not submitting expenses. But after listening to Aaron Brown, I was, for a while, tempted to submit expenses and then turn them back to Aaron for his project.

Thank you for inviting me.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

TRUSTEES

I. N. P. STOKES, *Chairman*
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, *Vice-Chairman*
FRANK S. HORNE, *Secretary*
KENNETH M. SPANG, *Treasurer*
EMORY ROSS, *Chairman Emeritus*
RT. REV. HORACE W. B. DONEGAN, *Ex Officio*
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GEORGE W. CARPENTER LANSDELL K. CHRISTIE
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REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, 1911-1958

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

297 PARK AVENUE SOUTH

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010

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Housing: MILDRED HOOKER DUNCAN

TELEPHONE: GRamercy 3-8015
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York

June 30, 1964

file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of June 26. I am very glad you took time out of your busy schedule to share the Phelps-Stokes Fund consultation on the education of Negro youth. It is most reassuring to have your generous evaluation of our deliberations. Certainly it was the quality of the participants which made the conference such a fruitful one.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson
President

P.S.,
Glad to have your generous comment
red

TRUSTEES

I. N. P. STOKES, *Chairman*
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, *Vice-Chairman*
FRANK S. HORNE, *Secretary*
KENNETH M. SPANG, *Treasurer*
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CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York

July 30, 1965

File

$50.00 Honorarium Rec'd ~~July 1965~~ 8/2/65

Summer Project
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your presentation to the Phelps-Stokes Fund Summer Project group. I am sure you noticed that the students were greatly stimulated and quite interested in your lecture.

We appreciate your taking the time to see us and we hope you, too, enjoyed our visit.

Sincerely yours,

Ida Wood

Ida Wood
Administrative Secretary

Enclosures

File Phelps-Stokes

PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL BUSINESS LEAGUE
FOR EXPANDED BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT AMONG NEGROES

Free enterprise is the most distinguishing if not the most outstanding feature of the American way of life. Although shortcomings exist in all aspects of efforts to integrate Negroes into full participation as American citizens, the lack of significant and coordinated effort in the economic field has caused integration in this area to lag seriously.

Such efforts as have been made, have been made by Negroes themselves. These efforts have too often been unguided and poorly financed. The result has been levels of largely unsatisfactory operation and an unusually high number of failures. The limitations have been so great that most Negroes have been unable and unwilling to assume the risks involved. Consequently, this group's participation in business enterprise has been small in size, and, in numbers, substantially less than should have been true in terms of their percentage of the population or that their buying power would support.

The Negro seeking to achieve a career in business, experiences all of the problems which confront the small businessman, plus the limitations which race places on his effort to secure guidance and finance.

The National Business League believes there is an acute need for a program which seeks to eliminate all barriers to effective participation in the free enterprise system. The considerable and increasing earnings of Negro Americans have developed a market of significant

worth. Growth, modernization, and expansion of the Negro's efforts in business have lagged substantially behind in proportion to the income of the Negro group. There is the opportunity, therefore, for substantial development in all forms of enterprise in the general category of small business. Such an effort must be supported by a careful evaluation of existing efforts and procedures; a program for the dissemination of the practical, basic information essential to sound operation, and a plan to make available in adequate amounts the money required for business development.

I. Inventory of Business Activities Owned and Operated by Negroes.

The purpose of this inventory will be to determine the scope, quality, needs, and further potential of such businesses. These studies will be carried on in selected communities by schools and departments of business in colleges for Negro youth located in or near large cities.

At the present time, too little is known of a factual nature regarding the variety and scope of businesses owned and operated by Negroes. The increasing tendency to eliminate racial designation in compilations on business activity prepared by government agencies, and the absence of other agencies with the resources or interests to prepare material on the Negro in business, is creating a serious lack of useful information.

The National Business League is the logical organization to undertake this job. Given the financial resources, it can work effectively with schools and departments of business in colleges and universities for Negro youth to build up and keep current important, basic data on the extent and quality of free enterprise among Negroes.

II. Development of Curricula Content in Departments and Schools of Business.

Having collected, organized, and interpreted basic data on businesses owned and operated by Negroes, this material can guide the reorganization of curricula in schools of business to insure sound preparation of youth in terms of career opportunities which exist and those new enterprises likely to succeed on the basis of anticipated demand.

III. The Preparation and Dissemination of Material Offering Sound Guidance in Terms of Tested Business Principles.

A third function of the League as a service to its membership will be the collection, rewriting when necessary, and dissemination of material offering suggestions and practical guidance on the need, organization, and conduct of business enterprises. League Notes, the official publication of the National Business League, will be expanded to a full-size trade journal and much of this type of information, pictorially illustrated, will be carried in each issue.

IV. A Plan for Capital Formation.

Capital formation, and procedure for making it available, constitute a basic need of Negroes in business. Its absence, as previously indicated, is a serious deterrent to those who would otherwise like to enter business as a career. Exploration of the means of supplying this need has revealed that organizations established for this purpose exist in New York and a number of Eastern states. It is felt that the ample provisions of the New York Business Development Corporation offer, in structure, monetary size, scope, and variety of loans permissible, an admirable guide for structuring an organization designed to meet the

risk capital needs of the Negro businessman. Appropriate modification of the New York plan should enable the organizing and chartering of a nationally financed body to supply the incentive capital required to stimulate the forming of small business lending corporations in appropriate cities.

The same isolation and discrimination which has made risk capital difficult to secure by the Negro businessman has also denied or greatly limited the type of contact where insights, specific techniques, and procedures could be gained from persons successful in business. The plan for the establishment of the National Business Development Corporation and local lending companies, partly financed and supervised by the Small Business Administration of the United States Government, will seek to correct this isolation difficulty by providing an interracial membership on the corporation boards of persons highly competent in the field of finance. Thus, for the first time, opportunities in corporate finance will be extended in association with persons of both races who can assure the soundest possible management of monies committed to these corporations, while providing Negroes in major cities experience and training in corporate finance. Negro borrowers will be carefully screened to eliminate probable failures. This will be accomplished by requiring adequate evidence that the applicant for funds is a reasonable risk and by analyses and surveys that would reveal that a need for the proposed business exists and that it would succeed under sound management. The amount of the loan would be considered in terms of the expenditures which should be made if the business is properly launched.

A supervision fee of 5% would be assessed for inexperienced borrowers. This would enable the Business League to offer supervision and guidance for a limited period. This would make available, from persons known to be successful operators in a particular business field, practical suggestions which only experienced persons are able to give.

Location of Small Business Lending Corporations

Because of the desirability of using community studies of businesses operated by Negroes as basic lending programs, it is suggested that a program objective be the initial development of small business lending corporations in Houston, Texas; Atlanta, Georgia; New Orleans, Louisiana; and Durham, North Carolina. These are cities with colleges for Negro youth which have schools or departments of business. Each city has a history of business activity sufficient to afford leadership of sound business experience. A continuing program should permit the establishment of one or two lending corporations a year in cities able and interested in providing the matching equity capital.

The National Business Development Corporation would purchase equity capital in the small business lending corporations. The amount of such capital available from the National Business Development Corporation would not exceed 50% of the minimum equity capital requirement. This would enable the small business lending corporation to qualify with the Small Business Administration of the Federal Government where it would be eligible to receive lending funds equal to its total equity capital investment. Accordingly, the joint participation of the National Business Development Corporation and the Small Business Administration in the capital formation program

would provide, toward the total capital accumulation, three dollars for each dollar of equity capital raised locally.

Shares to be Offered

The National Business Development Corporation will be set up for $2,000,000.00. Two hundred thousand shares at $10 per share will be issued. The sale of 10,000 shares to produce $100,000.00, or 5% of the authorized capital, will enable corporations to get started.

Raising Finance

Individual Stock Purchases: Sale of blocks of stock to individuals.

Organizational Stock Purchases: Organizations with monies available for investment, such as college Greek letter, fraternal, and professional groups, will be invited to place funds with the National Business Development Corporation. By so doing, these organizations will be able to combine an investment objective with a service opportunity to assist in strengthening free enterprise among Negroes.

The National Business League would support the program by creating three classes of membership, two of which would carry stock purchase features:

A. Gold Star Membership, $30 a year, consists of purchase of two shares of stock, plus $10 sustaining fee;

B. Blue Ribbon Membership, $20 a year, consists of one share of stock, and $10 sustaining fee;

C. Ordinary Membership, $10 a year, covers membership card. This entitles holder to League Notes and all special mailings which will be addressed to individual member's home address.

Possible Board Membership of National Business Development Corporation*

White	Negro
(Select 5 from below)	(Select 10 from below)
Chauncey L. Waddell	Jackie Robinson
Thomas A. Morgan	John H. Wheeler
Lawrence MacGregor	J. B. Blayton
S. Sloan Colt	L. D. Milton
Chester Bowles	F. D. Patterson
C. Everett Bacon	A. G. Gaston
	E. Shell
	Asa T. Spaulding
	T. D. Armstrong
	Martin Luther King, Jr.
	S. B. Fuller
	John H. Johnson
	Mack Hannah
	C. W. Maxwell

*Future boards to provide membership participation from affiliated units of SBLC's in cities.

TYPES OF BUSINESSES IN NEED OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Cleaning and Pressing Shops
Grocery Stores
Motels
Drug Stores
Mortuary Establishments
Small Personal Loan Companies
Shoe Stores
Haberdasheries
Restaurants
Credit Unions
Concrete Products
Small Manufacturing Plants
Hardware Stores
Automobile Garages
Shopping Centers (companies to own physical properties)

F A R M I N G

Poultry Plants
Dairy Farms
Truck Farms
Poultry and Fish Stores

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Two Park Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

During the next several weeks Americans like you who are leaders in their respective communities will have a unique opportunity to get a special inside look at the United Nations in action.

The World Affairs Center for the United States, a private agency which provides factual information on international affairs, is carrying out this program which has been made possible by a special foundation grant. At the Center's request I am making available the cooperation of the United States Mission to the United Nations to the extent that the demands of regular work schedules permit. Details of the program are described in the enclosed leaflet prepared by the Center.

The 82-nation General Assembly of the United Nations will be in session. It will be debating and taking action on many issues which involve United States interests.

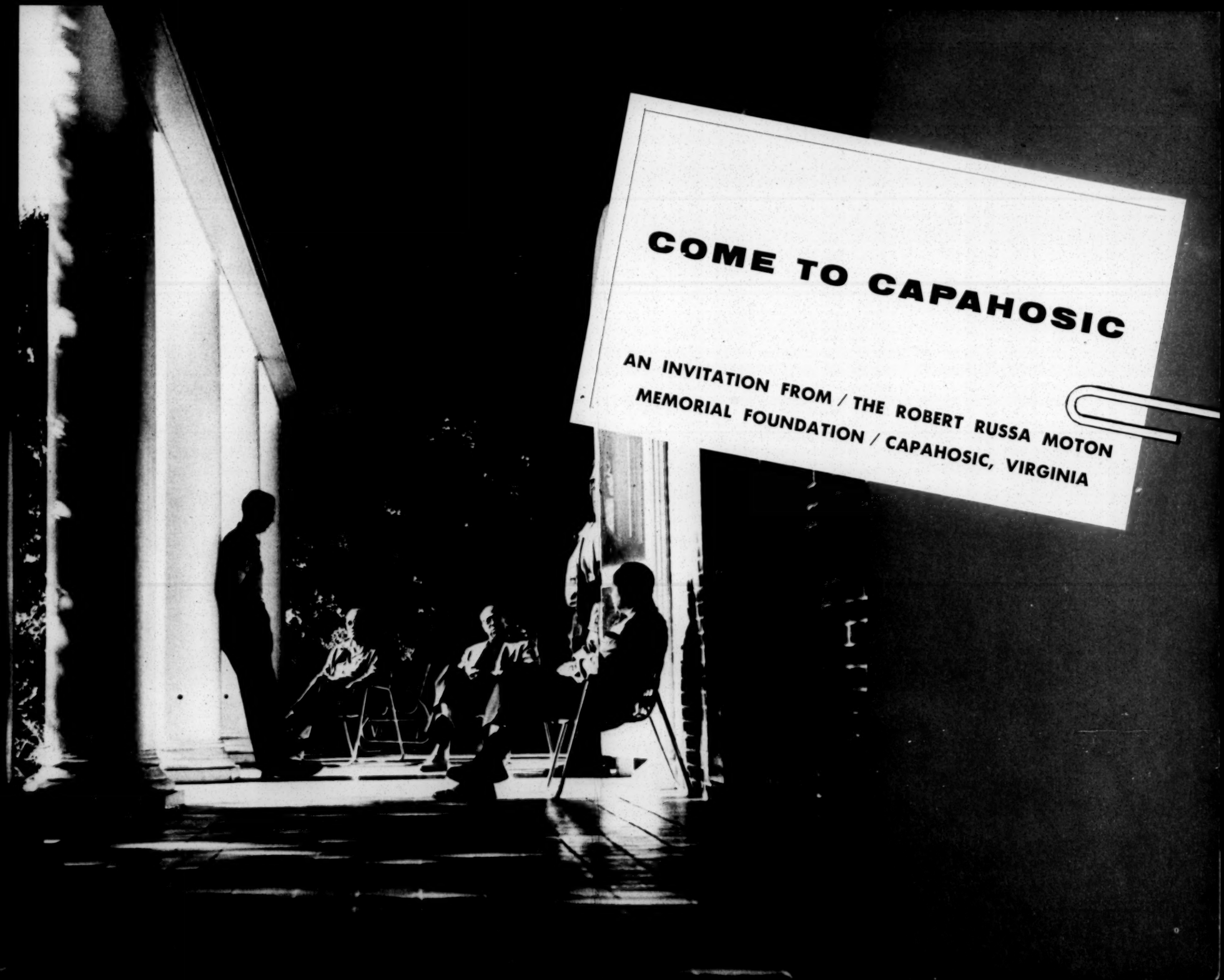
As you will note from the leaflet, officers of the United States Mission will, whenever possible, meet with small groups of leading citizens in the morning to discuss our country's role in the United Nations, how the issues affect us, and what we are doing about them. If my duties at the United Nations permit, I hope to be able to meet you personally.

The World Affairs Center has also planned what appears to be an informative program for the remainder of your day, including actual observation of the United Nations debates. I hope you will find it possible to set aside a Friday during these coming weeks, whenever you are in New York, to be with us, and in accordance with the above, I extend to you a cordial invitation to visit the United Nations.

Cordially yours,

Henry Cabot Lodge

enclosures


COME TO CAPAHOSIC
AN INVITATION FROM / THE ROBERT RUSSA MOTON
MEMORIAL FOUNDATION / CAPAHOSIC, VIRGINIA

November ten, 1953

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Phelps-Stokes Fund:

I would be grateful if you would get on to Dr Patterson in some up-coming packet of letters the enclosure.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosure

November 10, 1953

Dr F D Patterson
PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr Patterson:

I went over for the inauguration of Mr Foster at Tuskegee. I and all of Tuskegee's guests were received with the most considerate and generous hospitality. It went all the way down to the smallest contact with students or anyone connected with the Institute.

All those beautiful arrangements in Dorothy Hall: perfection in meals and service, bowls of fruits and nuts setting about the guest room lounges; newspapers in abundance; chairs for men there, chairs for ladies here, and yet all done in calm self-respect.

I know there is a new President; but I thought as I saw each sign of maturity and attentiveness of your years of care to have it so.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

gsm-t

Telephone: MUrray Hill 3-8578.
Cables: "Stokesfund," Newyork.

November 23, 1953

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

RECEIVED
NOV 25
Southern Regional Council

New South
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

In Dr. Patterson's absence in Nigeria, West Africa, I am writing to thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending him a reprint from the August 1953 Reader's Digest entitled Prejudice Is Losing Out in San Francisco, and the copy of October-November 1953 New South--What the Census Found, Negro Family Income in the Southern States.

I know Dr. Patterson will be very much interested to read this material when he returns to America toward the end of December.

Sincerely yours,

Rachel L. Huntington

Secretary to Dr. Patterson

INTERNATIONAL BANK MISSION, PRIVATE POST BAG, LAGOS.

4th December, 1953.

ge S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Atlanta,
Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

When I returned from a trek to Northern Nigeria I found a copy of your gracious letter of November, 10th addressed to me at the Phelps-Stokes Fund in New York City.

I am highly pleased to know that the inauguration of Dr. Foster went well at Tuskegee and that all guests were well received and experienced "considerate and generous hospitality." Dr. Foster is a splendid and most able person. I am extremely happy that the Board saw fit to elect him President. I am sure he will carry on in a most effective way.

It was most generous and thoughtful of you to write as you have. You are well aware that after one puts 25 years of ones life into an institution, its every step forward is a source of deep personal satisfaction.

I am having a most worthwhile and stimulating experience in Nigeria as a member of the International Bank Mission. Our tour is nearly ended, and those of us from the States hope to be home by Christmas. Perhaps I shall have the pleasure of seeing you not too long after my return.

With cordial greetings and good wishes in your arduous and successful labours,

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

12-PM
7 DEC
1955
NIGERIA

Dr. George S. Mitchell,

Executive Director,

Southern Regional Council,
Inc.,

Atalanta,

Georgia, U.S.A.

First fold here

Second fold here

To open cut here

Sender's name and address :—

F.D. Patterson,

International Bank Mission,

LAGOS.

To open cut here

September 22, 1954

Mr. F. D. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Patterson:

I get a free trip to New York October 18, for the Herald Tribune Forum. If I came to see you the afternoon of October 19, would I be likely to catch you there? I am not begging but I would like advice.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Telephone: MUrray Hill 3-8578.
Cables: "Stokesfund," Newyork.

October 6, 1954

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

RECEIVED
OCT 8 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Dr. Patterson returned from a short visit to Liberia last Friday, October 1st, and of course your letter was waiting for him. However, he was in the office for only a few minutes so had no time to dictate letters.

I am, accordingly, writing to let you know that Dr. Patterson will not be in New York on October 19th. He and Mrs. Patterson are going to Washington on Monday morning. They are to be guests at the dinner President and Mrs. Eisenhower are giving that night for President Tubman, and the following night they are attending President Tubman's reception at the Liberian Embassy for President and Mrs. Eisenhower. They will be returning to New York on the 1: A.M. train October 20th.

I know Dr. Patterson will be sorry to miss your visit.

Sincerely yours,

Rachel L. Huntington

Secretary to Dr. Patterson

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

A STATEMENT ADOPTED BY A GROUP OF SOUTHERN
NEGRO EDUCATORS, HOT SPRINGS, ARKANSAS
October 27, 1954

We, a group of Southern Negro Educators, representing fourteen southern states and the District of Columbia, have assembled here in Hot Springs, Arkansas, to express our collective point of view with respect to the Supreme Court's decision, May 17, 1954, declaring segregation in the public schools unconstitutional. We believe that by virtue of the position which we occupy in American life we are obligated to express our views.

WE WELCOME THE DECISION AND LOOK UPON IT AS ANOTHER SIGNIFICANT MILESTONE IN THE NATION'S QUEST FOR A DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE AND IN THE NEGRO'S LONG STRUGGLE TO BECOME A FIRST CLASS CITIZEN. The Supreme Court's decision is a part of an evolutionary process which has been going on in the South and in the Nation for a long time. The decision was not a sudden leap out of the American tradition. It was the right and moral thing to do. Moreover, it was a next logical and inevitable step in the context of our democratic development. The movement toward full democracy has resulted in the abolition of the white primary, removal of the curtain in the dining car, abolition of segregation in interstate travel, equalization of teachers salaries in most areas of the South, the matriculation of Negroes in southern universities, and the integration of Negroes and whites in all of the armed forces.

We hail the decision again because it dramatically distinguishes our way of life in a democracy from that in such totalitarian countries

as Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. Here in the United States great social wrongs can be and are righted without bloodshed and without revolutionary means. This was not possible for the Jewish people in Nazi Germany; nor is it now possible for anyone in Communist Russia. But it is possible in the United States because we have a Constitution which guarantees equality and justice to all and a body of citizens who are committed to the ideal of human brotherhood. The Constitution is our sovereign authority. To evade or discredit it is to destroy our government. Negro Americans have never given way to despair nor have they sought relief from injustices by following after the false promises of Communism. Their past accomplishments and their planned hopes for the future lie in the American ideal--"justice and equality for all." We take pride in the fact that every individual and organizational effort we have made to achieve complete citizenship rights in American life has been within the legal framework of the Federal Constitution. Our cause has always been on the side of the Constitution. The preamble of the Constitution and the ideals and principles of Negro citizenship have been identical. We have never had to apologize for unwillingness or inability to adopt or support its principles.

The Supreme Court was not dealing solely with a local issue or with the issue of whether Negro and white children should attend the same public school. World leadership has been thrust upon the United States. It became America's responsibility before and after World War II not only to fight against racism and aggression, but to defend democracy in the free world. America's leadership in the World and not alone the citizenship of fifteen million Negroes was at stake. The nation cannot consistently stand as leader of the democratic forces of the world and harbor the undemocratic practice of racial segregation at home.

WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THERE IS A FUNDAMENTAL SENSE OF FAIR PLAY ABROAD IN THE SOUTH. Southern people have accepted previous decisions of the Supreme Court and the social changes resulting therefrom, such decisions as the abolition of the white primary, and the admission of Negroes to white universities. We believe that the South will likewise accept the decision of May 17. We gladly note that integration in public schools involving both students and teachers is already working well in some schools of the South. We are heartened by the expressions of the Southern Press speaking favorably of the decision, and by the fact that several church bodies and a number of church men and women in the South are on record as approving it. Even before the Supreme Court handed down this decision some southern educational institutions, Protestant and Catholic, public and private, had opened their doors to Negroes. It is our hope that all of the colleges and universities of the South, Negro and white, will immediately implement the spirit of the Court's decision by accepting, irrespective of race, all qualified students who seek admission.

It is most unfortunate that preoccupation with the co-educational implication of the decision has obscured the question of the quality of education for all children. In two-thirds of the United States, co-education of the races has been going on for many decades with no untoward effect. There need be no ill effect in the South.

The effort on the part of some leaders and some school officials to intimidate Negro teachers and other citizens under threat of loss of jobs if they express approval of the Court's decision and if segregation is not maintained is shortsighted, vindictive, and contrary to the fundamental sense of fair play of the American people.

NEGRO EDUCATORS SHOULD NOT AND CANNOT AFFORD TO BE A PARTY TO ANY PLAN DESIGNED TO NULLIFY THE COURT'S DECISION. To do this would be tantamount to

sharing in a plan to destroy the very fabric of our Constitutional Government. We regret that some public officials have sought to persuade Negro educators and other leaders to evade the decision by agreeing to voluntary segregation. This cannot be decently done; and such persons who agree to this will not be respected even by the officials seeking such commitment or compromise of principle.

Good statesmanship in a democracy requires that all segments of the population participate in the implementation of the Court's decision, which is of common concern. The idea is still too prevalent that the issues involved can be resolved without Negro participation. Some public officials speak as if only white Americans are involved. We are all, Negro and white, deeply and equally involved. Many Negroes can contribute sound, intelligent and statesmanlike techniques for the handling of the inevitable issues. Negroes are able and willing to serve on boards of education, on other policy-making bodies and in administrative capacities throughout the South. They are anxious to share the responsibilities which in too many instances have been monopolized by one segment of the population.

WE URGE THAT IMMEDIATE STEPS BE TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT THE DECISION. We are aware of the fact that it will be more difficult in some places than in others and that the time span of implementation may vary. However, there should be the cooperative effort in every community to plan on the local level the implementation of the decision. But, the planning should be done in good faith and with an honest desire to implement the decision rather than scheming to circumvent it.

The action of adults who incite students to riot or encourage them to demonstrate in opposition to unsegregated schools is to be strongly condemned. Negro and white children have played together in the South for decades upon decades. They have no innate antipathy toward each other.

The Court's decision makes possible a single school system with the opportunity for the people in the region to marshall their educational resources and to develop a philosophy that brings to education generally a new perspective, and to the nation a new spirit. This cannot be done in a dual system of education. Let it be clearly understood that we are not pleading for Negroes alone. We are concerned about the best education that can be made available to every child in the South. In our concern for equal and improved educational opportunities for every southern child, we do not overlook the strenuous economic effort required. We are aware of the South's responsibility for providing funds needed to raise the level of educational opportunity for every southern child. We, therefore, strongly endorse and support federal aid to education in order that the per capita expenditure in the South may be brought up to a high national average.

We want the white child to have the best and we want the Negro child to have the best. It is the opinion of the Supreme Court that there cannot be equality of educational opportunity for the Negro child in a segregated system. Moreover, it is the opinion of the Social Scientists that it is not possible for the white child to receive the best education in a segregated system.

OURS IS A COMMON DEMOCRACY IN WHICH THE WEAKEST AND THE STRONGEST, THE MOST PRIVILEGED AND THE MOST DISADVANTAGED, THE DESCENDANTS OF EVERY RACE AND EVERY NATION, CAN SHARE AND HAPPILY BOAST THAT WE ARE PROUD TO BE AMERICANS. Children educated from the beginning in such a system will insure for us all a future of which we can be as proud as of the abolition of slavery and child labor, woman suffrage, equal educational opportunities for women, and the institution of the public schools themselves.

Time will prove that our fears have no foundation in fact just as has been proved by the implementation of previous Court decisions. Segregation

breeds fear; and when the barriers of segregation are at last removed from American life, we will wonder why we feared at all. We, therefore, call upon the people of the South and the nation to strive with good will and honest intent to implement the Court's decision. It is our firm and unanimous belief that the implementation of the Decision will strengthen the South and the Nation morally, economically, and spiritually. We as Negro citizens stand ready to cooperate wholeheartedly in the progressive fulfillment of these democratic objectives.

Arkansas Gazette

Registered U. S. Patent Office
Established November 20, 1819
Oldest Newspaper
West of the Mississippi
Published Every Day by The Gazette Publishing Company, Gazette Building.

Fri., Oct. 29, 1954.

The Negro View Of Segregation

It has been argued in the wake of the Supreme Court decision on segregation in education that many Negroes do not support the new dispensation, and would prefer to continue to educate their children in separate schools.

This may be true of individual Negroes in many Southern communities. but clearly it is not true of Southern Negro leaders, who, without important exception, have hailed the decision as a major victory for their people and have urged that it be implemented as soon as possible.

Nor it this attitude confined to the militant and often doctrinaire advocates of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. If any Southerner doubts this he has only to look at the declaration on the subject adopted this week at Hot Springs by a meeting that included the outstanding Negro educators of the region.

The men who gathered at Hot Springs were college presidents for the most part, and they bore familiar names—Charles Johnson of Fisk, Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta University (and also a member of the Atlanta School Board), F. D. Patterson, formerly of Tuskegee, Benjamin Mays of Morehouse, and Lawrence Davis of Arkansas A M & N. These are men who have gained stature through long years of service in their people's cause, and they must be listened to with respect by both races.

By and large, their statement was moderate. It consciously avoided the militant tone so often adopted by the NAACP. Yet it was unequivocal in its support of the principle enunciated in the Supreme Court decision, and in its insistence that the decrees be carried out in a reasonable time.

The key to the statement, we believe, was the word "reasonable." These men know from their long experience that a social change of the magnitude embodied in transition from a segregated to an integrated school system would cause severe dislocations in many Southern communities. But they insist that neither they nor any responsible Southern Negro leader can be expected to abandon the principle of opposition to segregation, even though he may be willing to compromise on some of the details of transition.

Many white persons will not like the statement adopted at Hot Springs. But whether we like it or not we cannot ignore it. We believe that the difficult job of adapting our public education system to the new Supreme Court dispensation must begin with recognition that this is in fact the prevailing Negro attitude. An adverse attitude clearly exists in most communities, where the great majority of whites support the continuation of segregation. And the practical problem is how to work out an acceptable compromise in the area between these polar points of view. One essential approach was emphasized in the Hot Springs statement in these measured words:

> Good statesmanship in a democracy requires that all segments of the population participate in the implementation of the Court's decision, which is of common concern. The idea is still too prevalent that the issues involved can be resolved without Negro participation. Some public officials speak as if only white Americans are involved. We are all, Negro and white, deeply and equally involved. Many Negroes can contribute sound, intelligent and statesmanlike techniques for the handling of the inevitable issues. Negroes are able and willing to serve on boards of education, on other policy-making bodies and in administrative capacities throughout the South. They are anxious to share the responsibilities which in too many instances have been monopolized by one segment of the population.

Under far more adverse circumstances than those that exist today, Negroes and whites in the South have managed to work out solutions to the practical problems that have beset us throughout our common history. We are confident that wise leaders of both races will meet the new test here posed, and meet it in the spirit of that section of the Hot Springs declaration in which the South's top Negro leadership stated:

> Let it be clearly understood that we are not pleading for Negroes alone. We are concerned about the best education that can be made available to every child in the South * * * We want the white child to have the best, and the Negro child to have the best.

That is the goal we must not lose sight of—whether we believe it can be best attained under segregation, or by merging the dual school system that has served us all our lives.

List of Participants filed "Lists"

TRUSTEES

EMORY ROSS, *President*
I. N. PHELPS STOKES, *Vice-President*
JOHN H. REISNER, *Secretary*
EDWIN K. MERRILL, *Treasurer*
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PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS

FREDERICK D. PATTERSON, *Director*
FREDERICK L. ROWE, *Executive Secretary*

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN
Education: EMORY ROSS
Housing: MRS. JOHN DAVIS HATCH, Jr.

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578 (New York).

CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

EUROPEAN ADDRESS
2, Eaton Gate, Sloane Square, London, S.W.1.

December 8, 1954

RECEIVED
12/10/54
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am pleased to enclose copy of the statement developed by Southern Negro leaders in education at Hot Springs on October 26th and 27th, and an editorial from the Arkansas Gazette which I assume was written by Harry Ashmore.

Perhaps The New South would be interested in giving some mention to this material.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson
Director

FDP
RLH

December 10, 1954

Dr. F. D. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Patterson:

I am sure that Dr. Mitchell, who is out of the city, will appreciate the copy of the Hot Springs statement and the list of signers.

As it happens we had already come across the full text of the statement, admired it greatly, and carried it in full in the November issue of New South.

I enclose a copy of this issue and will be glad to send more if they would be of use to you.

Congratulations on this fine statesmanlike pronouncement, which should do much to stimulate a constructive approach to school integration.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 3-8578.
Cables: "Stokesfund," Newyork.

December 8, 1954

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

RECEIVED
12/10/54
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have already mailed to you a letter from Dr. Patterson with a copy of the Statement prepared by the Southern Negro educators who attended the Hot Springs Conference the latter part of October. An editorial from the Arkansas Gazette was also included.

Dr. Patterson thought you would like to know the names of the persons who attended the Conference, but as I had already mailed the material when he made this suggestion, I am sending it to you now in a separate envelope.

Sincerely yours,

Rachel L. Huntington

Secretary to Dr. Patterson

December 13, 1954

Dr. F. D. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Patterson:

Very nice to get back in the office and find your kind letter of December 8th with the text of the Hot Springs statement. As Harold Fleming wrote you, we praised its every word and made haste to carry the whole statement in New South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

March 27, 1956

Dr. Channing Tobias
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Doctor Tobias:

I will be in New York on Friday, April 6th and have asked for an appointment with Mr. Roy Wilkins. I am very anxious to see you also.

If you will find out what time Mr. Wilkins will see me, possibly we can meet in the NAACP offices fitting the appointments.

With best of wishes to you,

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) M.E. Tilly
In Charge of Women's Work

MET:rh

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PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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CABLES: "Stokesfund"–New York.

May 31, 1956

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED JUN 4 1956

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I hope you received my telegram indicating my inability to be in Birmingham because of certain developments at Tuskegee which required my presence.

It was a pleasure to have chatted briefly with you over the telephone and I shall be very glad to give careful consideration to the request which you mentioned.

As you probably know, the Phelps-Stokes Fund has extremely modest monies for disbursement. We shall, therefore, be unable to respond to any large appeal. Our Executive Committee will meet on the 15th of June and I should like to have before me your appeal as early as convenient.

With good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson
Director

FDP
RLH

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101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578 (New York).
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

June 15, 1956

Rec'd June 18

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your letter of June 11th with the helpful explanatory comment.

I shall do my best but please don't lift your hopes too high.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson
Director

FDP
RLH

June 11, 1956

AIR

Mr. F. D. Patterson, Director
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Patterson:

Thank you so much for your prompt reply to my request for a grant.

Here are the answers to the questions you ask:

1. The program is entirely educational.

2. We have never thought in terms of legislation. We accepted the Supreme Court decision as final and believe the Church women must be the "shock absorbers and the interpreters of social change." We have given them background history, as per sheets enclosed. We have given them Biblical foundation and the discussion has been on "Building Bridges of Understanding."

By meeting together, our women of the various faiths, coming from many communities, have found strength and courage and a sense of not being alone. I think perhaps this answers your questions.

Please accept my thanks for your gracious words of encouragement.

Hoping you may find a way to give us a grant, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs.) M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mef

Encl.

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101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578 (New York).
CABLES: "Stokesfund"–New York.

June 8, 1956

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I have your letter of June 7th which presents a request for assistance toward the budget for Work with Women in the South in the Present Crisis.

This will be brought to the attention of our Trustees and you will be notified in due course of the action taken.

You are correct in assuming that the sum that we might give would be substantially less than the budget which you have presented. I think our Trustees would want assurance on at least two points before they could consider favorable action:

1. Whether or not your program could be interpreted as educational. In some ways I think it could.

2. Whether or not the program of action which you have in mind would in any way be related to legislation. The Federal Government has been so severe in its criticism of foundation grants in the past few years that extreme car e has to be taken to be sure the foundations' tax exempt status is not jeopardized by making grants to assist individuals or organizations working in the legislative field.

In raising these questions I am sure you will understand that I am concerned only with the technical aspects because I am so fully sympathetic with the over-all objectives of this program as stated that there could never be any question in my own mind as to its worthiness of support.

I am pleased to have the reports on your contacts in Birmingham and New Orleans. I, too, deeply regret that I was

not able to share the Birmingham, Alabama, meeting. I hold in highest regard the important work you are doing which represents on your part much in the way of personal sacrifice as well as whole-souled dedication.

With warmest greetings,

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson
Director

FDP
RLH

June 7, 1956

Mr. F. D. Patterson, Director
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Patterson:

While I do get censured oftentimes for attempting to do that which I am doing to better human relations, the compensations are so great I don't mind anonymous telephone calls and letters. Having an understanding friend like you more than makes up for any unpleasantness from an unsympathetic person.

When I arrived at New Orleans airport an attendant met me at the plane and told me there was a telegram for me. In the telegram were those encouraging words from you and also the explanation of why you were not at Birmingham.

Please know that I fully understand you will do whatever is possible for the work in which I am engaged.

Enclosed you will find a three-year budget. We most certainly do not expect the Phelps-Stokes Fund to have funds available to cover this amount. Please look at it and do the best you can for us. If it is $4,000 it would be wonderful and would make it possible to have a much larger conference in September of the leadership of the various denominations and faiths from our Southern States. But please know whatever amount you send I will know it was all you could do.

I am enclosing a story of the trip to Birmingham, New Orleans and Baton Rouge. How I did wish you might have been with us in Birmingham. It was a great meeting and the memory of it is keeping me going at a faster rate than I thought possible.

Dr. Mitchell dictated an application to present to two or more foundations. He had to leave on an out-of-town trip before he signed it, but I am

enclosing it as it may give you a picture of what we are attempting to do.

Deeply appreciative of your interest in my work and the fact that you are my friend, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs.) M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mef

Enclosure

Fn 1, 86

Telephone: MUrray Hill 3-8578.
Cables: "Stokesfund," Newyork.

July 2, 1956

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED JUL 5 1956

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am sailing for Europe on Friday of this week, so if you come to New York on July 12th of course I won't be here to confer with you.

When I return in the fall I shall be very glad to talk with you to see if there is any way I can be of help.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

FDP
RLH

F. D. Patterson
Director

June 28, 1956

Mr. F. D. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Patterson:

I need some advice and I can be in New York the morning of July 12th to ask for it.

Mrs. Tilly, as you know, needs a goodish chunk of money for the next three years. Around seventeen or eighteen thousand a year. She has asked you to try to pick up some corner of that, and we all anxiously hope you will.

On Mr. Clement's advice I asked Lindsley Kimball to try to do the bigger chunk. Mr. Kimball says he can't.

Query: Will you be kind enough to puzzle about whom else I might approach. I have the whole morning of July 12th free, and could go and begin negotiations with anyone you might suggest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

August 16, 1956

Mr. Frederick D. Patterson, Director
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Patterson:

Perhaps by this time you are home from your trip to Europe.

I am still very much concerned about the funds for the workshop of the women of the South, October 30-31. I think you are familiar with the work the women are doing and can do in this hour of crisis and challenge. The meeting bids fair to be very vital.

Each denomination has sent to us lists of its key women in the Southern states and they have been invited. The Catholic Committee of the South will bring its leaders. There will also be present Jewish leaders. This meeting will be the bringing together of the minds of the leadership of the three faiths of both races.

Knowing in the depths of my heart that the women of the South must be the interpreters and shock-absorbers of social change, I am earnestly begging the Phelps-Stokes Foundation to give me a grant at this time. I think you have the other information you need.

I would certainly appreciate hearing from you. I know you will be a good pleader for me and the women of the South before your organization.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Director of Women's Work

MET:mef

September 25, 1956

Mr. F. D. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Patterson:

Somebody is paying for me to come to the great city to make a talk at the New School the night of October 2nd. I should be in the city pretty much all day October 2nd, and all the morning October 3rd, and most of October 4th and most of October 5th.

Would there be a time in that period when I might come to see you at your office?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Mr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

P. S. I am promised somewhere from 10:30 a.m. until 2:30 p.m. in the middle of October 5th.

October 19, 1956

Miss Rachel L. Huntington
Secretary to Dr. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Miss Huntington:

You were most kind to write me September 27 that Dr. Patterson wouldn't be in New York when I was to be there. Mrs. Tilly went to see him here, and I have answered his recent letter, so all is as it should be.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED SEP 29 1956

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 3-8578

September 27, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Feorgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am so sorry to have to tell you that Dr. Patterson will not be here on any of the days you plan to be in New York the first week in October. He left yesterday for Tuskegee and October 1-3 he will be in Atlanta for meetings of the United Negro College Fund, of which he is President. Actually he will be arriving, according to his present plan, on Sunday afternoon and will be stopping with President Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta University. From Atlanta he will be going to Capahosic, Virginia, and will be returning home on Saturday, October 6th.

If you do not leave Atlanta until late Sunday or early Monday possibly you could get in touch with Dr. Patterson at President Clement's home.

Sincerely yours,
Rachel L. Huntington
Secretary to Dr. Patterson

TRUSTEES

EMORY ROSS, *President*
I. N. PHELPS STOKES, *Vice-President*
JOHN H. REISNER, *Secretary*
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REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, *President Emeritus*

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

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TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578

CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

December 12, 1956

RECEIVED DEC 14 1956

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am pleased to advise that the Board of Trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, in its recent Annual Meeting, voted an appropriation of $2,000.00 to the Women's Division for work under your leadership in the field of race relations in general and with specific reference to school desegregation.

We regret that it is not possible to make available a larger sum but we hope this will be helpful and that in addition to its helpfulness monetarily it will convey to you the warm approval which we have of your tireless and significant efforts to improve race relations in the South.

With warm regards and esteem,

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson
Director

FDP
RLH

December 14, 1956

Dr. F. D. Patterson, Director
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Patterson:

The postman brought me a letter this morning. It was more than a gift from Santa Claus and it is the first Christmas present I have had, and by far the most desired. In your understanding of what I am trying to do, you have been my Santa Claus for a long time.

I will write a formal letter to the Phelps-Stokes Fund also, but my heart is so full of gratitude that now I will have funds for my state meetings, that I want to let you know how very grateful I am and how very, very happy.

May your Christmas bring you as much joy as the gift from the Phelps-Stokes Fund, secured for me by you, is bringing to me.

God bless you, Santa Claus!

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

MET:fc

January 2, 1957

Dr. F. D. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Patterson:

I came across an article in a maggie which I here send up, that praises I am sure rightly the work in earlier years of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. You will know of the man, but I thought that by this or that chance the speech might not have come in to the Fund.

George Mitchell doesn't leave his job or these Southerns without a most special word of appreciation for you, for Tuskegee, for the Phelps Stokes Fund, and for long years of firm friendship.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

January 9, 1957

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Housing: MRS. DYSON DUNCAN

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578

CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

RECEIVED JAN 11 1957.

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thanks for your thoughtfulness in sending a copy of the Colonial Review which comments on the work of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. It is pleasing to know that, after so many years, the African studies of the Fund continue to enjoy a highly favorable appraisal.

I take this occasion to wish you success in your new relationships. I shall not say retirement because I know that you are going to be just as busy as ever. I think you are among the rare group, however, that have the courage to cut loose long ties in order to undertake some of the things which have been the dream of a lifetime. I need not tell you that you are going to be greatly missed for the wonderful work you have done, or that you carry with you the warm good wishes of a great host of friends.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson
Director

FDP
RLH

April 16, 1957

Mr. F. D. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Patterson:

We thought you would be interested in this good editorial on Mrs. Tilly's work. We thought it was a well-deserved tribute to efforts that are necessarily carried on so quietly that they receive little recognition. All of us here greatly appreciate your interest and your assistance to Mrs. Tilly in finding support for the program.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
encl. - Interracial Review
"The Silent Force"

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101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

April 22, 1957

RECEIVED APR 24 1957

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am delighted to transmit herewith the check for $2,000.00 appropriated by the Phelps-Stokes Fund to the Southern Regional Council in behalf of the Women's Division.

OK
rhe

I was pleased to see you on your recent visit to New York and regret there was not time for a longer chat.

Please sign both copies of the voucher and return.

With warm good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson
Director

FDP
RLH

April 24, 1957

Dr. F. D. Patterson
Director
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Patterson:

In Mrs. Tilly's absence, I wish to acknowledge receipt of the check for $2,000.00 appropriated by the Phelps-Stokes Fund to the Southern Regional Council in behalf of the Women's work in this region.

I am enclosing both copies of the voucher properly signed and an official receipt from the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosures (2)

April 29, 1957

Dr. F. D. Patterson, Director,
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Patterson:

It was very wonderful to come back home from a hard trip and find on my desk your letter and a check for $2,000.00 from the Phelps-Stokes Fund, to be used for the work of the Fellowship of the Concerned. It is a joy, even now, to be planning just how to spread this money over the South to make it do the most good. I hope that someone from the Fund may find it possible to be in, either the regional, or some of the state meetings that will be made possible by this $2,000.00.

I would like for the Trustees of the Fund to know that we are deeply grateful and to know that the money will be carefully administered. Reports will be sent to you from time to time.

I have a sense of feeling that the Master blesses it as he did the loaves and fishes and I always pray that the multitudes may be fed and strenghtened to face our "new" South. Funds, like the Phelps-Stokes, are really the Andrews in the picture that supply the loaves and fishes.

Deeply grateful to the Foundation and to you personally, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) M. E. Tilly,
Director of Women's Work

MET:sj

May 1, 1957

Mr. F. D. Patterson
Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Co-Chairmen
Consultation Committee
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Patterson and Dr. Johnson:

I am complimented by your invitation to take part in a two-day consultation on race relations which the Phelps-Stokes Fund is planning for June 22nd and 23rd. I am reserving those dates and will look forward to seeing you then.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

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PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

April 23, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED APR 30 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The Phelps-Stokes Fund invites you to a consultation conference on June 22nd and 23rd to be held at the old Moton residence at Capahosic, Virginia.

Because of its long-standing concern in race relations, the Phelps-Stokes Fund would like the joint thinking of a few carefully selected persons, white and Negro, residing in the South, about racial tensions growing out of recent Supreme Court decisions and rulings. We would like to examine the possible techniques which should be used by persons of good will to secure improved understandingthrough better communication at the community level. Out of thinking together across racial lines by people dedicated to the ideal of equality of opportunity will come desirable changes with a minimum of friction and ill will.

The consultation will be unhurried, informal and completely off the record. The location on the York River is ideal for the kind of friendly, leisurely discussion which we believe will be most helpful.

The Phelps-Stokes Fund will bear the travel and entertainment expenses of the participants.

This will be a most important meeting and we hope you will be able to accept our invitation. Your counsel is greatly desired.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson

Guy B. Johnson

Guy B. Johnson
Co-Chairmen, Consultation Committee

FDP
RLH

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April 19, 1957

RECEIVED APR 22 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks very much for your thoughtfulness in sending the tribute to Mrs. Tilly.

I am delighted that the Phelps-Stokes Fund could make at least a token contribution to help her with the very important work she is doing.

You will shortly receive a letter signed by Dr. Guy B. Johnson and myself inviting you to a closed consultation conferencein behalf of the Phelps-Stokes Fund to discuss the present state of racial tensions. This meeting is scheduled for June 22nd and 23rd at the old Moton residence at Capahosic, Virginia. Because of the importance of the contribution you can make to our deliberations I hope you will make every effort to come. The Phelps-Stokes Fund has voted funds necessary to underwrite the cost, including transportation and entertainment of participants.

With warm regards,

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson
Director

FDP
RLH

June 27, 1957

Dr. F. D. Patterson, Director
Phelps Stokes Fund
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Patterson:

It was a great pleasure being with you last week at Capahosic. The group you assembled there was outstanding, and I benefited greatly from the exchange of ideas.

I do hope you will keep me posted on the efforts of the Phelps Stokes Fund in this field, particularly with respect to ways in which our two organizations can cooperate.

My expenses in connection with the consultation were as follows:

(1)	Eastern Air Lines, Atlanta to Richmond and Return	$66.66
(2)	Airport Limousines, Atlanta and Richmond	3.70
(3)	Hotel, Richmond	9.00
	Total:	$79.36

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

July 3, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks for your letter of June 27th. I am enclosing check for $79.36 to reimburse you for expenses incurred to attend the meeting at Capahosic, Virginia.

We were delighted you could be with us and I am sure all persons present were pleased to have you contribute so richly to the discussions.

With good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson
Director

FDP:can
Encl.

RECEIVED JUL 19 1957

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PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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Education: EMORY ROSS
Housing: MRS. DYSON DUNCAN

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

July 17, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending a copy of the report on the Council's work during the last six months. I have read it with great pleasure and profit.

Warm congratulations.

Sincerely yours,

F. Patterson

F.D. Patterson
Director

wht

July 23, 1957

Mr. Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Wilton:

Thanks for your welcome letter. I shall be looking forward to seeing the summary of the Capahosic consultations and to correspondence about ways in which we can cooperate to mutual advantage.

Meanwhile, at the risk of burdening you with material, here is our just-produced report on Negro suffrage in the South. Since this is currently the liveliest topic in race relations, I thought you would be interested in the report.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - "The Negro Voter"

Dear Wilton:

Thanks for your welcome letter. I shall be looking forward to seeing the summary of the Capahosic consultation and to correspondence about ways in which we can cooperate to mutual advantage.

Meanwhile, at the risk of burdening you with material, here is our just-produced report on Negro suffrage in the South. Since this is currently the liveliest topic in race relations, I thought you would be interested in the report.

Sincerely,

HCF

Enc
Voting rept

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NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

July 18, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Since our meeting in Capahosic I have found reports of your activities thrust at me from several directions. I was particularly interested in The Reporter Magazine's references to you and then your semi-annual report, which reached me today.

You will be receiving from me shortly the summary of our Capahosic discussions. After that time I hope we will be able to correspond more specifically about our common interests in research and the international implications of race relations practices.

I trust that you will call at our offices if you are ever in New York. You are cordially invited at any time.

Sincerely,

Wilton

Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary

WSD:wrw

Sent to Overseas Training & Research, Inc. 5401 Wisconsin Ave. Washington 15, D.C.

VIA AIR MAIL

August 26, 1957

Mr. Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Wilton:

Although several members of our staff will be at Monteagle over the next weekend, I myself will not. However, I expect to be in the office all of next week and would be delighted to see you here. I am sure there are a good many matters we can profitably discuss.

It was good to have word of mutual friends from you. Unless I hear otherwise, I will be looking forward to seeing you next week.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED AUG 26 1957

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101 PARK AVENUE
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TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

August 23, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am wondering if you plan to be at the Highlander Folk School anniversary weekend. That fact will help me to determine whether I should go on to Atlanta from Monteagle for a couple of days in early September, perhaps the 3rd or 4th.

It would be a good chance, at either place, to talk with you about revived plans for a Bureau on Americans of Negro Ancestry which would involve cooperative use of research facilities in Atlanta, Fisk and Howard universities, and Tuskegee Institute.

Could you please let me know whether I could see you at either or both Monteagle and Atlanta? You might reply c/o Overseas Training and Research, Inc., 5404 Burling Road, Washington 14, D. C., where I shall be receiving mail while attending the sociology meetings August 27-29.

Incidentally, Jack Faulkner, whose family I have just met on a New Rochelle houseboat, asks me to send you his regards. The same goes for Eric Larrabee.

Cordially,

Wilton S. Dillon

Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary

WSD:w

September 5, 1957

Dr. F. D. Patterson, Director
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Patterson:

All is arranged for Mr. Biroli to visit the Council's offices while he is here. I am glad that you thought of me in connection with his visit.

We have just had a good visit with Wilton Dillon, during which we discussed a great many matters of common interest.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED AUG 28 1957

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JOHN H. REISNER, Secretary
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PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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FREDERICK D. PATTERSON, Director
WILTON S. DILLON, Executive Secretary

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Housing: MRS. DYSON DUNCAN

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

August 26, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In keeping with the enclosed schedule of visits of Mr. Joseph Biroli, a contact with you has been recommended. I hope it is convenient for you to see Mr. Biroli and to discuss with him the important activity with which you have been so effectively associated.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson

F. D. Patterson
Director

FDP:w
Enclosure

COPY

SELVAGE & LEE
Incorporated
Public Relations

1625 Eye Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

September 25, 1957

Dr. F. D. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Patterson:

Naturally I deplore the Little Rock situation, although I do not see how the President could have followed any other course and think the Governor is the villain in the matter. But the aftermath will, unfortunately, harden attitudes and arouse feeling on both sides.

It may be too late for the Presidential Commission we talked about, since many Southerners who might have served prior to the use of troops now might decline. On the other hand, after feeling dies down a bit, we might give further thought to it. Obviously the schools are going to integrate, even in the deep South. Would it not be a good idea then to try to bring the leaders on both sides in these states to work out the best methods to be followed? This is highly desirable from the standpoint of the Negro pupils involved, for it will be extremely unfortunate if they attend schools where they are handicapped by a hostile atmosphere. Already they are handicapped enough by inferior schools, and most of them will need all the assistance and encouragement they can get.

One objection to a Commission in each state might be that it would be used by recalcitrants as a means of delay, but I think this can be overcome.

More and more I am convinced that thoughtful men and women over the country must concern themselves with this race problem. I do not always agree with Walter Lippmann, but I do agree with a statement he made recently that this country has a caste system based on skin color. Discrimination is all too prevalent outside the South, and its consequences are cankerous. Eventually the prejudice based on pigmentation will pass away, but it will vanish much more quickly if something is done about it.

I like very much your idea for an Institute or Foundation which would teach the facts about race and would publicize the accomplishments of Negroes, which are, in themselves, sufficient to refute ideas of inferiority. This Foundation also should have the funds and resources to work in Africa, where such things as the Little Rock fiasco are giving tremendous impetus to the Communist cause. The facts about race should be taught in every public school and in the primary grades. This would do much to dissipate the hate, fear, and prejudice which arise through ignorance.

Our leaders must impress upon the country the consequences of racial strife, not only in the United States, but over the world. If

it were not so tragic, the attitude of some of our Southerners, who are leaders in urging us to take steps to defend ourselves against Communism and yet who foster Communism by their racial attitude, would be ludicrous.

I am hopeful that organizations like the Ford Foundation and many others will make available the money to do some of the things you have in mind. If they do not, they are extremely shortsighted.

I read in the newspapers that some of the more moderate Southern governors are talking about an informal meeting with the President to talk over this entire situation. Perhaps this would be a good time to talk over the feasibility of a Commission such as we talked about. It might be a way to get some of the Southerners off the hook.

I plan to see Mr. Washington with the Republican National Committee this week to try to find out the attitude of the Negro Republican leaders and to find out, if possible, what the White House has in mind.

With my very best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

/s/ S. B. Bledsoe

S. B. Bledsoe

October 10, 1957

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Executive Secretary
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Wilton:

Thanks for your note. Mrs. Tilly and I have discussed your letter to her and agree that the G.A.P. report would be a very useful distribution piece in the church women's meeting. She has probably already written you asking if it would be possible for you to supply as many as 150 copies of that and also of Frank Loescher's article. I recall that the G.A.P. report is expensive, so feel free to scale down that request as need be.

I am to be in New York from late Monday afternoon, October 21 through Thursday the 24th. I hope we will have a chance to get together and will call you to that end late Monday afternoon or Tuesday morning.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 3-8578

Dear Harold -

Please advise me on whether this would be a good idea.

Eric warmly welcomed news of you just as he and Eleanor were leaving on a whiskey-sipping tour of Jock Daniel's distillery (for a Hopie's sequel to N.Y. State wine country) — thence to Fayetteville, Ark. because they have never seen an Ozark, nor Fanburn

hill culture.

Hope to see you
in Ny this month.

Best,

Milton

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REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, *President Emeritus*

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS
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WILTON S. DILLON, *Executive Secretary*
COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN
Education: EMORY ROSS
Housing: MRS. DYSON DUNCAN

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

October 4, 1957

Mrs. M. E. Tilley
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

As the time for the October conference draws near, it occurred to me today that you may find it useful to provide the church ladies with some background "take-home" reading related to "The New South."

I refer to the report, "Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation," published by the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry's Committee on Social Issues. I first heard of this report from Harold Fleming, who, no doubt, has shown you a copy of it.

If you agree that this report would be a good supplement to discussions of the moral issues involved in the Supreme Court decision, I think I could manage to interest the Fund in supplying the number of copies you would need. Another item of possible interest would be Frank S. Loescher's article, "South Africa Reconsidered," Christian Century, October 2, 1957. Reprints of this might also be mailed directly from Chicago to Atlanta for the meeting if you think a comparative view of the South's and the nation's race problem would interest the ladies.

Harold may have a wise word of caution about the chances of misunderstanding inherent in the use of the Psychiatrists' report. One is the confusion sometimes made between mental health advocates and "communists," as witness the furor in Mississippi recently when a legislator read the report and threatened investigations of psychiatrists practicing in the state.

I should point out that the report is the work of both Negro and white scientists, and has received the support of various church groups interested in the relationships between religion and psychiatry.

Please let me hear from both about the dates of the meeting, and whether you would like the Fund to do anything about the above two possibilities.

My warmest best wishes for your important work in these days of pastoral letters in Little Rock.

Cordially,

WSD

Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary

WSD:p
Encl

cc: Mr. Fleming

November 1, 1957

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Dillon:

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to Dr. Patterson and the Fund.

My thanks for literature and interest is to you also.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/mf

November 1, 1957

Dr. F. D. Patterson, Director
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Patterson:

It is out of a heart full of gratitude to you and the Phelps-Stokes Fund that I write this letter of thanks for the gift that made it possible for us to have the workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned - "Southern women concerned about their South." Tuesday and Wednesday of this week I told them from whence the money came, and they asked me to express their deep gratitude to the Fund.

They came - the state and regional church women leaders - from Virginia, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida. Four of these were labor organizers.

The theme of the workshop was: "The Challenge of Controversy." The participants defined "challenge" as "dangerous opportunity," but all through they held a vision of the glory of the trust God had put in them to accept the challenge of the controversies we face.

The leaders of our workshop groups were: Mrs. Charles Johnson, Mr. Will D. Campbell, from the National Council of Churches; and Mr. Arthur Levin from the Anti-Defamation League.

Miss Thelma Stevens and Miss Esther Stamats, whom you know, were with us. Mrs. Ruby Hurley did a good job of interpreting the N.A.A.C.P.

We will send you a copy of the gleanings in a few days.

Many of us felt that this workshop was one of our most worthwhile ones. Dr. Faulkner was with us and did much to strengthen us for the task we have ahead of us.

There is a temptation to make this letter longer than you have the time to read it. However, I do want to tell you this. One of our women of the Jewish faith, in reporting for her workshop group began by saying, "I know now what you mean by "being Christian," for now I have met Christian women, brave women who live their beliefs."

Thank you very much for the material you sent to us. This was placed in the packets which were distributed to the participants. These women were most appreciative of "Report 37, Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation."

We are asking the Phelps-Stokes Fund again to grant us $2,000, for the Kingdom of God has not yet come in our South. Mr. Harold Fleming, the executive director of the Southern Regional Council is making the application. We hope the request will be granted.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/mf

November 1, 1957

Dr. F. D. Patterson, Director
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Patterson:

I am writing you to request the Phelps-Stokes Fund's consideration of aid for the coming year to the Council's program of women's work directed by Mrs. Tilly.

Last year's grant of $2,000 was an invaluable contribution to this modestly financed, but profoundly important effort. I write you with special earnestness and enthusiasm, since a highly successful region-wide conference of women leaders has just been held. Agency leaders who took part have confirmed our own feeling that this was by far the most successful occasion of its kind to date and that its results will be felt in communities throughout the South. I only wish that it had been possible for you, Mr. Dillon, or other of your associates to be present.

I will not attempt to give you a detailed account of that meeting and of the other activities, directed by Mrs. Tilly, which the Phelps-Stokes Fund's generosity has helped make possible. As you know, no one can convey as well as Mrs. Tilly herself the meaning and flavor of her work; she is writing you separately. Also, as soon as the proceedings of the conference just held are ready, they will be sent to you.

The task for the year ahead is much the same in nature as it has been in the past - namely, to follow-up the planning and resolve of the region-wide conference with assemblies of leadership state by state, and in some cases community by community. I should only like to point out that this program designated "women's work" is far greater in its out-reach than this label would suggest. Many of the ministers and other church leaders are directly involved in these activities. Others are reached by the participating women through their churches and other organizations, religious and civic. And not less important the participants, as parents and grandparents as well as church women, are important influences in shaping the attitudes of the children.

If further information is needed to supplement that which Mrs. Tilly is sending you, please call upon me. Meanwhile, to you and other board members of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the Council expresses its deep appreciation for past support and our earnest hope that the Fund will find it possible to continue that support for the critical period that lies ahead.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

File

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

19 November 1957

Memorandum

To : Special Projects and Education Committees

From: The Director

Subject: Exploratory Ideas For An Adult Education Program To Coincide With Work Of The Civil Rights Commission

I. AN OPPORTUNITY FOR LEADERSHIP

With the Presidential appointment of the Civil Rights Commission, the Phelps-Stokes Fund faces a challenging opportunity to initiate an adult education program for integration which will dovetail with the Commission's tasks during the next two years. Accordingly, the staff has been exploring, since the meeting of the Executive Committee October 21, some of the possible themes and arguments which may provide the basis for cooperation between leaders of industry, religion, education, and government in the South. (These are in Section II.)

Fund for the Republic Proposal

1. On October 28, Mr. Dillon and I talked with Mr. Hallock Hoffman, assistant to Dr. Robert Hutchins, Fund for the Republic, about the form of presentation of a Phelps-Stokes proposal for financing such an education program. Mr. Hoffman informed us that any proposals to the Fund for the Republic would have to fit the Fund's current program to define "basic issues in a free society." (See attached brochure). Thus the Phelps-Stokes job would be to relate facts about Negro potential to the issues being raised about the role and responsibility of the corporation, religion, the trade union, and the military in a free society.

Liaison With the Civil Rights Commission

2. Anticipating an opportunity to be of service, (with or without extra financing) we have sent telegrams already to two members of the Civil Rights Commission, Dr. John Hannah, President, Michigan State University, and Mr. Ernest Wilkins, Undersecretary of Labor, congratulating them on their appointments, and suggesting that Phelps-Stokes Fund would like to cooperate in providing background research data on manpower and other human resources which may be pertinent to the work of the Commission. Dr. Hannah is a manpower and personnel specialist.

Dr. Eli Ginzberg, author of The Negro Potential, and director of the Conservation of Human Resources Project set up by General Eisenhower at Columbia University in 1950, informed the Phelps-Stokes Fund November 18, that he will be happy to cooperate with the Fund to bring manpower and education issues to the attention of the Civil Rights Commission, particularly Dr. Hannah. The main reason for this liaison

is to provide the Commission with "ammunition" for its public statements which will call attention to the implications of the Civil Rights Act for the discovery of untapped human resources greatly needed for scientific, industrial, and educational progress. In terms of "psychological strategy," such an approach offers great merit as a "face-saving" device for supremacists and others attempting to block the carrying out of the Supreme Court decision. The greatest leadership opportunities for any individual, foundation, government agency or voluntary group appear in the search for arguments which offer "self-interest" alternatives to people now resisting change.

The Teacher Role of the Commission

3. With such data about Negro achievements and potential as might be gathered, the Phelps-Stokes Fund can help the Commission give content to its role as "teacher." The New York Times, November 17, stated:

> Even at this early early stage, when quite plainly the Commission members themselves have formulated no clear views as to the nature of their job, informed persons in and out of Government have advanced their ideas of what the group should try to accomplish...One of the roles envisaged for the Commission is that of teacher....The thesis is that a group that could show that it clearly had no axe to grind--political or otherwise--might be able to impress the South, as Northern political leaders have not, with the moral importance of obedience to the Constitution and laws... Finally, there is the view that, by legal studies and analysis of the facts it finds, the Commission should lay our for the Federal Government a general policy to prevent future Little Rocks, to handle the school integration problem as a whole.

It appears therefore, that the Fund might help enhance the value of the Commission as an educational agency. Through the Commission new facts and ideas could reach the South both from: (a) a national vantage point, and (b) the Commission's local advisory committees which will aim to work out acceptable local accomodations.

II.

POSSIBLE THEMES TO BE WORKED INTO ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM FOR BUSINESSMEN, INDUSTRIALISTS, CHURCHMEN, LABOR LEADERS

The working up of a "curriculum" and "method" for an adult education program might involve use of the following ideas or themes to be developed by further fact-finding. (These ideas are drawn from several sources: Ginzberg's The Negro Potential; the October 26 issue of Business Week; Chapter 17, Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely's Neither Black Nor White; and Chapter 5, "The Theory of Integration," in Liston Pope, Kingdom Beyond Caste.)

Integration As Positive Goal

1. "Integration has a more positive content than the term desegregation. It implies not merely the elimination of barriers and the removal of compulsory separation. It requires further the people of all racial groups shall join in seeking together to realize the highest ideals of democracy." (Pope)

"Avoid a head-on collision. If you talk about specific issues, there will be resistance. If you talk in broader terms, desegregation will become a part of the fluid process of change." (Philip Hammer)

Memorandum 3

Integration is Profitable

2. "Prosperity was doomed as long as part of the population sought--in basic irreverence for life--to profit from, rather than with, all the rest of the human neighborhood." (Dykeman and Stokely).

Southern Industrialization

3. "States' rights may be the call to colors on the front pages, but it's the state's fight for industry which is the rallying cry on the inner pages."
(Dykeman and Stokely)

Negro Manpower and Purchasing Power

4. "We're discovering...that if the South is to prosper industrially it needs good workers and some of those workers will have to be Negroes. We also need that purchasing power. Keeping the Negro poor, the South has stayed poor." (Southern professor of business). "The South will soon have to realize that its remarkable industrial growth is being threatened by loss of many of its best-educated and best-trained Negroes, who represent one quarter of the Southern labor force. Unless this area starts now to train its Negro workers, it is going to find that its possibilities for industrial expansion will be sharply curtailed." Undersecretary of Labor, 1955) (Both quoted by Dykeman and Stokely).

"The Negroes' increased importance to business is a checkrein on emotionalism over social change."

"Segregation is an expensive luxury for the nation's economy."

"A customer is a customer regardless of color."
(Business Week)

Meaning of Migration

5. "The movement of Negroes North--through changes from small farming to mechanized farming, and in the shifts from cotton-tobacco crops to industry--means there aren't enough jobs in the South to absorb the displaced Negro worker...so there are thousands moving to St. Louis and farther North... Unless these facts are realized soon, the South may lose one of its lures to industry: ample manpower." (Business Week).

"Negroes represent one fourth of the population of the South. It is indeed questionable whether the South will be able to keep pace with the rest of the country if it continues to lose its most competent and best-trained Negroes." (Ginzberg)

Memorandum 4

Appeals to White and Negro Southern Leadership To Discover and Conserve Human Resources

6. "In this realm (economic) as elsewhere, the South can choose to wear blinders, adopt a defensive attitude and ignore the waster inherent in segregation and intolerance; or it can adjust a twenty-twenty vision to an aggressive and constructive self criticism and become, through its own catharsis of self-knowledge, the nation's inspiration." (Dykeman and Stokely)

"A challenge to the system of segregation hangs on four prior conditions:

(1) development of Negro leaders;
(2) constructive leadership within the dominant group;
(3) conducive environment which will help cushion whatever changes are introduced; and
(4) time to learn about the new situation and adjust to it."

(Ginzberg)

"Equality can never be bestowed; it can only be earned."

(Ginzberg)

III.

ELEMENTS IN AN ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM ON HUMAN RESOURCES OR THE ROLE OF SOUTHERN MANPOWER IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

1. Information Bureau on Negro Potential

A fact gathering and research bureau which would make inventories of current research on Negro achievement and potential; to be administered by the Phelps-Stokes Fund as coordinator of contract research by social scientists in Negro and white colleges and universities in the South.

2. Methods of Disseminating Information

A. Communication with Civil Rights Commission
B. Arranging conferences in Southern institutions of higher education at which church, labor, business and industrial leaders would discuss human resources
C. Making Educational TV films for public viewing through regular channels, as well as using TV "kinescopes" to stimulate discussion of groups brought together by clergymen and other leaders.
D. Pamphlets and newsletters to editorial writers

Memorandum 5

3. Cooperating Institutions

A. Civil Rights Commission
B. Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation
C. Negro Colleges and Universities
D. "White" Universities
E. State Industrial Commissions
F. Chambers of Commerce
G. Conservation of Human Resources Project Columbia University
H. World Council of Churches (Department of Study of Rapid Social Change in the U.S.)
I. American Council on Education
J. Southern Regional Council
K. Southern Educational Council
L. International Cooperation Administration
M. Metropolitan Educational Television Association
N. National Sharecroppers Fund
O. American Management Association
P. Trade Union Education Directors

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PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN
Education: EMORY ROSS
Housing: MRS. DYSON DUNCAN

TELEPHONE: MUrray Hill 3-8578
CABLES: "Stokesfund"—New York.

November 25, 1957

RECEIVED NOV 26 1957

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am happy to report to you that the Phelps-Stokes Fund Board of Trustees voted last week to appropriate the sum of $2,000 for the 1958 Conference of Church Women which you have requested through the Southern Regional Council.

Your interesting report on the recent conference was read to the Trustees by Dr. Patterson. The Board, including Bishop Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., appeared especially interested in your masterfully understated remark that "the Kingdom of God has not yet come to the South." The hope was expressed that you might give some attention to hurrying The Kingdom to other regions as well.

Our sincere best wishes for the success of the planning of the new conference, which, I hope, Dr. Patterson and I shall be able to attend next year.

Sincerely,

Wilton S. Dillon

WSD:p

Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary and
Director of Research

cc: Harold Fleming

P.S. I shall be interested to hear of any reactions your conference participants of 1957 may report to you about the booklet, "Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation." Furthermore, I shall be interested in your reactions to the chapter about churches, "Great Day A-Coming," in the new book, Neither Black Nor White, by Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely.

December 3, 1957

To The Phelps-Stokes Foundation

We have just received notification of a grant of two thousand dollars for the "Fellowship of the Concerned - Southern Women Concerned About Their South," which is a part of the program of the Southern Regional Council.

During the last days of October we had really a very successful workshop. There were women participants of three faiths and both races from the Southern states.

Personally I have the conviction that the church women of the South can and must be the shock absorbers and interpreters of the social change that is with us. The Foundation has strengthen the will and courage of the church leaders of the women's organization by making it possible for them to come together.

Please accept the thanks of all the women, for it was announced to them that the funds for their meeting came from the Phelps-Stokes Foundation.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

December 3, 1957

Mr. F. D. Patterson, Director
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Patterson:

I am beginning to think that the Phelps-Stokes Foundation is my patron saint. You may remember that last year during the Christmas holiday your letter came announcing the request had been granted. This year it came at Thanksgiving and on my wedding anniversary. It certainly gave me great cause for praise and Thanksgiving.

It is wonderful to have support and understanding from a person like you. We are writing the Phelps-Stokes Foundation.

With the best of the season's greetings to you and a heart full of thanks, I remain

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lec

December 3, 1957

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Executive Secretary
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Dillon:

It was a privilege to meet you when you were here some weeks ago and discuss the program of the "Fellowship of the Concerned - Southern Women Concerned About their South," which is a part of the program of the Southern Regional Council.

I am sure your interview with us had a great deal to do with the Foundation making a grant of two thousand dollars for 1958. The letter came at Thanksgiving and gave us in the office cause for rejoicing. Personally it was a great Thanksgiving gift and being a church woman, I felt it was certainly of God's goodness. Thank you so much.

With the best of wishes to you and a heart full of thanks, I remain

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lec

Mrs. T.
For your info
Return MF

December 3, 1957

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Wilton:

Many thanks for the two documents - both interesting indeed.

The approval by your Trustees of a renewal of aid to Mrs. Tilly's program is most heartening news. The Council's official thanks will be in order later. But, meanwhile, please add my appreciation to those Mrs. Tilly will be writing you and Dr. Patterson.

Your prospectus is a fine piece of programming. Naturally, we will want to cooperate in every way in its implementation. I'll be interested to hear how you made out in Washington.

It appears that I will be in New York on December 17 and 18. I hope we can get together then.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED NOV 28 1957

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 3-8578

25 Nov. 57

Dear Harold -

Here are two documents which may interest you. I'm going to Washington this week to try to see J. Ernest Wilkins. Anything that develops here* would certainly require your advice in the planning stage — and in the "trumpets and flourish" finale.

Wish you were here for the Stokely reception today.

Best,

Milton

* along the lines of the "Exploratory Idea" memo.

Tell Fred C. to hurry back. I'm sorry I missed him!

TRUSTEES

EMORY ROSS, *President*
I. N. PHELPS STOKES, *Vice-President*
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REV. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, *President Emeritus*

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

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FREDERICK L. ROWE, *Executive Secretary*

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November 25, 1957

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

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Your interesting report on the recent conference was read to the Trustees by Dr. Patterson. The Board, including Bishop Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., appeared especially interested in your masterfully understated remark that "the Kingdom of God has not yet come to the South." The hope was expressed that you might give some attention to hurrying The Kingdom to other regions as well.

Our sincere best wishes for the success of the planning of the new conference, which, I hope, Dr. Patterson and I shall be able to attend next year.

Sincerely,

WSD

WSD:p

Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary and
Director of Research

cc: Harold Fleming

P.S. I shall be interested to hear of any reactions your conference participants of 1957 may report to you about the booklet, "Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation." Furthermore, I shall be interested in your reactions to the chapter about churches, "Great Day A-Coming," in the new book, Neither Black Nor White, by Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely.

December 5, 1957

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Will:

It surely was good to see you however briefly in New York. I enjoyed the chat with Doctors Patterson, Brown, Lanier. But more than this I enjoyed the pleasant moments at your house and the visit with Virginia and the Sills.

Come on South whenever you get the chance. You are always more than welcome here.

Warm regards.

As ever,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

November 25, 1958

Dr. F. D. Patterson, Director
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Patterson:

I am writing you to request the Phelps-Stokes Fund's consideration of aid for the coming year for the "Fellowship of the Concerned" - the Council's work with women directed by Mrs. Tilly.

Mrs. Tilly has informed me that she has written you concerning the just-completed annual Workshop. This was, in our opinion, a remarkably successful meeting of the church women leaders of the South. And, needless to say, the grant of $2,000 from the Phelps-Stokes Fund for 1958 was largely responsible for making this possible.

During the year we have continued to be impressed with the pioneering role of the church women in the South. In fact, this is currently being illustrated here in Atlanta. This strategic Southern city, unlike Little Rock and the Virginia cities, is setting something of a record in foreseeing the difficulties ahead and in attempting to plan for them. There is a general public awakening to the fact that the fate of Atlanta's public schools is at stake, and many of the city's foremost groups and individuals are seriously working at the problem. This is due in large part to the work of the women of the city, much of it under the guidance of Mrs. Tilly and those persons who attended this year's

workshop. There is not an easy solution in sight, but it is safe to say that a group of courageous women have given valuable leadership.

Throughout the South our problems remain. The deep South remains adamant in its refusal to accept change and such border areas as Virginia and Arkansas have made the transition unduly costly. In all of these areas, however, the church women stand out. In the hopeful areas they lead; in those areas where yet even the most optimistic can see little hope, there remains the nucleus of church women who keep alive the constructive spirit.

For this, Mrs. Tilly is due much of the credit. In turn, we are most grateful to the Phelps-Stokes Fund for its long standing support of Mrs. Tilly and her work.

If further information is needed to supplement the information which Mrs. Tilly is sending you, please call on me.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

CLEARINGHOUSE FOR BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH RELATED

TO SOCIAL CHANGE AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY

RESEARCH PERSONNEL:

HOME ADDRESS:

FIELD ADDRESS:

SUBJECT:

RESEARCH FIELD:
(Sociology, Anthropology, Etc.)

SPONSORING AGENCY:

DURATION OF PROJECT:

PURPOSES OF RESEARCH:

MATERIALS AND METHODS USED:

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS UNDER STUDY:
(parent-child, leader-follower, etc.)

TENTATIVE FINDINGS OR HYPOTHESES (IF ANY):

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION AND PUBLIC POLICY:

PLANS FOR PUBLICATION:

From Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN REACTIONS TO AMERICAN RACE RELATIONS: THE PROBLEM

One of the basic problems which faces American foreign policy in the immediate future is how to win the confidence and the support of those colored nations which have just emerged and those colonial areas which are on the road to self-government. The Bandung Conference probably indicates that the new colored nations guard their independence jealously and intend to resist interference from either the free world or the Communist world. During the prospective peaceful days ahead with Russia, the competition for the allegiance of the colored peoples of the world will in all probability increase. Certainly, it is safe to predict that the Asian-African bloc in the United Nations will continue to be wooed by the Russians who will ally with it in most cases.

America's political acts, as distinguished from its economic acts, have in many cases antagonized colored nations and aroused their suspicion. Colored nations suspect that America may be a racist, imperialist nation. This is ironical in view of the fact that the United States has been traditionally anti-colonial, sponsored the Open Door Policy, freed Asia from Japanese aggression, liberated the Philippines twice, "yanked the carpet" from under imperialism in the Dutch East Indies, and used considerable pressure on the side of Egypt in the Suez and Sudanese crises.

Many factors contribute to the suspicion among colored nations that the United States is a white, racist, imperialist power of the old order:

1. The long support of the French in Indo-China and the delay in repudiating support of the Dutch in the East Indies.

2. The rigidity of our policy in the conduct of the Korean War at a time when many Asians suspected that our action was intervention in the old European imperial fashion.

3. The rigidity of our policy in regard to Chiang and Formosa, and the recognition of Red China.

4. The arming of Pakistan.

5. Our role in the governmental affairs of Iran.

6. The use of the atom bomb at Hiroshima and Nagasaki and our unfortunate experiments with the hydrogen bomb.

7. Our general negative role on the Tunisian and Moroccan questions in the United Nations.

8. The pervasive Marxist-Russian line identifying all capitalist nations as imperialist and racist. In America's case, the proof of racism offered has been the treatment of the American Negro.

9. The behavior of many of our overseas public and private representatives.

Nearly all of the factors listed above can be explained on grounds other than racism. For example, our support of the French can be explained by the need for French territory, aid, and strength in the efforts to stem the march of Russia in Europe. The arming of Pakistan was not a move designed to pit Pakistan against India, to divide and rule, but a move to develop a regional defense against Russian aggression. Each basis for the suspicion of racism can be explained. It is the treatment of the Negro in America which is the keystone of the arch of suspicion among colored nations, this in addition to their sensitivity because of immediate past experience with white imperialism and the humiliations it brought in daily living.

The Committee's study of foreign reactions to American race relations reviewed the research available on Europe, Africa, South America and Southeast Asia. In addition, intensive studies were made of publicly expressed attitudes in Russia, France, Italy, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Egypt, Panama,

Brazil and India. Except in the case of Russia, where the public line on American racism proved to be more or less official and undeviating, it is difficult to summarize the reaction to American race relations, for the culture and politics of each country are complex. Certain general statements may be made.

Southeast Asia

Southeast Asia has made a link between American racial attitudes and white colonial and imperial dominance. American race relations, support of the old colonial powers, and our policy of containment and security pacts in the East have made Southeast Asians look upon our whole policy and role in the East as the same thing as the old colonial and imperial role of the white West. Britain, incidentally, is not considered in this light. The treatment of the Negro in America is a question of high political importance in India, the Southeast Asian country of which the Committee made an intensive survey. Certain factors may explain this:

a. The strength of Communism in India.

b. The strength of Socialism in India.

c. The transference of attitudes from the British to the United States, for the British practiced racial segregation and discrimination during their rule in India.

d. Indian color problems in East and South Africa and their relation to the color problems of the Negroes of Africa. Gandhi identified the Indians' cause with that of the native in South Africa. The Gandhi cap, which Mr. Nehru wears handsomely, was the prison cap of Negro inmates in South

Africa which Ghandi adopted when jailed in that country.

e. Indian belief that the test of a democracy is its treatment of minorities, and the characteristic Indian distinction between democratic governmental machinery and social democracy.

f. The traditional interest of Indian leadership in the American Negro, reflected in the rapport between Indian and American Negro leadership which started in the thirties.

g. A deep personal involvement of the Indian with the American Negro. This has been reinforced by the several racial insults to outstanding Indians and other Asians in the United States, and the wide dissemination, by word-of-mouth, of stories of racial insults to Indians in America. It should be remembered that most Indians are very dark and that there is color preference in India.

h. The use of American racism as a counter to American criticism of Indian failings - birth-rate, starvation, disease, drudgery, backwardness, the caste system, etc.

i. The use of American racism as an indication of an ethical lack in American leadership of the free world. As a result, India can justify its own neutral position and its aspirations to leadership in Southeast Asia.

j. The basic belief of Indian leadership in the best traditions of the West.

Latin America

In Latin America stories on American racial incidents have been received in an area which remembers "dollar diplomacy" and fears "Yankee

"imperialism." In the Organization of American States, the Latin American countries have presented resolutions against European colonial powers in Latin America, resolutions which the United States has not supported.

Latin American, who have a strong infusion of Indian and Negro blood (one estimate is that 27% of Latin Americans are mestizo), are uneasy when dealing with a country where one drop of Negro blood classifies a man as a member of the Negro group. Incidents involving the treatment of Central American diplomats and their relatives in several cities in Florida and in New Orleans have been the source of great resentment in Latin America. They have lead Latin American countries to appoint only light-skinned representatives to the United States.

Although the Latin Americans have a mild color-caste system, often based on skin color alone, the treatment of the Negro carries none of the aspects of racism found in the American South. In view of the considerable support given Josephine Baker in her criticism of race relations in the United States during her 1953 tour through Latin America, it can only be concluded that the Negro is considered the acid test of American racial attitudes and intentions.

In recent years, there have been repeated public recriminations against American racism: in Brazil and Argentina in connection with Josephine Baker's 1953 tour; by Madame Remon, the wife of the late President of Panama, in her successful action at the 1954 Caracas Conference of OAS in condeming American racial discrimination in Panama; in the press of democratic Uruguay; in the press of Cuba; and until the election of Eisenhower, in the press of Argentina. Until 1953 the foreign propaganda activities of Argentina followed a line on American racism which was little different from the Soviet line.

Europe

Undoubtedly one of the basic forces in generating criticism of American race relations in Europe, Southeast Asia, the Near East, and Africa has been the Soviet line which was especially vitriolic from 1946 through 1954. During the Korean War the Russians used American racism to depict the United States as a mad-dog racist, imperialist, fascist nation of the Hitler type. Racial incidents in Georgia, Mississippi, Virginia and Florida were linked with napalm bombings in Korea, and the use of the atom bomb in Japan (later, the hydrogen bomb near Japan) to support the line that America was bent upon the extermination of "cheap" colored people everywhere.

A noticeable relaxation in the criticism of American racism was apparent in Soviet propaganda in 1955. In all probability, the Russians during the period of cold peace, which appears in the offing, will no longer claim that the United States is a fascist-racist nation in the Hitlerite sense. However, it can be expected that Soviet and Communist Party criticism of American race relations will continue for two reasons. First, the belief that racism and racial imperialism are a fundamental aspect of capitalism and capitalist countries is a basic Marxist tenet from which Russia and Communism cannot retreat. It is the line which has helped them win so much of Asia. Second, the Russian line on race in America has been taught the Russian people who often regard the American Negro as a subject of their sympathy, affection and pity - an example of their own racial persecution under the Tsars from which the revolution freed them. Since the Russian people chafe under the political restrictions applied against national and racial groups in Russia, the regime holds up to them the alternative of racial discrimination and repression in capitalist countries, especially in the United States. There is a Paul Robeson mountain in Russia and his

picture is prominently displaced in May Day celebrations. It may be that in the exchange of persons with Russia during the present "peace period," it will be possible to present a fair picture of American race relations to the Russian people.

During the period 1946-54 the Russians were extremely successful in establishing a frightful image of American race relations, an image which America will allow to remain at her peril. Basically, they tried to do four things through their propaganda on race in America:

1. Utilize the various aspects of American racial problems in order to establish the validity of the Marxist interpretation of the capitalist state and in order to prove that Communism is the only salvation for the aggrieved races and nationalities of the world. This theme is directed to Russia's own nationalities and to the colored nations of the world.

2. Identify the United States as a capitalist nation in the classic Marxist sense, which exploits on the basis of race, divides workers on the basis of race in order to prevent their organization and in order to drive down wages, and expropriate the surplus value of labor. Such a nation is not interested in improving race relations, and because of the nature of capitalism, cannot abolish racism.

3. Identify the United States as a white western power which acts and will act in its dealings with the colored people of the world in the same fashion as the old white European colonial powers. Our treatment of the Negro is an indication of how we will treat other colored people of the world once we gain dominance in their areas.

4. Describe the United States as a decadent capitalist nation, similar to the Third Reich under Hitler, believing in the superiority of the white race (Bilbo taught it to Hitler, say the Russians), employing racist terror and fascism at home, killing "cheap" colored peoples abroad with atom bombs in Japan and napalm bombs in Korea, and seeking domination abroad in order to conquer markets, seize raw materials and establish monopoly - all to maintain capitalism at home. The Russians relate American racists incidents ("Orgies of Racism" is the Russian term) to charges of imperialism, monopoly and fascism in order to establish America as an imperialist-fascist nation. This explains why every racial incident in the United States is blamed on the U. S. Government and its officuals.

The Communist party, which has considerable strength in France, Italy, India and most of the countries of the East, has followed the Russian line. The line of the left-wing Socialists has differed from the Communist line only with regard to point four noted above. They never considered us a fascist-imperialist state.

Socialists and a large group of intellectuals in Europe, Africa, and the East accept the basic Marxist formulation that race and caste differences are typical of capitalist societies. Of course, the socialists do not accept revolution as the answer to racial problems no more than they accept it as the answer to the problems of capitalism. Steady improvement in matters of race, especially if advancements permeate all of the institutions of the society and gain widespread acceptance, will satisfy socialists although it may not stop their criticism for other reasons.

Free European nations, of course, vary in their reactions to American race relations, but forty to fifty per cent of their populations strongly disapprove, and perhaps another ten to twenty per cent fail to approve. Some general characteristics may be noted:

a. American race relations violate European concepts of equality and of justice under law.

b. Since experience with Nazism and Fascism, Europeans are especially sensitive to the problems of minorities.

c. Europeans, especially the Italians, the French, and the Scandinavians, do not have racial prejudice in the American sense, and have no basis for understanding it.

d. Negro artists, musicians, and entertainers have long been widely accepted in Europe. Negro soldiers in World War II found acceptance; Europeans were shocked at the segregated army.

e. Facing the demands of old colonial areas or of the new colored nations, Europeans trying to escape the charge of race are embarrassed by the racism of the leader of the Western bloc.

f. American race relations embarrass the churches, especially the Catholic church, for their position against racial discrimination has hardened as Christianity struggles against Communism.

g. Neutralism in Europe reinforces its position by noting the racial flaw in America's claim to the leadership of the democratic world.

h. Scandinavian pride in democratic principles and belief in the "middle economic way" make Scandinavians abhor racism as a violation of their ideology. Without racial prejudice themselves, they are attracted to American Negro music, artists and entertainers. Scandinavians are well informed on American race relations.

i. There is a vast amount of ignorance about race in the United States among Europeans, but it is a subject of tremendous interest to them for several reasons. On the whole, most European journalists write in an uninformed or biased fashion on the Negro in America, even after they have been in this country.

j. Criticism of American treatment of the Negro is in part a defense mechanism of Europeans who perceive that we regard them as weak, and is in part a rationalization of those who hesitate to accept American leadership.

k. Most non-Communist publications and persons will applaud signal advances in American race relations; however, what we consider great improvement may well be accepted by Europeans as the tardy remedy of very old wrongs.

l. Extreme racial incidents, such as those which occur in the South from time to time, will be vigorously protested by Europeans who find their ethics and their principles of justice violated by such "outrages." They will protest the administration of justice and penalties which are not equal for all races everywhere in the United States.

C O P Y C O P Y

Memo :

To : Members of the Executive Committee

From : The Director

Subject : Items for Possible Consideration at November 20 Board Meeting

To assist members of the Executive Committee in anticipating possible items on the agenda for the Board Meeting, November 20, the following partial inventory of current and proposed projects and appeals is offered as background information and not for immediate action.

I

RESEARCH AND ACTIVITIES RELATED TO EDUCATION FOR INTEGRATION

1. Should the Phelps-Stokes Fund approach the Fund for the Republic to seek "guest funds" for support of research and education that would contribute to integration?

2. If so, what would be needed?

3. A proposal to the Fund for the Republic might include requests for discretionary funds to support the following types of activity:

A. An Information Bureau of Negro Potential. This would involve Phelps-Stokes Fund stimulating research and coordinating existing research results in both Negro and white universities for the purpose of finding facts of use to: (a) the proposed Civil Rights Commission, and (b) industrialists, government officials, educators, trade union officials, and civic leaders. This activity would represent a revision of a proposal sent in 1956 to the Rockefeller Foundation. A key purpose would be to make funds available to stimulate joint research by Negro and white social scientists on common problems and areas of interest, with the hope that such groundwork would lead to future cooperation between educators in white and Negro universities on other matters. (See supporting letter from S. D. Bledsoe, attached).

B. Holding of Education and Manpower Conferences in the South: The great talent search for skilled labor, and scientific and engineering contributions to the national welfare places new priorities on the discovery of Negro potential, and making these potentialities understood by: (a) industrialists, (b) agriculturalists, and (c) educators. Therefore, the Phelps-Stokes Fund could initiate a series of conferences on the general theme: "The Role of Southern Education and Manpower in the National Economy." Conferences could be held on campuses of Negro institutions. This would offer a chance for white Southerners and Northern investors to see the quality of Negro leadership vis-a-vis a national problem with international implications. Such a theme would offer the advantage of finding new

social goals which would: (a) open new channels of cooperative activity, and (b) go beyond the current pre-occupations with fears related to desegregation changes, and appeal to self-interensts of both whites and Negroes.

Resource Persons: Dr. Eli Ginsberg, National Manpower Commission; Mr. Phil Hammer, management consultant, Atlanta, Ga., Southern consultant to National Planning Association.

C. Discretionary Funds To Aid Victims of Discrimination: Such funds would help both white and Negro individuals who are being penalized for "unpopular" positions related to implementation of the Supreme Court Decision.

D. Conferences for Management Consultants: Facts about population and migration of Negro and white workers out of the South have implications for education and economic policies, i.e., training for new skills, and improved personnel and management practices. Management consultants to Northern investors in Southern industry, and Southern business leaders would be key people through whom research could be channelled to affect attitudes more favorable to desegregated work and education. Phelps-Stokes conferences to acquaint consultants with new facts about human resources (e.g., how minority groups will fare during changes toward "automation") would contribute to the general desegregation process.

E. Conference for Northern Managers Moving to Southern Communities: Concern has been expressed over the quick adaptation of Northern managerial and supervisory personnel to what they perceive to be the "Southern Way of Life," involving segregation patterns. Conferences have been suggested as one way to stimulate meetings between newcomers and responsible Southerners working for peaceful social change.

II

PUBLICATIONS PROJECT RELATED TO INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF AMERICAN RACE RELATIONS PRACTICES

The American Committee on Race and Caste, Inc., is proposing that Phelps-Stokes Fund become a co-sponsor of a manuscript prepared under editorship of Dr. John A. Davis, member of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, and Professor of Government, City College. The Little Rock incident has helped create a receptive audience to a book, already in first draft form, about "Foreign Press Reactions To American Race Relations Practices." The book would include chapters on Soviet propaganda, French, Italian and African reactions to well-publicized U.S. tensions between 1945 and 1955. Support is needed for hiring research personnel to bring data up to date in some sections, as well as other revisions to prepare the book for publication, and later distribution.

III

CLEARINGHOUSE FOR RESEARCH RELATED TO SOCIAL CHANGE AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY

As part of the Fund's wishes to continue as an authoritative center of information and consultation on race relations and Negro and Indian education, a "pilot project" to stimulate a flow of information between American and African scholars (about the social and technological changes affecting educational policies) has begun. A series of newsletters, "Research Frontiers," is being planned. The information gathered from individual researchers about work in progress would be circulated to: (a) African researchers, to give them knowledge of new developments in the applied social sciences; (b) American social scientists, to keep them abreast of new knowledge coming out of African universities and research centers; and (c) U.S. educators who teach courses in comparative education, curriculum planning, and school administration. (See attached form).

If the demand for such services increases, should appeals be made for outside funds from such possible sources as the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, or UNESCO, to take care of printing costs and a part-time research assistant?

IV

NEED FOR EMERGENCY FUNDS FOR AFRICAN STUDENTS

What is the desired division of labor between Phelps-Stokes Fund and the African-American Institute apropos emergency and scholarship assistance to African students? Should there be joint fund-raising activities?

BUDGET FOR WORK WITH

WOMEN IN THE SOUTH IN THE PRESENT CRISIS

For a two-day South-wide Conference bringing together the State leaders of the Jewish, Catholic and Protestant faiths (both races, each denomination)	4000.00
For State meetings @ $200.00 in Louisiana, Arkansas Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia and Kentucky ($300 for Texas)	2500.00
For a State worker @ $100.00 per month in each of the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina	4800.00
Travel for State worker @ $300.00 each	1200.00
Salary of Secretary	3000.00
Assistant Director	4000.00
TOTAL $	19,500.00
Amount needed for three years $	~~52~~ 58,500.00

cc:
Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund

Make folder + file
Cr. re
Rural Advancement Prog

October 6, 1964

Mr. Eliot D. Pratt
The Eliot Pratt Foundation
177 E. 71st Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Pratt:

This is to place before the Eliot Pratt Foundation a joint proposal of the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Southern Regional Council, and the state Councils on Human Relations that are affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

The sponsors of this proposal have faced an area of urgent problems, and have decided that they can contribute best to their improvement by a joint effort. We hope you will find that the proposed Rural Advancement Project merits your support.

Because of the sum involved, we are presenting this proposal to several foundations. As is explained in the proposal, the program is flexible, and depending on funds could be carried on in any number of states up to eleven. We ask, therefore, that you consider it in that light, and we shall, of course, be prepared to keep you advised of fund-raising progress. It is hoped that grants may be for a three-year period, or that, alternatively, renewals up to a third year may be considered.

The proposal is based on experience gained by the sponsors over the past two years in South Carolina. It has, therefore, been tried out, and we think has proved its effectiveness and value.

In addition to the proposal itself, several other documents are enclosed. These are:

1. A descriptive report of the South Carolina project.

2. Copies of programs of conferences held in Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, illustrating the concerns and resources which the Rural Advancement Project will draw on.

3. A memorandum on the program use made of a Southern Regional Council research study, to illustrate opportunities for cooperative use of research findings.

Both Miss Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund (112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York), and I will be pleased to discuss with you any questions you may have regarding this proposal.

We can only hope that the proposal conveys clearly some of the sense of deep need felt for this program by the sponsoring agencies. This is a very special period in American history, where a keen awareness is supplanting past indifference for the human resources -- for the people -- of the country. Nowhere is attention and intelligent help more imperative than in the rural South, where an over-supply of people (on the basis of present economic realities) will either be re-directed toward useful and dignified pursuits, or will inevitably carry their handicaps with them to already overburdened cities of the South and the North.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosures

February 25, 1965

Mr. Eliot D. Pratt
The Eliot Pratt Foundation
177 E. 71st Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Pratt:

Some time ago we placed before you a request for consideration of assistance to the "Rural Advancement Project," to be sponsored by the National Sharecroppers Fund, the state Councils on Human Relations, and the Southern Regional Council.

There has been some progress with this project. A grant has enabled us to initiate the program in South Carolina under the supervision of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. In addition, we have on hand approximately $5,000 toward the cost of the program in Georgia.

As the programs of the federal government continue to develop we see an increasing need for this kind of assistance. At best, the success of these programs will rest on a partnership between the government and the people. This partnership is not possible for those who most need it without considerable assistance. There is a great need for information, for guidance on organization, for competent observers to determine that the disadvantaged share in the planning and eventually become the recipients of the benefits of these programs. At this point few of these needs are being met. Also at this early stage, there are distressing signs that programs are not being properly developed and will not generally benefit those most in need.

The inability and determination of the poor and disadvantaged to help themselves is incredible. The publicity about the national "war on poverty" has given these people tremendous hope, which is now a stimulus, but which could become a cruel disappointment.

In the final analysis there is no way to break the cycle of poverty or to eradicate 300 years of discrimination but to take people

where they are, individual by individual and hamlet by hamlet, and help them to help themselves. We believe the Rural Advancement Project is one means toward this and that the returns will be very great for the investment. Therefore, we do appreciate your consideration of the request which you have before you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mm

BLIND COPY: Miss Fay Bennett

$2000.00
7/9/65

Filey Rural Advancement Proj

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

July 7, 1965

FP
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report
MJ - file

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GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

Eliot Pratt has given me his check for $2,000.00, which I am enclosing herewith, as his contribution towards the joint program of the Southern Regional Council, the National Sharecroppers Fund, and the State Councils on Human Relations.

It is my understanding that this latest contribution now provides enough funds for a full-time staff person to be added to the Georgia Council on Human Relations for work in the rural areas in Georgia under the supervision of the National Sharecroppers Fund and Mrs. Frances Pauley. Since Jac Wasserman has already laid some ground work in the rural areas of part of the state, and since he is available there in Atlanta to help direct the new person, we think that this is an excellent time for adding to the Georgia Council staff. The doors are opening wide on equal employment opportunities, training programs, agricultural department programs, etc.

Very soon I hope to be putting more time into this joint fund-raising program.

Sincerely,

Fay

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

fb:es
enc:
cc: Eliot D. Pratt
Mrs. Frances Pauley
Jac Wasserman

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Rural Advancement Project

REGARDING

1965 contribution of $2,000.00 from Eliot Pratt Foundation ~~and~~ transmitted through Fay Bennett of NSF dtd. July 7, 1965

DATE

July 7, 1965

SEE:
NAME OR SUBJECT

Folder marked: Rural Advancement Project

SEE ALSO:

Cross reference sheet in NSF folder

File
Foundations
Eliot Pratt
70

May 23, 1966

Mr. Eliot D. Pratt
The Eliot Pratt Foundation
177 E. 71st Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Pratt:

Enclosed is an accounting of the program to date of the Rural Advancement Project, and a report on the funds received and expended for that program. This has been made possible, in part, by the contribution of The Eliot Pratt Foundation.

We would like to respectfully request your consideration of a renewal of this grant during 1966.

If additional information is needed, we would be happy to supply it. I am sure that Miss Fay Bennett, too, would welcome an opportunity to discuss this with you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures
cc: Miss Fay Bennett

file: make folder on
cr: Ag. Advancement
Rural Prog.

October 14, 1964

Mr. Sterling W. Fisher
Executive Director
Reader's Digest Foundation
Pleasantville, New York

Dear Mr. Fisher:

This is to place before the Reader's Digest Foundation a joint proposal of the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Southern Regional Council, and the state Councils on Human Relations that are affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

The sponsors of this proposal have faced an area of urgent problems, and have decided that they can contribute best to their improvement by a joint effort. We hope you will find that the proposed Rural Advancement Project merits your support.

Because of the sum involved, we are presenting this proposal to several foundations. As is explained in the proposal, the program is flexible, and depending on funds could be carried on in any number of states up to eleven. We ask, therefore, that you consider it in that light, and we shall, of course, be prepared to keep you advised of fund-raising progress. It is hoped that grants may be for a three-year period, or that, alternatively, renewals up to a third year may be considered.

The proposal is based on experience gained by the sponsors over the past two years in South Carolina. It has, therefore, been tried out, and we think has proved its effectiveness and value.

In addition to the proposal itself, several other documents are enclosed. These are:

1. A descriptive report of the South Carolina project.

2. Copies of programs of conferences held in Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, illustrating the concerns and resources which the Rural Advancement Project will draw on.

3. A memorandum on the program use made of a Southern Regional Council research study, to illustrate opportunities for cooperative use of research findings.

Both Miss Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund (112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York), and I will be pleased to discuss with you any questions you may have regarding this proposal.

We can only hope that the proposal conveys clearly some of the sense of deep need felt for this program by the sponsoring agencies. This is a very special period in American history, where a keen awareness is supplanting past indifference for the human resources -- for the people -- of the countyr. Nowhere is attention and intelligent help more imperative than in the rural South, where an over-supply of people (on the basis of present economic realities) will either be re-directed toward useful and dignified pursuits, or will inevitably carry their handicaps with them to already overburdened cities of the South and the North.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

January 26, 1956

Mr. Jack Clareman
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation
c/o Polikoff and Clareman
11 West 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

Our Southern Regional Council has a bear-cub by the tail, and would greatly like some help in getting under control.

Problem is the never-ending stream of foreign visitors, coming South, to find out what the big race situation is.

Nearly all of them are brought in by the State Department on one or another of its programs, and many are sponsored by the Institute of Government or some similar body. Brown, pink, buff, and colors in-between. People of dignity and importance in their own communities, sincere in searching for the meaning of the changes in the South and in the U.S.A. Journalists, welfare administrators, labor officials, cultural representatives, what have you. I put in a list of those who have been at this office, for advice long or short, in the last couple of years (specifically 1954 and 1955).

In any normal situation I suppose Universities would carry the load. Unfortunately in Georgia there is no unsegregated University, and people of color get a good idea of our Negro Colleges, and a blick at our white ones. And whiter people get the reverse. And none of the Colleges is equipped to solve the riddles the guests come with.

So, by long precedent, our Southern Regional Council gets elected for the job. We have a bi-racial staff (housed in a Church building where no one but an occasional Kluxer complains). We have the books and the maps, and the closely informed people,

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

dealing with the press and our twelve new State organizations. We know the Region, and who where will help and who won't. We have friends all over, and can send people out as guests where they will be understood and shown. And, with some modesty, we are pretty good at showing a stranger in an hour or so what this whole matter is, in geography, ethnology, politics and economics. We run a magazine that keeps us up to scratch with the information. We have men on the staff and women. We don't speak Japanese, and I guess sometimes we need to be interpreted from the Confederatese, but we have a reputation for making things plain. And the reputation has gone along the grapevine, and a surprising proportion of South-seeing foreign visitors come in to see us.

We have a job to do with trying to get the South to accept unsegregated schools, and to recognize equal human dignity in a number of other field. When Mr. Suzuki comes in we stop what we are doing, and 'tend to him. And I don't say we spend much money on him out of pocket. Maybe a luncheon or a rundown to the country to show him a sharecropper and a tenant and an owner. Mainly what we give him is time. And time costs.

It is hard to guess how much time we give. But it is obviously equal to the services of pretty competent staff person, full-time or nearly so. We would think that if we had five thousand dollars to fill the hole in staff-time we would be coming out even.

Would the Christopher Reynolds Foundation consider whether we could be helped in that way? Frank Loescher thought perhaps you would find us a worthy object. We are tax-exempt, and tolerably respected. And we would be glad to send any more about us (though I start with an audit, and some issues of New South, and the list of our Company).

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encls.

Jan 1956

LIST OF FOREIGN VISITORS
1954 - 1955

N.J.J. Olivier, South Africa, social anthropologist, University of Stellenbosch, Staff member of the Governmental Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Native Areas.

Yehuda Shaari, Israel, Member of Executive Bureau of Histadrut (General Confederation of Jewish Labor).

Daniel Roth, Switzerland, Journalist.

Michael Stewart, England, Labor Member of Parliament.

John Hall, England, Conservative Member of Parliament.

Ernst S. Schäange-Schoeningen, Agricultural Secretary, German Embassy.

Theodore Lefevre, Belgium, Chamber of Deputies.

Djuka Julius, Jugoslavia, Newspaper correspondent.

Madhav Kamath, India, Newspaper editor.

Hendrik Vos, Netherlands, Vice-president, Duthh Labor Party.

Alan Paton, South Africa, Author and penologist.

Otto Leichter, Germany, Correspondent for Wiener Arbeiter-Zeitung.

International student group: representatives from Italy, Austria, Germany, Wales, France, Kenya, Sweden.

Sastrowardojo Surjono, Delegate to the United Nations, Indonesia.

Fritz Kaestner, Germany, Ministerial Director.

Mr. and Mrs. David Ginsburg, England, Labor Party, Research, Division.

B. Rajaram, India, Manager, Textile Mills.

N. Bose, India, English Supervisor, Labor Union

H.R. Kolte, India, Gen. Sec. Tex Labor Union

R.H. Patel, India, Sec. Textile Labor Union

S.K. Chatterjee, India, Assistant General Mangger, Labor Union

Akira Iwai, Japan, Dir. Planning Department, Labor Union

Yojiro Kurokawa, Japan Labor Union Executive

Jinsuke Mitsumura, Japan, Labor Union Executive

Manjiro Mukomoto, Japan, Labor Union Executive

Gensaku Sugiyama, Japan, Labor Union Executive

Michael Adams, England, Journalist (BBC)

Clyde Sanger, England, Journalist

Andrew Bonar-law, England, British Army

S. Tas, France, Journalist

Nicholas Chatelain, France, Journalist

Olaf Radkie, Germany, Attorney, Labor Union

Werner Meyer, Germany, Editor of Fraenkische Presse

Wilhelm Riepekohl, Germany, Editor Fraenkische Tagespost

R.H. Hafferkorn, Germany, Foreign Service Officer

Mrs. Hedwig Meermann, Germany, State Committee of Social Democratic Women

Jean Bertrand, France, Department of Labor

Miss Bernadette Faure, France, Association of Manufacturers

Michel Cordeviola, France, Regional Inspector, Enforcement of Social Laws in Agriculture

Remy Moreau, France, Labor Union member

Andre Lienard, France, Labor Union member

Herbert Kreter, Germany, Professor of English Studies

Felix V. Makasiar, Judge, District Court, Professor of Law and Director of the Foreign Affairs Association of the Philippines.

Mr. and Mrs. Wilhelm Kaeber, Floor Leader of the Social Democratic Party in the State Legislature of Schleswig-Holstein.

Mr. and Mrs. Gerald Clark, Canade, Montreal Star.

J.C. Ezenekwe and Mrs. A. King, Representative of the African Cultural Society, Inc.

M.T. Shukle, India, Assistant Secretary, Textile Labour Association Member, General Secretary , India National Trade Union Congress

S.S. Giri, India,

Amar Dass, India, National Federation of Indian Railwaymen.

Choi Sang Shum, Hong Kong, Managing Editor, Chinese Overseas Daily News.

P. Gurnam Singh Gill, Malaya, Chief clerk, Malayan Road Transport Co.

Douglas Jay, England, Journalist.

Sven Öste, Sweden, Newspaper man.

P.C.W. Gutkind, East Africa, Sociologist-anthroplogist (UN).

Jai Deva Prasad, India, Member of the Bihar Legislative Council.

John Kernan, Southern Rhodesia, Missionary.

Kenneth Lamb, England, Lecturer.

O.F. Raum, South Africa, Professor.

K.B. Anderson, Denmark, Principal of a Folk School

John S. Grant, Scotland, Forest Ranger.

Rolf Gutbrod, Germany, Professor of Architecture.

Stig Lundgren, Sweden, Organization Secretary, Social Democratic Labor Party.

D'Arco Silvio Avalle, Italy, Professor.

June 15, 1956

Mr. Jack Clareman
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation
c/o Polikoff and Clareman
11 West Forty-Second Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

We continue to hope for favorable action on our appeal of January 26th.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-second Street
New York 36, N. Y.

June 18, 1956.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Att: Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We have your letter of June 15th and wish to advise that the next meeting of our Board of Directors will not be held until some time in the Fall. At that time I will submit the request of your organization to the Board and will advise you promptly of their decision.

With kindest personall regards,

Sincerely yours,

THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION, INC.

By Jack Clarence
Secretary

JC:DC

RECEIVED JUN 20 1956

September 1, '56

Sept 13- taken care of

Turn up to GSM the matter of the Christopher Reynolds Fund.

August 13, 1956

Mr. Jack Clareman
Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-Second Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

I know you wrote me late in the Summer that it would be September before the Board of the Christopher Reynolds Foundation would be meeting, and could pass upon our application made originally on January 26th. And we are content.

I add a supplementary list of SRC's foreign visitors since the one sent you with our original application.

And for an item of praise to the Council I quote from a letter received today from the Governmental Affairs Institute in Washington.

> "Knowing that one of our foreign visitors will have an opportunity to visit the Southern Regional Council always gives us a great deal of confidence that he will go home with a clear understanding of American race relations."

I assure you, (as the Governmental Affairs Institute understands), that we attempt no guile, but tell the truth.

An organization such as the Council has always a crisis and a strain at the end of its fiscal year. Ours hits us September 30th (most queerly!). So we will be hopeful as September comes into its later stretches that we will have found favor in the eyes of your Board.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

FOREIGN VISITORS

January, 1956 - Present

Mr. Frank Tomney, Labor Party Representative, British Parliament

Mr. Keith Kyle, Foreign Correspondent for The Economist (London)

Miss Susan King-Hall, Journalist, England.

Miss Sarwat Qureshi, Chief Welfare Officer, Thal Development Authority, Jauharabad, Pakistan

Mr. Toshimitsu Fukada - Editor Nishinippon Shimbun, Fukuoka, Japan

Mr. Takashi Suzuki, Aichi Prefecture of Central Japan, Managing Editor of the Chubu Nippon Shimbun, Toyohashi City, Japan

Mr. Seetaka Hatanaka, President Minami-Nippon Shimbun and Radio Minaminippon.

Mr. Shiro Shimada, Chief Editor and Chief of the Reporting Department, Kumamota Nichinichi Shimbun, Kumamota City, Japan.

Dr. O. D. Wollheim, Chairman of the Liberal Party, Capetown, South Africa.

Mr. Reginald Roberts, London, England

Mr. George Thomas, House of Commons, London, England

Mr. Seth Kobla Anthony, Accra Gold Coast, Senior Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of the Interior.

Dr. Georges Housiaux, Member of the Belgian Chamber of Representatives, Huy, Belgium.

Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Goosse, Staff Representatives of the International Confederations of Free Trade Unions, Antwerp, Belgium.

Dr. Werner Imhoof, Journalist, Switzerland.

Dr. Peter Korteweg, Washington correspondent for 10 Dutch newspapers.

Mr. Drachkovitch Milorad, Bruges Belgium. Professor at College of Europe.

Mr. Keith Kyle, Foreign Correspondent, London, England.

Mr. Hans Menzel, City Editor (Salzburger, Volksblatt), Austria.

Mr. Max Brauer, former Lord Mayor of Hamburg, Germany

Mr. John Hynd, Labour Member of the British Parliament, London, England

September 19, 1956

Mr. Jack Clareman
Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-Second Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

We are as grateful as any hard-pressed body of people can ever be for the generosity of the Christopher Reynolds Foundation in making its grant of $5,000 to us.

We have had a spate of visitors from the ends of the earth these last few weeks; you may be sure we will smile upon each of them the more cheerfully for your aid.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl: SRC Official Receipt.

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-second Street
New York 36, N. Y.

September 17, 1956

RECEIVED SEP 19 1956

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Att: George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am pleased to advise that our Board of Directors has acted favorably in connection with your application made on January 26, 1956. Accordingly, I enclose Foundation check for $5,000. in payment of the said grant.

With best wishes, we remain

Sincerely yours,

THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION, INC.

By: Jack Clarman
Secretary

JC:hf
Enc.

be - Frank Loescher

also enclosed "South's Promise"

FILE COPY

March 19, 1957

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Christopher Reynolds Foundation

FROM: Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

SUBJECT: Foreign Visitor Program

In September, 1956, the Christopher Reynolds Foundation made a grant of $5,000 to the Southern Regional Council to assist the Council's foreign visitor program. This aid has enabled the Council to do a much more thorough and systematic job in a field which is of considerable importance to international opinion, and to the leadership and prestige of the United States among the nations of the world.

start here

By way of background, it may be noted that the Southern Regional Council has received an increasing flow of foreign visitors during the past several years, particularly since the Supreme Court's decision on school segregation in May of 1954. This was only natural in view of the attention, at home and abroad, focused on Southern race relations in the wake of the decision. Visitors from Asia and Africa have had a particularly acute interest in the way in which the United States is measuring up to its democratic principles at home. They as well as Europeans have wanted to visit the South, where the redefinition of the Negro's status has had the greatest impact.

1

In planning the itineraries of these visitors, the State Department, the Governmental Affairs Institute, and similar public and private agencies have looked to the Southern Regional Council as an information center and clearing house for these visitors travelling through the region. The Council has unique advantages in this respect. As a body of white and Negro Southerners working together for progress in race relations, it affords a unique example of positive interracial effort in the South.

2

The Council's professional staff is equipped to give emissaries from other lands a detailed and balanced picture of developments within the South, the historical background against which they must be seen, and future

3

FILE COPY

prospects. The Council's reference files, maps, publications, and other materials provide as much documentation as a visitor may wish -- and often that is a great deal. The fact that the Council has affiliated interracial organizations in the various Southern states makes it possible to refer visitors to informed and sympathetic persons in whatever part of the region they may wish to visit.

When the Council submitted its request to the Christopher Reynolds Foundation last year, we faced a serious dilemma. We felt very keenly the importance of giving foreign visitors a mature and balanced experience in the South. At the same time, other demands upon the Council were also increasing as the strains of racial tension and controversy grew. The problem was how to give the proper amount of time and professional attention to the servicing of foreign visitors without unduly diverting from the program activities of the organization. The $5,000 grant gave us the added resources with which to strengthen our over-all staff work, so that this objective might be better achieved.

The attached financial statement is an estimate of how the Christopher Reynolds grant will have been used during the grant year. It should be pointed out, however, that the grant's fundamental importance has been in strengthening the total organization so that this special function could be properly carried out.

Also attached is a recent report of the various program activities which the Council carries on. These, particularly the information functions, are the underpinning of the foreign visitor program. Through them, we are able to provide the information that is so eagerly sought, and also to demonstrate the constructive efforts and developments which get such regrettably small play in the international press.

In order that the diversity and range of foreign visitors may be clearly seen, we are attaching a list of those received since January 1, 1956. ~~(Visitors since the Christopher Reynolds grant was made are indicated by an asterisk.)~~ It may be noted how many of these individuals are influential leaders and opinion makers in their native countries. They include government officials, newspaper editors, labor leaders, and businessmen.

On their return home, not only the newspapermen but often those of other professions write up their observations and reactions for publication in newspapers and magazines. Thus their findings and opinions may influence the views of many thousands of their fellow countrymen. We have been gratified by the fact that many of them communicate with the Council after they leave this country. We have had from many of them requests for more information on specific aspects of Southern race relations.

FILE COPY

We hope that the several exhibits attached will convey some of the flavor of these often very satisfying experiences. When a foreign visitor leaves the Council, we almost invariably feel that we have contributed in some measure to a more sympathetic understanding of and friendship for this country. Even a slight contribution of this kind is tremendously important at this stage of world events, and we are deeply grateful to the Christopher Reynolds Foundation for making it possible.

HCF/eab
Encls.

FILE COPY

ESTIMATED ALLOCATION OF GRANT
from the
CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION

September 1956 - September 1957

FOR FOREIGN VISITOR PROGRAM

Staff Services		
Briefing by senior staff members	$1,250	
Special servicing by information staff	1,500	
Scheduling and itinerary planning	900	
Clerical	500	$4,150
Hospitality and Transportation		600
Materials		250
TOTAL		$5,000

FILE COPY

FOREIGN VISITORS SERVICED BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
January 1, 1956 to January 31, 1957

Mr. Frank Tomney, Labor Party Representative, British Parliament

Mr. Keith Kyle, Foreign Correspondent for The Economist

Miss Susan King-Hall, Journalist, England

*Dr. Maldwyn Edwards, English Methodist Church, Birmingham, England

Miss Sarwat Qureshi, Chief Welfare Officer, Thal Development Authority, Jauharabad, Pakistan

Mr. Toshimitsu Fukada, Editor Nishinippon Shimbun, Fukuoka, Japan

*Mr. Donald A. C. Maclerman, Johannesburg, South Africa - teacher

Mr. Takashi Suzuki, Aichi Prefecture of Central Japan, Managing Editor of the Chubu Nippon Shimbun, Toyohashi City, Japan

Mr. Seetaka Hatanaka, President Minami-Nippon Shimbun and Radio Minaminippon

*Mr. R. C. Davis, c/o Balliol College, Oxford, England - student

* Mr. M. M. Hove, One of six African members of the Federal Assembly of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

*Mr. Jan Olsson, Swedish newspaperman

Mr. Shiro Shimada, Chief Editor and Chief of the Reporting Department, Kumamoto Nichinichi Shimbun, Kumamoto City, Japan

Dr. O. D. Wolheim, Chairman of the Liberal Party, Capetown, South Africa

Lewis H. A. Frequin, Editor-in-Chief of the Gelderlander Press of Nijmegen, Bergon Dalsweg 466, Nijimegen

*Mr. Hans-Joachim W. Netzer, Deputy Chief, News Department, Bavarian Radio, Munich, Germany

*Lord Kinross, Newspaperman, Punch, England

John Burns Hynd, Labor member of the British Parliament, and a participant in the Foreign Leader Exchange Program of the Educational Exchange Service, U. S. Department of State. Middlesex, England

Drachkovitch Milorad, Burges-Belgium. Professor at the College of Europe.

Mr. Max Brauer, Hamburg, Germany. Former Lord Mayor of Hamburg

FILE COPY

Mr. Hans Mensel, City Editor, Salzburgee Valksblott, Salzburg, Austria

Dr. Werner Imhoff, Journalist, Switzerland

*Mr. and Mrs. Frederick J. Van Wyk, Assistant Director, S. A. Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, Union of South Africa

Dr. Peter Korteweg, Washington, D. C. -- correspondent for ten Dutch newspapers.

Mr. Charles Pannell, Labor Member of Parliament, England

Mr. Seet Leong Seng, Senior Staff Clerk, Quantas Empire Airways, Ltd., Singapore

*Dr. Gustav Adolf Canaval, Chief Editor and co-Publisher of the Salzburger Nachricten, Salzburg, Austria

Mr. Chellappah Rasadural, Clerk, Sessions Court, Seremban, N. S. Malaya

Mr. Peter H. Chew, Student, Balliol College, Oxford, England

Dr. Georges Housiaux, Socialist member of the Chamber of Representatives, Belgium

Mr. George Thomas, Member of Chairman's Panel, House of Commons, London

*Reverend John Stuart, Amersfoort, Transvaal, South Africa

Mr. Seth Kobla Anthony, senior diplomatic post with Foreign Service of the Gold Coast, Africa

Mr. Gendikas, Athens, Greece

Mrs. Ai Kumi, Lawyer, Japan

Mr. Michael A. Foster, Student, Oxford, England

*Mr. Diarmid H. Cross, Old Ballikinrain, Baltron by Glasgow, Scotland

Mr. Kenneth Adams, Student, Oxford, England

Mr. Georges Brausch, Government Official, Belgian Congo

*Mrs. Mary Saran, Secretary of International Council of Social Democratic Women and on the editorial board of Socialist Commentary.

Mr. Tom Mboya, General Secretary of the Kenya Congress of Labor

Mr. Hans Rebstein, Businessman, Lusanne, Switzerland

*Dr. Paavo K. Kastari, Professor of Constitutional Law, University of Helsinki and, until recently, Solicitor General of the Finnish Parliament.

*Mr. Roger Argentin, Montreuil S/Bois, France. National Union Secretary, F.O., Assistant Station Chief, Subway System of Paris.

FILE COPY

* Mr. Marcel Blonde, Paris XVI, Member, CGC, Chief Engineer (Electrical Service), Renault Automobile Plant in Billancourt (Seine)

* Mr. Paul M. Bour, Montbeliard (Doubs), France. Member of Council, Federation of Engineers, CFTC, Chief Assistant, Mechanical Methods Department, Peugeot Automobile Plant in Sochaux

* Mr. Rene J. DuFaud, Paris VIII, France. Member, French National Council Employees, Chief of Studies Department, Societe d'Organization Generale.

* Mr. Michael J. Lerolle, Paris VII, France. Ministry of Labor Executive.

* Mr. Andre L. Lucas, Clamart (Seine), France. Head of Section for Study of Working Conditions and Automation, Renault Automobile Company in Billancourt

* Mr. Andre M. Philbert, Paris. Administrative Officer, Ministry of Labor, Paris.

* Mr. Lucien Rouet, Asnieres (Seine), France. Member of Bureau, Federation of Metallurgy, FO, Executive of Chausson car body plant in Asnieres.

*Visitors serviced since receipt of the grant

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
November 8-13, 1956

FILE COPY

Mr. and Mrs. Fred Van Wyk
Assistant Director
South African
Institute of Race Relations

Thursday
November 8

To be met at Atlanta Terminal Station by Dean B. R. Brazeal of Morehouse College, and housed at Atlanta University

9-9:30 a.m. — Mr. Van Wyk to speak at Morehouse Chapel. Afterwards they (Mr. and Mrs. Van Wyk) may visit classes as arranged by Dean Brazeal.

12:30-2:00 p.m. — Luncheon with African students - Atlanta University dining Hall. The remainder of the afternoon and evening are unscheduled. Dean Brazeal will suggest opportunities for sight-seeing about the University and conversation with faculty members.

Friday
November 9

10:00 a.m (or as convenient)
Mr. and Mrs. Van Wyk to visit offices of SRC, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. SRC will arrange for visits to Atlanta Urban League, the Atlanta Daily World, business institutions, and so on, in consultation with them. (Mr. Robert Thompson of the Urban League will be prepared to receive them during the morning, familiarize them with his agency, and show them some of the housing in the city.)

6:15 p.m. — Dr. Guy H. Wells, Director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, will pick up Mr. and Mrs. Van Wyk at Atlanta University. Dr. Wells is to speak to a meeting of Negro ministers on race relations matters.

Saturday
November 10

10:00 a.m. — Dr. George S. Mitchell will call for Mr. and Mrs. Van Wyk at Atlanta University and move them to his home at 906 Lullwater Road. For the remainder of Saturday and Sunday, they will be in the charge of Dr. Mitchell.

FILE COPY

Monday, November 12	Dr. Mitchell will arrange conversation with local labor leadership.
	Dean Brazeal will seek to arrange interviews with President Mays of Morehouse and President Clement of Atlanta University.
Tuesday November 13	Mr. and Mrs. Van Wyk will be in the hands of the SRC staff, who will arrange such further appointments as they may wish, and who will provide transportation to the airport for them.
7:50 p.m.	Leave Atlanta Union Station.

FILE COPY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
October 20-22, 1956

Mr. Hans-Joachim Netzer
Deputy Chief, News Department
Bavarian Radio

Saturday October 20 12:43 p.m.	Mr. Netzer arrives at the Atlanta airport. GSM will meet.
1:30 p.m.	Talk with Walter and Elisa Paschall, 899 Briarcliff, N. W. Paschall is newscaster for Station WSB of Atlanta, and doubtless is an officer of that bradcasting company.
Later	Mr. Netzer should again be at George Mitchell's home, 906 Lullwater Road, N. E., for further conversation.
Sunday October 21 9:30 a.m.	Mitchell is to produce Netzer at the First Congregational Church, 105 Courtland, N. E., (Courtland and Houston Streets), in Atlanta, and surrender Mr. Netzer into custody of Mr. William Gordon. William Gordon is Editor of the Atlanta Daily World. Atlanta is unique in having a daily and a Negro newspaper. Gordon has had a distinguished honor in the form of scholarly work at Harvard University. Young fellow, in the current of things, and wise. Mr. Netzer will attend Sunday School and probably church services at the First Congregational Church with Mr. Gordon, and go to Mr. Gordon's home for Sunday dinner. Later that afternoon will be fetched out to George Mitchell's house.
Monday October 22 10:00 a.m.	Mr. Netzer is to visit the Honorable Ben W. Fortson, Secretary of State of Georgia at the Georgia State Capitol. Mr. Fortson will be glad to answer questions re Georgia and Southern -- and perhaps national -- politics for Mr. Netzer. Mr. Netzer would be welcome at any time on the Monday at the office of the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., where Mr. Fleming or George Mitchell, or others, will gladly provide Mr. Netzer with pamphlets on Southern matters, etc.

FILE COPY

Monday
October 22 (continued)

12:00 noon	Mr. Netzer is to present himself at the German Consulate, Room 1310, Fulton National Bank Building, corner Marietta and Forsyth Streets (middle of Atlanta), to have lunch with the Consul, Mr. Karl Schoenbach.
1:45 p.m	Mr. Netzer is to repair to the Henry Grady Building, which lies immediately behind the Henry Grady hotel, 210 Peachtree Street, N. W., where he is to visit with Mr. William Herring, Manager of the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra.
Evening	Mr. Netzer is to be present at a performance of the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra. Mr. Gershon will pick you up at 7:50 p.m.

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE
1726 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

DUPONT 7-8864

RECEIVED FEB 4 1957

February 1, 1957

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LUTHER GULICK
President

H. PHILIP METTGER
Vice-President and Secretary

RICHARD V. WOODRUFF
Treasurer

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FILE COPY

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

A few days ago it was our pleasure to see Mrs. Mary Saran who told me about her very fruitful and apparently quite encouraging participation in your conference at Atlanta University. While we made most of the program arrangements for Mrs. Saran, her visit to Atlanta, as you know, was arranged by her friend, Mr. Benjamin Segal.

I should like to write to you today to ask for your assistance to a visitor from Finland, Dr. Paavo K. Kastari, Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Helsinki, and until recently Solicitor General of the Finnish Parliament. Dr. Kastari's principal interest is in the theory and realities of constitutional law and particularly civil rights. He would like to come to Atlanta for a couple of days to discuss with you and your associates the situation of the American Negro, and while in Atlanta he hopes that he might also have an opportunity to visit a Negro college or university.

If agreeable to you, Dr. Kastari would arrive in Atlanta on the morning of Thursday, February 7, coming from Washington by overnight train. He would leave Atlanta for Miami on Saturday, February 9, at 10:05 p.m. on Delta Airlines Flight #749. Tentative reservations have been made for him to stay at the Atlantan Hotel. I am enclosing several copies of his biographical sketch which will give you further information on his background. You will notice that among his extensive writings is a treatise on "Constitutional Protection of Human Rights in Finland" which was published in 1950.

I would greatly appreciate it if you could let me know, if possible by collect wire, whether you or one of your associates would be able to assist Dr. Kastari. Please call me collect if there is any further information you would like to have.

Dr. Kastari is a conscientious and serious observer of the American scene and I do hope that he will have the benefit of getting acquainted with the important work of the Southern Regional Council. With kindest regards to you and Mr. Mitchell.

Yours sincerely,

Ernst Linde

Encls.

FILE COPY

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE
1726 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.
DUpont 7-6964

Biographical information on Dr. Paavo K. KASTARI, Professor of Constitutional Law, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland, and until recently Solicitor General of the Finnish Parliament, a participant in the Foreign Leader Exchange Program of the International Educational Exchange Service of the U. S. Department of State.

- -

1957

Dr. Paavo K. Kastari, Professor of Constitutional Law, University of Helsinki, and until recently Solicitor General of the Finnish Parliament.

Home Address: Vuorimiehenkatu 3A, Helsinki.

Born: November 13, 1907

Studied law at the University of Helsinki, Master of Laws, 1934; Doctor of Laws, 1940. Graduate studies in Constitutional Law, Copenhagen and Stockholm, 1946; London (as a guest of the British Council), Paris and Switzerland, 1948.

Civil Servant in the Central Government, Assistant Principal of Roads, Canals and Harbour Department, 1932-35; Assistant Principal, Government Accident Insurance Department, 1935-36; Acting Principal, Ministry of Agriculture, 1935; Secretary, Committee on Finance of the Parliament, 1936-37; Secretary of the "Big Committee" of Parliament, 1941-44; Legal Advisor (drafted legislation, especially public laws), Law Department, Ministry of Justice, 1937-45; Instructor, later Assistant Professor, of Constitutional Law, University of Helsinki, since 1943; Acting Judge, High Administrative Court, 1950.

Solicitor General of the Parliament, 1952-1956. The Solicitor General, elected by Parliament for a four-year term, reviews complaints of citizens against alleged administrative and judicial injustices and, if justified, initiates remedial action.

Presently serving as full-time Professor of Constitutional Law, University of Helsinki since 1956.

Member of the Agrarian Party since 1931; Association of Pro-Fennoism since 1927; Finnish Lawyers Association; Political Science Association and International Law Association.

Participated in the Congress of the International Law Association, Copenhagen, 1950, and in the conference of the Norwegian Nobel Institute on "Western Democracies and World Problems" in Oslo in 1955.

Author of "Dissolution of Parliament in Finnish Constitutional Law" (Thesis), 1940, 417 pages; "Constitutional Protection of Property Rights in Finland against the Nationalization", 1947, 67 pages; "The Special Position of Bank of Finland in the Government Machinery", 1955, 245 pages. Since 1935 minor studies for scientific periodicals or other publications (altogether 477 pages) for instance on interpretations of Road Law (1935-1936); on the Theory of State and Law of Hans Kelsen (1936-1937); a critical lecture on Administration of Justice in Dictatorial Countries

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON

January 28 1957

FILE COPY

Dr. George Mitchell
906 Lullwater Road, N.E.
Apartment 7
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am happy to confirm the arrangements you kindly made with Frank Hauser concerning the forthcoming meeting with eight French government, labor and management representatives with you and Mr. Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council. I understand that you wish to meet the group at 10:00 a.m. on Monday, February 11 in the lobby of the Atlanton Hotel where the group will be staying and that after a brief get-together you plan to take the group to the Council's office for a discussion of the function of this organization and of problems of integration.

As you know the group is in the United States primarily to study the impact of automation on wage earners in the automobile industry. The strong interest of this group in the problem of integration, however makes it very desirable to give them an opportunity to meet with you and Mr. Fleming. They and we are very much obliged to you for finding time to meet them. Several of the participants requested that I ask you whether you might be willing to have them meet with members of the faculties of Atlanta University and Emory University.

The group studies and travels under the auspices of the International Cooperation Administration of the Department of State. Their program is planned and administered by this office. The group is accompanied by Mr. John K. Willett, team manager who represents the Department of Labor and by two interpreters of the staff of the French embassy in Washington. I include biographical data concerning these participants. Thanking you for your kind cooperation and continuous interest in our program.

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Walker
Labor Advisor
Trade Union Programs Division

Enclosures (2)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Office of International Labor Affairs
Washington, D. C.

FILE COPY

FRENCH AUTOMATION IN THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY
PIO 38-44-084-1-60003

Roger ARGENTIN 87 Rue du Sergent Bobillot Montreuil S/Bois (Seine)	National Union Secretary, F.O.; Assistant Station Chief, Subway System of Paris.
Marcel BLONDE 83 Bld. Murat Paris XVI	Member, C.G.C.; Chief Engineer (Electrical Service), Renault Automobile Plant in Billancourt (Seine)
Paul M. BOUR 14 Rue du Stade Montbeliard (Doubs)	Member of Council, Federation of Engineers, CFTC; Chief Assistant, Mechanical Methods Department, Peugeot Automobile Plant in Sochaux
Rene J. DUFAUD 8 Rue d'Artois Paris VIII	Member, French National Council Employers; Chief of Studies Department, Societe d'Organisation Generale.
Michel J. LEROLLE 3 Rue Vaneau Paris VII	Executive, Ministry of Labor (Law degree)
Andre L. LUCAS 221 Cite de la Plaine Clamart (Seine)	Head of Section for Study of Working Conditions and Automation, Renault [redacted]
Andre M. PHILBERT 60 Avenue Victor Hugo Paris	Administrative Officer, Ministry of Labor, Paris; (BA and MA degrees in Liberal Arts)
Lucien ROUET 19 Rue du Fossede L'Aumone Asnieres (Seine)	Member of Bureau, Federation of Metallurgy, FO; Executive of Chausson car body plant in Asnieres.

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE
1726 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

DUPONT 7-6964

FILE COPY

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Chairman of the Board

LUTHER GULICK
President

H. PHILIP METTGER
Vice-President and Secretary

RICHARD L. WOODRUFF
Treasurer

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HARVEY MANSFIELD
KEITH L. SEEGMILLER
LAURISTON SHARP
HARVEY WALKER
S. B. ZISMAN

January 7, 1957

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

[redacted] Thank you for your friendly and cooperative response to my telephone call requesting assistance on behalf of Mr. Otto Gobius of the Netherlands, who is visiting the United States as a guest of the Department of State under the Foreign Leader Exchange Program.

Mr. Gobius will arrive in Atlanta over the week-end of the 12th of January. I have advised him to be at your office at 9:30 A. M. on Monday, January 14. Later that day, he will have an opportunity to visit the Coca-Cola plant.

I am sure you will enjoy meeting Mr. Gobius. His English is prfect and he is a thoroughly capable and alert person.

If you have any urgent questions, please do not hesitate to wire or telephone me collect at DUpont 7-6964.

Greetings to Mr. Mitchell! I would appreciate it if you would tell him that I wish him great success as he continues his important work.

Many thanks for your cordiality and assistance.

Sincerely,

Melvin L. Bergheim

MLB/mlb
Encls: 3 Bios.
1 Itin.

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GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE
1726 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

DUPONT 7-6864

FILE COPY

October 17, 1956

OFFICERS

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Chairman of the Board

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President

J. PHILIP METTGER
Vice President and Secretary

RICHARD V. WOODRUFF
Treasurer

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WALTER H. C. LAVES
HARVEY MANSFIELD
KEITH L. SEEGMILLER
LAURISTON SHARP
HARVEY WALKER
S. S. ZISMAN

RECEIVED OCT 18 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you so much for your letter of October 16 and for your note written later in the day containing the typewritten copy of your plans for Mr. Netzer during his visit to Atlanta.

I must say you certainly have worked up an interesting program on such short notice. Thank you ever so much for helping us out. Fortunately Mr. Netzer is a splendid person and I am delighted that he will have this unusual opportunity to be a house guest and talk with people in Atlanta.

Enclosed is the itinerary which we simply couldn't get out until today. I hope this delay has not caused you too much inconvenience.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

RLK:ncb

Robert L. Kirkpatrick

Enclosure: biographies
itinerary

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

March 20, 1957

Mr. Jack Clareman
Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation
3040 Salmon Tower Building
11 West Forty-Second Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

Here is a progress report of our work with foreign visitors assisted by the Christopher Reynolds Foundation. As you suggested, I am sending four copies. I only fear that the report plus the exhibits may seem overly bulky; however, the gist of it is in the covering memorandum, and the hardier spirits may go into the exhibits as far as they care to.

We are deeply grateful for this support, and hope that the Council may continue to merit the confidence and help of the Christopher Reynolds Foundation.

It was a great pleasure meeting you when I was in New York a few weeks ago. I hope that I will be seeing you again in the not-too-distant future.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

Nestor
So. afr. Int. Dept.
12
6
72

FOREIGN VISITORS SERVICED BY SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - 1956

Mr. Frank Tomney, Labor Party Representative, British Parliament

Mr. Keith Kyle, Foreign Correspondent for The Economist

Miss Susan King-Hall, Journalist, England

Miss Sarwat Qureshi, Chief Welfare Officer, Thal Development Authority, Jauharabad, Pakistan

Mr. Toshimitsu Fukada, Editor Nishinippon Shimbun, Fukuoka, Japan

Mr. Takashi Suzuki, Aichi Prefecture of Central Japan, Managing Editor of the Chubu Nippon Shimbun, Toyohashi City, Japan

Mr. Seetaka Hatanaka, President Minami-Nippon Shimbun and Radio Minaminippon

Mr. Shiro Shimada, Chief Editor and Chief of the Reporting Department, Kumamoto Nichinichi Shimbun, Kumamoto City, Japan

Dr. O. D. Wollheim, Chairman of the Liberal Party, Capetown, South Africa

Lewis H. A. Frequin, Editor-in-Chief of the Gelderlander Press of Nijmegen, Bergon Dalsweg 466, Nijimegen

John Burns Hynd, 18 Lakeside, Engield, Middlesex, England. Labor member of the British Parliament, and a participant in the Foreign Leader Exchange Program of the Educational Exchange Service, U.S. Department of State.

Drachkovitch Milorad, 11 Dyver, Burges - Belgium. Professor at the College of Europe.

Max Brauer, Hamburg, Germany. Former Lord Mayor of Hamburg, Germany.

Hans Menzel, City Editor - Salzburgee Valksblott, Salzburg, Austria.

Dr. Werner Imhoff, Journalist, Switzerland.

Dr. Peter Korteweg, 1801 Clydesdale Place, N. W., Washington D.C.. Correspondent for ten Dutch newspapers.

Charles Pannell, 159 Glenview, Abbey Wood, London, S.E. 2, England. Labor Member of Parliament.

Seet Leong Seng, Senior Staff Clerk, Quantas Empire Airways, Ltd., Singapore

Chellappah Rasadural, Clerk, Sessions Court, Seremban, N.S. Malaya

Peter H. Chew, Student, Balliol College, Oxford, England

Dr. Georges Housiaux, Socialist member of the Chamber of Representatives, Belgium

George Thomas, Member of Chairman's Panel, House of Commons, London

Seth Kobla Anthony, senior diplomatic post with Foreign Service of the Gold Coast

Mr. Gendikas, Athens, Greece

Mrs. Ai Kumi, Lawyer, Japan

Michael A. Foster, Student, Oxford, England

Kenneth Adams, Student, Oxford, England

Masotsha Mike Hove, Member of Parliament of Central African Federation, Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia

Georges Brausch, Government Official, Belgian Congo

Tom Mboya, General Secretary of the Kenya Congress of Labor

Hans Rebstein, Businessman, Lusanne, Switzerland

Mr. and Mrs. Leo A. Pinnock, J.P., Island Supervisor of Jamaica Social Welfare Commission, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I.

Mr. Norman McKenzie, Assistant Editor, New Statesman & Nation, London, England

Rev. Maldwyn Edwards, Birmingham, England

Jan Olsson, Swedish newspaperman

Mr. Hans-Joachim W. Netzer, Deputy Chief, News Department, Bavarian Radio, Munich, Germany

Lord Kinross, Newspaperman, Punch, England

Mr. & Mrs. Frederick J. Van Wyk, Assistant Director, S.A. Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, Union of South Africa

Dr. Gustav Adolf Canaval, Chief Editor and co-Publisher of the Salzburger Nachricten, Salzburg, Austria

Rev. John Stuart, South Africa

Diarmid H. Cross, Old Ballikinrain, Baltron by Glasgow, Scotland

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE
1726 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

DUPONT 7-8864

RECEIVED FEB 4 1957

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Chairman of the Board
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President
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Vice-President and Secretary
RICHARD V. WOODRUFF
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WALTER H. C. LAVES
HARVEY MANSFIELD
KEITH L. SEEGMILLER
LAURISTON SHARP
HARVEY WALKER
S. P. ZISMAN

February 1, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

A few days ago it was our pleasure to see Mrs. Mary Saran who told me about her very fruitful and apparently quite encouraging participation in your conference at Atlanta University. While we made most of the program arrangements for Mrs. Saran, her visit to Atlanta, as you know, was arranged by her friend, Mr. Benjamin Segal.

I should like to write to you today to ask for your assistance to a visitor from Finland, Dr. Paavo K. Kastari, Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Helsinki, and until recently Solicitor General of the Finnish Parliament. Dr. Kastari's principal interest is in the theory and realities of constitutional law and particularly civil rights. He would like to come to Atlanta for a couple of days to discuss with you and your associates the situation of the American Negro, and while in Atlanta he hopes that he might also have an opportunity to visit a Negro college or university.

If agreeable to you, Dr. Kastari would arrive in Atlanta on the morning of Thursday, February 7, coming from Washington by overnight train. He would leave Atlanta for Miami on Saturday, February 9, at 10:05 p.m. on Delta Airlines Flight #749. Tentative reservations have been made for him to stay at the Atlantan Hotel. I am enclosing several copies of his biographical sketch which will give you further information on his background. You will notice that among his extensive writings is a treatise on "Constitutional Protection of Human Rights in Finland" which was published in 1950.

I would greatly appreciate it if you could let me know, if possible by collect wire, whether you or one of your associates would be able to assist Dr. Kastari. Please call me collect if there is any further information you would like to have.

Dr. Kastari is a conscientious and serious observer of the American scene and I do hope that he will have the benefit of getting acquainted with the important work of the Southern Regional Council. With kindest regards to you and Mr. Mitchell.

Yours sincerely,

Ernst Linde

Encls.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON

January 28 1957

Dr. George Mitchell
906 Lullwater Road, N.E.
Apartment 7
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am happy to confirm the arrangements you kindly made with Frank Hauser concerning the forthcoming meeting with eight French government, labor and management representatives with you and Mr. Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council. I understand that you wish to meet the group at 10:00 a.m. on Monday, February 11 in the lobby of the Atlanton Hotel where the group will be staying and that after a brief get-together you plan to take the group to the Council's office for a discussion of the function of this organization and of problems of integration.

As you know the group is in the United States primarily to study the impact of automation on wage earners in the automobile industry. The strong interest of this group in the problem of integration, however makes it very desirable to give them an opportunity to meet with you and Mr. Fleming. They and we are very much obliged to you for finding time to meet them. Several of the participants requested that I ask you whether you might be willing to have them meet with members of the faculties of Atlanta University and Emory University.

The group studies and travels under the auspices of the International Cooperation Administration of the Department of State. Their program is planned and administered by this office. The group is accompanied by Mr. John K. Willett, team manager who represents the Department of Labor and by two interpreters of the staff of the French embassy in Washington. I include biographical data concerning these participants. Thanking you for your kind cooperation and continuous interest in our program.

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Walker
Labor Advisor
Trade Union Programs Division

Enclosures (2)

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Office of International Labor Affairs
Washington, D. C.

FRENCH AUTOMATION IN THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY
PIO 38-44-084-1-60003

Roger ARGENTIN 87 Rue du Sergent Bobillot Montreuil S/Bois (Seine)	National Union Secretary, F.O.; Assistant Station Chief, Subway System of Paris.
Marcel BLONDE 83 Bld. Murat Paris XVI	Member, C.G.C.; Chief Engineer (Electrical Service), Renault Automobile Plant in Billancourt (Seine)
Paul M. BOUR 14 Rue du Stade Montbeliard (Doubs)	Member of Council, Federation of Engineers, CFTC; Chief Assistant, Mechanical Methods Department, Peugeot Automobile Plant in Sochaux
Rene J. DUFAUD 8 Rue d'Artois Paris VIII	Member, French National Council Employers; Chief of Studies Department, Societe d'Organization Generale.
Michel J. LEROLLE 3 Rue Vaneau Paris VII	Executive, Ministry of Labor (Law degree)
Andre L. LUCAS 221 Cite de la Plaine Clamart (Seine)	Head of Section for Study of Working Conditions and Automation, Renault Automobile Company in Billancourt
Andre M. PHILBERT 60 Avenue Victor Hugo Paris	Administrative Officer, Ministry of Labor, Paris; (BA and MA degrees in Liberal Arts)
Lucien ROUET 19 Rue du Fossede L'Aumone Asnieres (Seine)	Member of Bureau, Federation of Metallurgy, FO; Executive of Chausson car body plant in Asnieres.

April 25, 1957

Mr. Jack Clareman
Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-Second Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

In Mr. Fleming's absence, we are enclosing the material you requested in your letter of April 24th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/eab
Encls:
3 - 1957 Budgets
3 - Descriptive List of Staff Members
3 - Organizational Charts

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-second Street
New York 36, N. Y.

April 24th, 1957

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am in receipt of your letter of April 22nd, in which you request a renewal of the grant made last year by our Foundation.

I will be glad to submit your request to our Board of Directors but would suggest that you send us immediately three additional copies of the data submitted with your letter. This includes your organization chart, descriptive list of staff members and budget for 1957.

Sincerely yours,

THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION, INC.

By Jack Clareman
Secretary

JC:rs

cc: Frank Loescher

April 22, 1957

Mr. Jack Clareman
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-Second Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

The Southern Regional Council earnestly hopes that the Christopher Reynolds Foundation will renew its aid to the work of the Council in this current year. Last year's grant of $5,000, in consideration of the Council's services to foreign visitors, greatly strengthened our program. This is to request a grant in the same amount and for the same purpose for 1957.

Our recent report to the Foundation set forth in some detail the activities which the 1956 grant has made possible. I hope that you and the other directors feel as we do that this return on the Foundation's investment warrants your continued confidence and support.

In recent months the Council has done a great deal of stock-taking of the situation in the South and the most effective role of an organization of this kind in so troubled a period. It has been sobering to realize how heavy a responsibility rests on the Council, as the one South-wide resource of its kind for those individuals and groups favoring orderly adjustment to the Supreme Court's school segregation decisions and positive efforts generally in the field of race relations. We have concluded that, to discharge this responsibility, the Council must expand both its activities and its base of financial support. To date, progress in both respects is encouraging, but we must rely heavily on continuing assistance from those who have found the Council's work worthy of support in the past.

Not the least important among the Council's on-going and expanded activities is the foreign visitor program. As in other activities, the Council must necessarily play a leading part in interpreting the South's problems and progress to visitors from other lands. Through this program, we feel that the Council is not only able to make some contribution to the international position of the United States, but also that it is able to introduce Southern leadership to the healthy influence of world opinion as represented by the foreign visitors.

Since we have only recently reported fully to the Foundation, I will not unnecessarily prolong this letter by a discussion of the work assisted by the 1956 grant. Needless to say, I will be happy to supply any further information or analysis that will assist the Foundation in considering this request.

We are deeply grateful to the Christopher Reynolds Foundation for having enabled the Council to do a vital job effectively, and we greatly hope that it will renew its support.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Encls:
Organization Chart
Descriptive List of Staff Members

June 14, 1957

Mr. Jack Clareman
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
11 West 42nd Street
New York 36, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Clareman:

This is to acknowledge, with warm thanks, your letter of June 11 advising us of favorable action on our request for a renewal of the Christopher Reynolds Foundation's 1956 grant. The Southern Regional Council is deeply grateful to the Foundation for this generous and vital assistance.

It was thoughtful of you to advise us that the Board of Directors is less interested in the foreign visitors' program than in other phases of our work. We shall be guided accordingly in requesting further assistance, and our future reports to the Foundation will deal with the broader aspects of the Council's program.

I hope that it will be convenient for the grant to be paid about the first of July.

With appreciation and every good wish, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/hs

RECEIVED JUN 13 1957

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-second Street
New York 36, N. Y.

June 11, 1957

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Att. Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am pleased to advise that our Board of Directors has acted favorably in connection with your request of April 22, 1957, that the grant made in 1956 be renewed. However, I would be less than frank if I did not state that while our Board feels there is merit in your foreign visitors' program, it is considerably more interested in the other phases of your activities. Consequently, since our Board is not strongly committed to supporting the foreign visitors' phase of your activities, I would suggest that if you propose to make a request for a grant in the future, the same be for purposes other than the foreign visitors' program.

I think you would like to know, however, that our Board was tremendously impressed with the overall activities conducted by your organization. Please let us know when you would like to have a check in payment of the above grant.

With all good wishes, we remain

Sincerely yours,

THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION, INC.

By Jack Clareman
Jack Clareman - Secretary

JC:ES

June 25, 1957

Mr. Jack Clareman, Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-Second Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

We gratefully acknowledge the Foundation check for $5,000.00 representing the 1957 grant in support of the work of the Southern Regional Council. Our official receipt is enclosed.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 official receipt

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-second Street
New York 36, N. Y.

RECEIVED JUN 24 1957

June 20, 1957

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Att. Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am pleased to enclose herewith Foundation check in the amount of $5,000 to the order of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., in payment of the grant outlined in my letter of June 11, 1957.

With best wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION, INC.

By Jack Clareman
Jack Clareman - Secretary

JC:ES
Enc.

December 26, 1957

Mr. Jack Clareman
Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation
3040 Salmon Tower Building
11 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

In submitting this request for renewed support to our work in 1958 by the Christopher Reynolds Foundation, we are mindful of your letter of June 11. At that time you advised us that the Board of the Foundation was less interested in our foreign visitors program than in other activities of the Council.

Rather than single out one function, I am following your further suggestion that we submit a brief description of each of our main activities. If the members of your board would like more information about any one of these, I shall be glad to supply it promptly.

Our annual report of staff activities during 1957 should be ready shortly after the first of the year, at which time I will see that you receive four copies. Meanwhile, I hope that the semi-annual report forwarded last July, together with the enclosures, will adequately support this proposal.

The assistance of the Christopher Reynolds Foundation during the last two years has given us invaluable strength

at a time of unprecedented challenge in the South. We are deeply grateful and hope that the Council's performance will merit continued support.

With all good wishes for the coming year,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosures: 4 copies each - Proposal
1958 Budget
Current List of Board Members

A REQUEST
TO THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION FOR RENEWAL OF AID
TO THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

December 26, 1957

Although the grants of the last two years from the Christopher Reynolds Foundation have been based on our work with foreign visitors, they have in fact strengthened our entire program. For 1958, we are requesting a further grant of $5,000 in support of one of our other program activities which the Foundation may consider more important.

A descriptive list of our main activities appears at the end of this proposal. However, at the risk of writing at too great length, we should like to summarize our view of the situation in the South, so that the validity of the Council's efforts may be better judged.

Since the Supreme Court rendered its school desegregation decision in May 1954, two conflicting trends have been underway. First is progressive desegregation of public schools and other facilities beginning in the border states and the District of Columbia and, within recent months, reaching into cities of the mid-South. The second trend has been one of increasingly intense resistance to any change in the racial pattern, beginning in the rural heart of the Deep South, then spreading into other areas of the Deep South and into adjoining mid-South states.

Heartening progress toward integration has been made in the five Border States and the District of Columbia; and also in the mid-South -- Kentucky, western Texas, and a few scattered spots in Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee. These areas have provided more than enough evidence that desegregation of schools and other facilities can and does work well, given the necessary preparation and leadership.

Unfortunately, in the rest of the South there has been a resolidifying of old attitudes, largely engineered by the political leadership. Defiance is manifested not only in official actions and utterances directed at the Supreme Court and its decisions, but also in punitive measures against individuals and groups who favor a positive or even a more realistic course of action.

Yet it is important to recognize that, beneath an artifically imposed orthodoxy, there is great diversity of conditions from one state to another, from area to area within a given state, and from one white Southerner to another in a given area. Far from being the region of static, unyielding values pictured by the segregationist leadership, the South is undergoing kaleidoscopic changes in its economy, its population, and its way of life. The rapid spread of new industries, the explosive growth of the cities, the mechanization of agriculture, the influx of people and ideas from other sections of the country, and a host of other economic and cultural changes - all these are remaking the face of the South with breathtaking speed.

Not the least of the changes is the emergence of a new self-image among Southern Negroes, more and more of whom are content with nothing less than full equality under law. A disproportionate amount of fear and tension accompanying this rapid transition in Southern society is finding expression in emotional resistance to racial change. Yet the historic forces - moral, economic, political, and international - which are creating new tensions are also pressing the South, inevitably if unwillingly, towards desegregation. The South is avidly seeking to do two things - to transform itself into a modern industrial society and to maintain an unyielding pattern of racial segregation. The two objectives are clearly incompatible, and in the end clearly it is segregation that must yield. The question is: What price must be paid in human suffering, social disorganization, and economic damage before the inevitable is accepted?

The unhappy events in Little Rock have dramatized this question for the South, the nation, and the world. The issues in Little Rock have not yet been resolved, and it is impossible to say with certainty what the net effect of that crisis will be. But there are at least tentative indications that the Little Rock experience has positive as well as negative implications for the immediate future of the South. It demonstrated for the first time that the Federal Government does not intend to let the orders of the courts be flouted with impunity.

Thus the waning belief that desegregation was "inevitable" has been revived and strengthened among reasonable Southerners. Little Rock also demonstrated the extent to which a previously placid and law-abiding community can be disrupted by mob action when official leadership espouses defiance of law. There is some evidence that inert "moderates" elsewhere in the South have been shocked into awareness that their silence and inaction can have devastating results. The most tangible evidence of this so far is the adoption of positive statements on desegregation by clergymen in Atlanta, Macon, and Columbus, Georgia; Houston, Texas; and other Southern cities. Though less concrete, there are also indications that businessmen, educators, and law enforcement authorities feel some of the same concern.

This situation imposes a tremendous responsibility on the Southern Regional Council. As the only wholly Southern interracial group with long experience, professional skills, and reputation in the field of race relations, it has had to operate on a broader and more effective scale than ever before, recognizing that it is dealing with causes and effects that are nationwide in scope. The Council's task has included but gone far beyond the stimulation of purely local action. We have felt it essential to assume more leadership in educating and rallying those regional - and sometimes national - forces whose action or inaction at this time is critical.

Following are summary descriptions of the principal activities through which the Council seeks to accomplish these ends:

1. State Human Relations Councils. -- The Southern Regional Council has devoted a large part of its resources in the past three years to the creation of staffed interracial organizations in ten of the Southern states. Working against great odds, these state groups have provided instruments through which white and Negro Southerners can express their common belief in a democratic society and work for its achievement at the local and state levels. In much of the South these organizations provide almost the only remaining avenues of sound communication between the races. The Council continues to give both program assistance and financial aid to the state councils.

2. Interagency Cooperation. -- The Council has already, of necessity, assumed a greatly increased responsibility for coordination and clearinghouse work with other agencies. This has been in response to the expressed wishes and requests of a number of organizations, including the social action departments of the major religious denominations active in the South, the several Jewish agencies concerned with human relations, the trade unions, and such groups as the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP, the YMCA, and the YWCA. The Council has four times served as convener of thirty of these agencies for the sharing of ideas and joint program planning. At their request, the Council has also coordinated their concerted field efforts.

The Council has played a central part in the newly formed national Consultative Conference on Desegregation. Through this association and other channels, we have greatly increased communication and cooperation between enlightened Southerners and national forces concerned with desegregation.

3. Federal Agencies. -- The Council is called upon by various departments of the Federal Government for interpretation of Southern problems and for specially assembled information, made possible through our fact-finding program. For example, the Department of Justice requested and was given the complete raw findings of the Council's special survey on the status of Negro suffrage in the South.

4. Working through Press, TV, and Radio. -- Factual and interpretive material from the Southern Regional Council finds its way into national news media in ever-growing quantity. Through personal interviews, releases, and publications, the Council has become the recognized information center for news representatives who are interpreting the story of the South to millions of Americans. This provides an unmatched opportunity to offset racist propaganda and promote constructive thinking and planning by leadership, North and South. (For example, the SRC-assisted article in the Wall Street Journal of December 17, 1957, entitled "Segregation Costs: Dixie Firms Find Them More of a Burden as Racial Tension Grows.") It is no exaggeration to say that the Council now serves in this way virtually all of the major national publications as well as many Southern ones, and a growing list of radio and television programs. This function is costly in terms of staff time, fact-finding, and the maintenance of extensive reference files. But we believe its impact may be much greater than more appealing "action" programs.

5. The Consultant Service Program. -- Established as a service to the Council's state affiliates, this program has greatly broadened its scope and usefulness. Within the limit of resources, we are undertaking to make special consultants available to public or private leadership in Southern communities with outstanding problems or opportunities. Within recent months, for example, upon official invitation, the Council has made available the consultative services of a Kentucky county school superintendent, who successfully carried out desegregation, to a local school board in North Carolina beginning quietly to plan for such a change.

6. Victims of Pressure and Reprisal. -- The Council has been heavily concerned with the difficulties of individuals and groups that have undergone abuse, ostracism, and sometimes violence in the segregation controversy. We have helped victims of economic reprisal to secure financial help through such programs as the "Rights of Conscience" project of the American Friends Service Committee. We have helped ministers and teachers, discharged for their dissenting views, to find new positions. We have worked with the interracial community at Koinonia Farm in its efforts to get support and legal counsel that would enable it to continue in Americus, Georgia. Beleaguered newspaper editors have also turned to the Council for advice and aid. We are deeply concerned about the impact of hostility and violence on the children, white and Negro, in the forefront of desegregation. Through the investigations of Dr. Kenneth Clark, we are seeking to improve our understanding of the adverse effects of these experiences, and ways in which they can be minimized.

7. Work with Labor. -- Under a special arrangement, the Council has recently acquired the services of a well-qualified staff member bearing the title of Labor Consultant. This staff member's function is to serve as a resource and liaison person with the unions in the South, which hold great promise as an important influence for progress in race relations. Although this position was initially established on a temporary basis, it has already yielded such fruitful results that it has been continued as part of the regular staff structure.

8. Other Functions -- All of the important activities that the Council has regularly carried on are being expanded and intensified to the limit of resources as the demands on the Council mount. In this category are the work with church women and other women's groups, the Council's monthly publication New South, the servicing of a stream of information requests, the distribution of program materials, and the briefing of foreign visitors travelling in the South under the auspices of the State Department and other public and private sponsors.

We shall be glad to supply any further information that will assist the Foundation in considering this proposal for renewed support.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

PROPOSED BUDGET - January 1 - December 31, 1958

I. Expenses:

Central Office - Program and Administration

Salaries	$77,518.00	
Social Security Taxes	1,450.00	
Travel	9,500.00	
Printing & Postage, NEW SOUTH	8,150.00	
Printing, Other	1,500.00	
Rent	2,680.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	3,800.00	
Postage	1,800.00	
Books, Subscriptions & Films	750.00	
Accounting & Legal Fees	600.00	
Insurance	300.00	
Office Supplies & Equipment	4,800.00	
Annual Mtg. & Exec. Comm. Mtgs.	3,300.00	
Miscellaneous	2,200.00	
		$118,348.00

Consultant Service Program

Total Cost of Program	20,000.00	
Apprentice Training Project	3,750.00	
		23,750.00

Fellowship of the Concerned

Travel, State Mtgs. & Material Distribution	5,500.00	
Salaries & Travel Expenses (One Churchwoman in each of five states)	5,000.00	
		10,500.00

Financial Aid to State Organizations

(Independent State Councils of Human Relations)	40,000.00	
		40,000.00

Fact-Finding Program

Consultant Fees, Research & Publication of Findings	15,000.00	
		15,000.00

TOTAL: $207,598.00

II. Income - Expectable:

Foundations

Fund for the Republic (On Hand)	$76,800.00	
Community Workshop Association	100.00	
N. Y. Fund for Children (Committed)	7,500.00	
New World Foundation	20,000.00	
New World Foundation (Apprentice Training Program)	3,750.00	
Phelps-Stokes Fund	2,000.00	
Christopher Reynolds Foundation	5,000.00	
Sigmund Silberman Foundation	400.00	
Edgar B. Stern Family Fund	300.00	
John Hay Whitney Foundation	2,000.00	
William C. Whitney Foundation	5,000.00	
		$122,850.00

Organizations

AFL-CIO	3,000.00	
International Ladies' Garment Workers	500.00	
United Auto Workers	1,000.00	
United Steelworkers	1,000.00	
		5,500.00

Churches

National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church	1,000.00	
General Board of Education The Methodist Church	300.00	
Div. of Nat'l. Missions of the Board of Missions - The Methodist Church	1,000.00	
WSCS - The Methodist Church	1,200.00	
Board of Church Extension, Presbyterian Church in U.S.	250.00	
Board of Nat'l. Missions, Presbyterian Church in U.S.A.	250.00	
		4,000.00

Estimated Individual Contributions	2,000.00	
		2,000.00

Estimated Office Related Income

(New South Subscriptions, sale of literature, honoraria, etc.)	8,500.00	
		8,500.00
	TOTAL:	$142,850.00

III. BALANCE TO BE RAISED - 1958 $64,748.00

February 6, 1958

Mr. Jack Clareman, Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-second Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

We are warmly grateful for your letter of February 3. The continuing support and confidence of The Christopher Reynolds Foundation gives us more encouragement than I can say.

I will see that you receive periodic reports of the work of the Council during 1958, in sufficient number of copies to share them with the other board members if you wish.

We will be happy to have the grant remitted to the Council as soon as you find it convenient.

I was impressed by what you told me of the Fund's interest in other activities designed to advance good human relations. Ifsat any time we can furnish you with information and advice that would be helpful to the Fund in this connection, please do not hesitate to call on me.

With appreciation and kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Return to Ref

Rec'd 2/5/58

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-second Street
New York 36, N. Y.

February 3, 1958

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am pleased to advise that our Board of Directors has acted favorably upon your letter of December 26, 1957, wherein you request a grant for the year 1958. Our Board was very much impressed with the scope of your activities, as outlined in the statement attached to your aforementioned letter, and has agreed to contribute the sum of $5000.00 to help you carry out your objectives.

We would appreciate your advising when you would like to have us remit the grant to you.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION, INC.

By Jack Clarence
Secretary

JC:sm

February 28, 1958

Mr. Jack Clareman, Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-second Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Clarence:

Mr. Fleming was away from the office when your letter came transmitting the $5,000.00 contribution from the Foundation toward the work of the Council.

Again our thanks to you and the Christopher Reynolds Foundation for this generous gift. An official receipt is enclosed for your files.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

rha
Enclosure

Rcd
2/13/58
mf

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-second Street
New York 36, N. Y.

February 10, 1958

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are pleased to enclose Foundation check to the order of Southern Regional Council, Inc., for $5000.00, in payment of our grant for the year 1958.

CR
RHA
2/13/58

With best wishes, we remain

Sincerely yours,

THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION, INC.

By Jack Clarema
Secretary

JC:sm
encl.

VIA AIR MAIL

March 4, 1958

Mr. Jack Clareman
Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-second Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

We are happy to send the additional copies of the Council's Annual Report which you requested.

I have given instructions here that you should receive four copies of all similar reports issued by the Council in the future.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-second Street
New York 36, N. Y.

February 28, 1958

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We were pleased to receive your "Annual Report of Program Activities for 1957". May we have three additional copies, as I think it would be a good idea to furnish some of our directors with a copy of the Report.

Thanking you, we remain

Sincerely yours,

THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION, INC.

By Jack Claremon
Secretary

Sent 3/4/58 mf

VIA AIR MAIL

December 29, 1958

Mr. Jack Clareman
Secretary
Christopher Reynolds Foundation
3040 Salmon Tower Building
11 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

The midst of the holidays is a poor time to be writing, but I don't want to be unduly late in inquiring about the possibility of renewed assistance from the Christopher Reynolds Foundation in 1959.

I expect to be in New York on January 6 and 7 and would be grateful for an opportunity to talk with you. Will it be possible for you to see me then? If by any chance it isn't, I shall appreciate any guidance you may feel it possible to give concerning the nature and timing of our request for further aid.

With kindest regards and best wishes for the new year,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-second Street
New York 36, N. Y.

December 31, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have your letter of December 29th and wish to advise that I will be out of the office on January 7th. If you can make it on January 6th I will be available on that day.

With best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely yours,

THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION, INC.

By Jack Clarema
Secretary

JC:sm

VIA AIR MAIL

February 16, 1959

Mr. Jack Clareman
Secretary
Christopher Reynolds Foundation
3040 Salmon Tower Building
11 West 42nd Street
New York 26, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

Enclosed are four copies of our request for the renewed support of the Christopher Reynolds Foundation in 1959.

A bout of 'flu and a series of organizational emergencies have combined to delay me in submitting the application. I sincerely hope it is not so late as to complicate your consideration of it.

An audited financial statement for 1958 will follow in a few days.

If the request is unsatisfactory in any way, please let me know quite frankly and I will amend it accordingly.

I enjoyed the conversation with you and Mr. Polikoff in January. My kindest personal regards to you both.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 8
4 copies of Request
4 copies of 1958 Annual Report of Activities

A REQUEST
TO THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION
FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

February 16, 1959

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation's assistance in recent years has had special importance for the Southern Regional Council, for two reasons. First, it has come during a period of serious crisis in Southern race relations -- and therefore of unprecedented demands on an organization like the Council. Secondly, the Foundation has by choice assisted the basic, ongoing program of the Council rather than restricting its support to some limited function. For this generosity, timeliness, and understanding we are lastingly grateful.

This request for a further grant of $5,000 in 1959 is based on the hope that the Foundation will again contribute to the central needs of the Council.

It is a peculiarity of most philanthropies that they prefer to designate their gifts for narrow purposes. Thus many organizations are led to contrive one "project" after another, to the detriment of the flexibility and overall effectiveness of their programs. The Council has been largely able to avoid this kind of distortion of effort. For this we are indebted to the Christopher Reynolds Foundation and a relatively few other contributors who have been willing to invest in the basic operation.

Needless to say, we value this general support because of the budgetary need it meets. But, more than

that, we know from experience that it makes possible the most productive activity of the organization. Dollar for dollar, investment in central program activities yields far greater returns in effectiveness than support of any other kind.

In advancing this point, we do not mean to lose sight of the donors' interest in the specific program efforts which they are assisting. Our 1958 Annual Report, enclosed, gives a summary account of the Council's activities during the past year. In addition, however, we should like to stress three concrete programs which will loom large in the year ahead, and which an unrestricted grant from the Christopher Reynolds Foundation will help make possible.

(1) Work with citizens' efforts to preserve public education.

As the enclosed report points out, the school issue has been reduced to a choice between desegregation and total abandonment of public education. In the Deep South, the immediate outcome can by no means be taken for granted. Present official leadership is quite capable of closing the schools if public opinion will tolerate it. Fortunately, in those areas where the issue is nearing decision, there is a growing awareness that the closing of schools is both a real and an unbearable prospect. As a result

spontaneous citizen movements have sprung up — not only in Arkansas and Virginia, but in such cities as Atlanta and Miami.

These groups are encouraging as expressions of new public sentiment favorable to compliance with desegregation rulings. But they are also uncertain, inexperienced, without staff, funds, and other resources. The Council is in a position to offer quiet guidance and assistance to these important new movements. We are currently cooperating with them in arrangements for staff help, printed materials, consultative services, speakers, and television programs. Although demanding on staff time and energy, these opportunities to help rally favorable public opinion compel our best efforts.

(2) Work with the Press. The Council has long since become the chief Southern center of information and analysis of race relations developments for representatives of major newspapers, wire services, magazines, radio and television programs. In many cases, our relationship with these reporters and interpreters of the news is a continuing and collaborative one. Here is an opportunity, based on friendship and confidence, to increase public understanding of integration problems and paths to solution. The only limit on this function is the amount of staff time and initiative the Council is able to devote to it.

(3) Work with other organizations. The Council, by request, serves as secretariat, convener, and clearinghouse for more than 30 organizations concerned with race relations in the South. Included are the major Protestant denominations -- Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian - Jewish and Catholic organizations, the NAACP, Urban League, NCCJ, American Friends Service Committee, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, YMCA, YWCA, and others. Representatives of these agencies meet quarterly on call of the Council to share information and program plans. Results of this interagency coordination have been concerted field work, fact-finding, aid to victims of extremist pressure and reprisal, publication and distribution of materials. In a day when the forces opposed to integration are powerful and united in the South, coordination of positive efforts is imperative. The Council considers itself fortunate that it can provide common ground for such cooperation.

There are, of course, many other central program activities of the Council that are supported by general funds. But we feel that the three described above are especially noteworthy. We greatly hope the Christopher Reynolds Foundation will feel that one or all of them will justify its continued support of the Council in 1959.

VIA AIR MAIL

March 2, 1959

Mr. Jack Clareman
Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
11 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

Thank you for your kind letter of February 24.

It is very thoughtful of you to offer to seek an early answer to our request, but it won't inconvenience us to await the Board's formal action at a Spring meeting.

I will look forward to word from you then. Meanwhile, my appreciation and best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-second Street
New York 36, N. Y.

February 24, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have your request for a grant for the year 1959, together with supporting data. Pending a meeting of theBoard, I have circulated this material among the members of our Board. It is probable that a meeting will not be held until some time in the spring, at which time formal action will be taken upon your request. I trust this delay will not be too great an inconvenience. If it is, please let me know and perhaps I can get an answer somewhat sooner.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION, INC.

By Jas L Claverna
Secretary

JC:sm

Reply-over

AIR MAIL

Dear Mr. Clarenan:

Thank you for your ~~very~~ kind letter of February 24.

It is very thoughtful of you to offer to seek an early answer to our request, but it won't inconvenience us to await the Board's formal action at a Spring meeting.

I will look forward to word from you then. Meanwhile, my appreciation and best regards.

Sincerely,

HCF

VIA AIR MAIL

May 19, 1959

Mr. Jack Clareman, Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
11 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

Thank you for your letter advising us of the renewed support of the Christopher Reynolds Foundation in the amount of $2,000. Naturally, we wish that the Board of Directors had found it possible to continue its support at the previous level of $5,000. But we recognize that there are other worthwhile efforts whose needs must be considered along with ours.

Please accept and convey to the other Directors our deep appreciation for this evidence of continued confidence in the Council.

We shall be glad to have you remit the grant at the earliest date that you may find convenient.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-second Street
New York 36, N. Y.

RECEIVED MAY 14 1959

May 11, 1959

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Att: Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your request for renewed support by our Foundation was considered at the last meeting of our Board of Directors. I am pleased to advise that our Board has decided to make a grant to your organization for 1959 in the amount of $2,000.

We would appreciate your advising when you would like to have us remit the grant to you. With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION, INC.

By Jack Clareman
Jack Clareman, Secretary

JC:bg

August 3, 1959

Mr. Jack Clareman
Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-second Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council, I acknowledge most gratefully your letter transmitting the Foundation's check for $2,000 in payment of its 1959 grant.

I speak for both the offiers and the staff in assuring you that we will continue to do all in our power to justify your confidence and generosity.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl
Encls. - Official receipt.

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-second Street
New York 36, N. Y.

RECEIVED AUG 3 1959

July 30, 1959

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Att: Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Return to HCF for acknowledgment

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are pleased to enclose Foundation check to the order of Southern Regional Council, Inc. for $2,000.00, in payment of our grant for the year 1959. CR RHA 8/3/59

With best wishes, we remain

Sincerely yours,

THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION, INC.

By Jack Clarenna
Secretary

JC:bg
Encl.

VIA AIR MAIL

January 11, 1960

Mr. Jack Clareman
Secretary
Christopher Reynolds Foundation
3040 Salmon Tower Building
11 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

For some time prior to the end of the year, I had hoped for a chance to discuss with you personally the Council's work in 1959 and our prospects for continued assistance from the Christopher Reynolds Foundation.

Unfortunately, I have not had such an opportunity. And, with the turn of the year, I am sure I should not delay any longer in writing you.

In many ways, 1959 was a rewarding year for the Council. The turn of events in the South enabled our work to reach further than ever before into the main stream. As the conservative leadership of the Southern states finds itself face to face with the practical consequences of resistance to desegregation, there is new receptivity to the kind of services and information the Council offers.

Of course, the region as a whole is far from over the hump. The advance of legal pressures for desegregation into the "hard core" states of the Deep South portends

a period of serious difficulties, perhaps even conflict. But, even here, the issue has become an immediate, practical one, which has to be faced; thus the opportunities for solid program effort, rather than mere prophecy or moral exhortation, have multiplied.

The Council's work in this changing climate is summarized in the enclosed report. During 1959, we departed from our usual practice of preparing an annual report early in the following year; instead, the enclosed report was prepared and distributed in anticipation of our Annual Meeting in November. Although a copy was sent to you routinely at that time, I feel it is appropriate to send another with this letter.

Our auditor is at work on the annual financial statement, which I shall forward as soon as it is completed and reporduced. Meanwhile, from the unaudited figures, I can report that we ended the year without a deficit -- thanks in no small part to the assistance of the Christopher Reynolds Foundation.

If the timing is appropriate, I should like to submit our request for 1960 within the next week or so. I shall also hope for an early trip to New York that will enable me to see you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Report of the Executive Director...)

Enclosures: 4 copies of Proposal
1 Bd. List
1 Financial analysis (Proposed Budget - 1960)

via air mail

January 27, 1960

Mr. Jack Clareman
Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
11 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

Enclosed are 4 copies of our request to the Christopher Reynolds Foundation for assistance in 1960. Also enclosed are a copy of our current list of board members and a financial analysis of the Council's general operations.

An audited financial statement for 1959 is in preparation and will, of course, be sent to you on completion.

Please let me know if further information of any kind would be helpful. We shall be grateful, as always, to you and the other Trustees for your consideration of the Council's needs.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

A REQUEST
TO THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION
FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

January 27, 1960

This is to submit to the Christopher Reynolds Foundation the Southern Regional Council's request for renewed assistance in 1960, in the amount of $5,000.

Your confidence and help have been indispensable to the Council during these years of change and upheaval in the South. We do not want to seem to presume upon your continued interest in our work. But it is our hope that the Trustees of the Foundation share our view of the South as an area of critical importance, calling for sustained effort by an organization like the Council.

The Council's aim has been to work on more than an emergency basis, to build program that seeks lasting effects rather than merely improvising to meet short-run crises. Thus our program for 1960 in many respects will be continuous with the activities of the past year, extending the activities we have already reported to you further and more effectively into the life of the region.

There are, however, various new directions and emphases that we feel the changing situation calls for in the coming year and which may be summarized as follows:

(1) Economic leadership. We have commissioned Professor Donald Dewey, respected Duke University economist, to prepare a report on Negro manpower utilization in the industrializing South.

The object of this project is to awaken more Southern business leaders to the importance of incorporating Negroes fully into the work force. Also planned is an analysis of the stake which major American corporations have in orderly transition to desegregation in the South. This publication, it is hoped, can be followed up by face-to-face consultation with national executives of firms with Southern holdings. Several state and local councils on human relations, with SRC's assistance, will promote equality of opportunity in employment with private industries and government agencies in their areas during 1960.

(2) Medical care. Preoccupation with school desegregation has led to neglect of other areas of discrimination which may be attacked with better prospects of early results. One such area, vitally important to the individual and the family, is medical care. We hope to survey physician practices and hospital facilities in detail and to give the findings wide distribution and publicity. Our exploratory interviews with health and health and hospital officials have uncovered much interest in such a survey.

(3) The right to vote. SRC's pioneer fact-finding in this field has paid satisfying dividends. We plan next an examination of the literacy test -- now the main discriminatory device in the deep South. The results would have the same thorough public interpretation as our earlier investigations.

(4) The schools. Educational discrimination and desegregation will, of course, continue to demand major attention. We expect to supplement our regular staff resources this year with the part-time services of an able Southern school superintendent, J. J. Brewbaker of Norfolk, who retires in June. Mr. Brewbaker has given outstanding leadership in the desegregation of the Norfolk public schools and is known and respected by school men and public officials throughout the South.

In addition, we will continue to prepare and distribute the frequent reports directed to school administrators, editors, and other community leaders. One subject of special emphasis will be the evidence of sharply improved achievement by Negro pupils and teachers in desegregated situations. It is essential that the negative image of the Negro as a hopelessly downgrading influence be counteracted by factual material disseminated through the press and through strategically distributed publications.

(5) Assisting other groups. SRC is increasingly looked to for guidance by religious, youth, and other special-purpose organizations in the South. We will devote an even larger proportion of staff time and resources to this purpose in 1960. Citizen groups committed to preserving public schools (by compliance with law) will, as last year, have high priority in our program. Added to our cooperation with existing agencies -- whose staff members we convene quarterly -- will be two new staffed

efforts, the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity and the National Student Association's Southern race relations project.

(6) Hotels and convention sites. We have had several requests from officers of large professional societies for information about non-discriminatory conference facilities in the South. This is becoming a critical question in many of the regional and national organizations. And, potentially, it threatens a significant loss of revenue to leading Southern cities, as they are beginning uneasily to realize. The Council is favorably considering requests to undertake a systematic program of fact-finding, information, and persuasion in this field during 1960.

Of course, there will be no diminution of our assistance, program and financial, to state and local human relations councils throughout the South. Within the next few weeks, we expect to bring together the personnel of these councils for joint planning.

This partial description of program plans for the coming year may suffice to indicate the variety and scope of the Southern Regional Council's opportunities in 1960. To carry out these plans as well as continuing aspects of its work, the Council must raise $49,000 not now committed or in hand. The enclosed financial analysis shows the general operating budget and expectable income from which this balance is derived.

If further information would assist in the consideration of our request, please call on us for it. Meanwhile, our appreciation and kindest regards.

BC: Mr. Irving Carlyle

February 19, 1960

Mr. Jack Clareman
Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation
3040 Salmon Tower Building
11 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

Thank you for your recent letter informing us of the Foundation's decision that it cannot assist the Council further at this time.

We understand, of course, the problem which support of an organization for an indefinite period might create for the Foundation.

Needless to say, we hope that the work of the Counnil will merit aid from the Christopher Reynolds Foundation again in the future. Meanwhile, I should like to continue to send you copies of the releases and reports which the Council issues from time to time.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-second Street
New York 36, N. Y.

February 8, 1960

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Mr. Harold C. Fleming

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your request of January 27, 1960, for an additional grant for 1960, was submitted to our Board of Directors at its recent meeting, and I regret to advise that we will be unable to renew this grant.

In this regard, the Board has asked me to advise that, for the time being, its policy is to limit financial support for periods not exceeding three years. As you are aware, particularly in the case of a small foundation, the cumulative effect of annual grants soon places a foundation in a position where it is unable to lend support to new projects which need such financial support at their inception.

The Board has asked me to tell you that they are very much interested in the work of your organization, and that its present action does not preclude its granting financial support in the future.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION INC.

By Jack Clarence
Secretary

JC:sm

WOMBLE, CARLYLE, SANDRIDGE & RICE
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
WACHOVIA BANK BUILDING
WINSTON-SALEM 1, N. C.

B. S. WOMBLE
I. E. CARLYLE
W. P. SANDRIDGE
WM. F. WOMBLE
LEON L. RICE, JR.
CALDER W. WOMBLE
CHAS. F. VANCE, JR.
WADE M. GALLANT, JR.
LESLIE E. BROWDER
H. GRADY BARNHILL, JR.

TELEPHONE
PARK 5-1311

February 22, 1960

Mr. Benet Polikoff
Attorney at Law
11 West 42nd Street
New York 36, N. Y.

Dear Benet:

As a member of the Southern Regional Council, with offices in Atlanta, I am writing just a word of appreciation to you for the financial assistance given by The ~~R~~V. Christopher Reynolds Foundation to the Council over the past few years. In my opinion, the need for the work of the Southern Regional Council was never greater than it is now, and in the next few years the Council will serve in a most useful role.

I have just learned from Mr. Fleming that the Christopher Reynolds Foundation has found it necessary to terminate its grant to the Council, as a matter of policy. I hope very much that you will help with restoring the grant at some future time, if you find it possible to do so.

With every good wish to you and Margaret, I am

Yours sincerely,

Irving Carlyle

I. E. Carlyle

IEC:ccs

bcc: Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File Christopher Reynolds

WOMBLE, CARLYLE, SANDRIDGE & RICE
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
WACHOVIA BANK BUILDING
WINSTON-SALEM 1, N. C.

B. S. WOMBLE
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LESLIE E. BROWDER
H. GRADY BARNHILL, JR.

TELEPHONE
PARK 5-1311

March 1, 1960

Mr. Benet Polikoff
Attorney at Law
11 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Benet:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 26. It will be good news to members of the Council to know that the Council and its work will be kept in mind by the Christopher Reynolds Foundation.

With every good wish, I am

Yours sincerely,

Irving Carlyle

IEC:BA

bcc: Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Esleeck
Fidelity Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

COPY

BENET POLIKOFF
11 West 42nd Street
New York 36, N.Y.

February 26, 1960

Dear Irving:

I have your letter of February 22nd. The Christopher Reynolds Foundation has not permanently disassociated itself from the Southern Regional Council. I am certain that at some future time, there will be a project by the Council in which we will again be interested. We will be in touch with each other and am sure we will be doing business again.

It might interest you to know that I was instrumental in getting the Foundation interested in the workings of the Council. When I saw that you, Wright and Dabbs were connected with it so actively, I was sure it must be serving a very useful role.

It was good hearing from you.

Margaret joins me in sending regards to you and your family.

Sincerely,

/s/ Benet Polikoff

Benet Polikoff

I. E. Carlyle, Esq.
Womble, Carlyle, Sandridge & Rice
Wachovia Bank Building
Winston-Salem 1, North Carolina

Copy of all attached correspondence sent to Mr. D. Carlyle Winston-Salem

December 14, 1960

Mr. Jack Clareman
Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-second Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

Your kind letter of December 9 transmitting a further contribution to our general budget was as generous as it was unexpected. We are deeply grateful for this additional evidence of interest on the part of you and your fellow Board members.

We can well understand the Foundation's wish to free its funds for new efforts after several years of assistance to an ongoing organization like the Council. Our gratitude for invaluable support during a critical period of the Council's life is in no way diminished by this decision. It is most heartening, however, to have this thoughtful reassurance of your continuing regard for our work.

In view of the Foundation's interest and investment in the Southern Regional Council, we should like to continue to send you our releases and reports. Our hope is that they will not only be

of general interest, but may occasionally be helpful in your consideration of other race relations efforts.

With renewed appreciation and good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-second Street
New York 36, N.Y.

December 9, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We appreciate your continuing to send us reports of your activities, although we have heretofore ceased making an annual grant. As we previously indicated, the discontinuance of such grant was not due to any loss of interest on our part in your organization. On the contrary, our Board members have followed your activities very closely and have a high regard for the part being played by your organization.

We are, as you know, a small foundation, and because of limited funds, have adopted a policy of helping new projects get started. However, once the project is on its feet, our Board feels that the project should then be in a position to obtain continued financial support from other sources, so as to enable our Foundation to continue to support new projects.

Nevertheless, we find that at the end of our present fiscal year, our financial situation enables us to demonstrate the continuing interest which we have in your organization and accordingly, we enclose check for $400, as a contribution to your General Fund. 12/12/60 RHA

With best wishes, we remain

Sincerely yours,

THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION, INC.

By Jack Clarenson
Secretary

JC:sm
encl.

September 26, 1963

Mr. Jack Clareman
Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation
3040 Salmon Tower Building
11 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

Since becoming Executive Director of the Council in April 1961, following Harold Fleming's departure, I have not had an occasion to discuss our affairs with you. We have sent you routinely our publications and other reports, and I hope thereby you may have been able to keep abreast of our work.

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation was of inestimable help to the Council during some very severe years. We were, therefore, altogether understanding when in early 1960 you suspended your assistance.

In your letter of February 8, 1960 you did say, however, that the decision might be re-opened in the future. I am writing now for whatever guidance you may be able to give me as to whether this would be an appropriate time to put a new proposal before the Foundation.

Briefly, our situation is that we face a prospective deficit in our general operations income this year, and that opportunities are such that we need to make a modest increase in our budget next year. Our greater interest, frankly, is in the latter. While far from sure that we will avoid a deficit this year, there is at least a fighting chance of doing so, and our more pressing concern is to meet future demands.

I am enclosing, for your convenience, certain background documents. If you think that the Foundation might be prepared to consider a grant to us, we shall, of course, submit a formal proposal and supporting data.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 3. (1962 Annual Report, 1963 Budget, 1962 Financial Statement)

bc: Mr. Irving Carlyle

WOMBLE, CARLYLE, SANDRIDGE & RICE
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
WACHOVIA BANK BUILDING
WINSTON-SALEM I. N. C.
27102

B. S. WOMBLE
I. E. CARLYLE
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LESLIE E. BROWDER
H. GRADY BARNHILL, JR.
W. P. SANDRIDGE, JR.

TELEPHONE
AREA CODE 919
725-1311

October 8, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Enclosed is copy of a letter just received from Benet Polikoff, which is self-explanatory.

I am sorry that the grant did not come through in this instance, but maybe it will again at some future time.

Yours very truly,

Irving Carlyle

Irving E. Carlyle

IEC:BA

Enc.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 7-0555
CABLE ADDRESS "POLIGLARE"

POLIKOFF & CLAREMAN
COUNSELLORS AT LAW

BENET POLIKOFF
JACK CLAREMAN

CLIFFORD H. SCHMIER
BENET POLIKOFF, JR.

6 EAST 45TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

file

October 3, 1963

Irving Carlyle, Esq.
Womble, Carlyle, Sandridge & Rice
Wachovia Bank Building
Winston-Salem 1, N. C. 27102

Re: Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Irving:

Your letter arrived the day after the meeting of the Christopher Reynolds Foundation. However, the attitude towards the Southern Regional Council is indicated by copy of letter enclosed from the Foundation to the Council.

You may rest assured we have a sustaining interest in the Council and I am confident we will again be contributing to it.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

BP/ek
Enc.

WOMBLE, CARLYLE, SANDRIDGE & RICE
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
WACHOVIA BANK BUILDING
WINSTON-SALEM 1, N. C.
27102

B. S. WOMBLE
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LESLIE E. BROWDER
H. GRADY BARNHILL, JR.
W. P. SANDRIDGE, JR.

TELEPHONE
AREA CODE 919
725-1311

September 27, 1963

Mr. Bennett Polikoff
Polikoff & Clareman
Attorneys at Law
6 East 45th Street
New York City, N.Y.

RE: Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bennett:

Several years ago, the Christopher Reynolds Foundation made a very generous and helpful grant to the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Georgia. You may recall that we had some correspondence with each other about the Southern Regional Council at that time.

I am still a member of the Council.

To my personal knowledge, it is doing an outstanding job in the field of racial relations in the South, and the need for the unique service rendered by the Council was never greater than at the present time.

I hope very much that you will be able to assist in having the Christopher Reynolds Foundation renew its financial support of this worthy organization.

With every good wish to you and Margaret, I am

Yours sincerely,

Irving Carlyle

IEC/mh

Blind copy to: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
Six East Forty-fifth Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Rec'd 4/1/64

Foundations

March 31, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have your letter of March 20 with material enclosed. As I previously advised, our Foundation has a very high regard for your organization but its financial support as of necessity is limited due to other commitments. While we are still committed to these other projects and therefore limited as to the funds available for grants, I will be more than glad to submit any request you may wish to make to our Board of Directors for consideration.

I believe I have sufficient data to submit to our Board but I would be glad to see you if you so desire when you are in New York. If you will let me know the date and time convenient to you, I will keep the same open, or you can call me on the 13th of April when you are in New York to arrange an appointment.

Sincerely yours,

THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION, INC.

By Jack Clarence
Secretary

JC:ach

File. Foundations

March 20, 1964

Mr. Jack Clareman
Secretary
Christopher Reynolds Foundation
6 East 45th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

With further reference to my letter of October 9, 1963 we are enclosing a notebook of materials about the Council and its program.

We are sending you this for two particular reasons. One is that it includes our annual report and financial statement for 1963 and our budget for 1964. Secondly, its exhibits show what we have tried to achieve here; viz., an institution balancing strong commitment with objectivity, evolving in our program as circumstances require, and able to take on assignments that we are uniquely fitted to do.

I need not tell you that we hope that it will be possible for the Christopher Reynolds Foundation to keep our needs on its agenda. If the Foundation could see its way clear to resuming a grant of former size, not only would we be deeply grateful but we believe you would find it a sound investment toward the strengthening of our national democracy.

I plan to be in New York much of the week of April 13th. If you would wish to discuss this submission, I would be more than glad to come by your office.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Encl: Fund-raising notebook

October 9, 1963

Mr. Jack L. Clareman
Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation
6 East 45th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

Thank you so much for your letter of September 30. We are sincerely grateful for your statement that our needs will be kept on your agenda for future consideration.

My letter of September 26 was the merest sketch of an application. If, however, it is sufficient for your consideration, fine. If you would, on the other hand, care for additional information, please let me know.

We are sending, enclosed, the three additional copies you requested of the data included with our letter of September 26.

This is a bulky mailing, because I am including also, at his request, some letters received by Dean O'Meara. I learned only recently that your Foundation had assisted the Notre Dame Conference. As a participant in it, I would like to tell you

that I believe all the conferees regarded it as a uniquely fruitful event. I hope the people reading the report will think so too. Dean O'Meara requests that you return the letters to him after you have looked them over.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

3 Copies: 1962 Annual Report
" " 1963 Budget
Letters to Dean O'Meara re: Notre Dame Conf.

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
Six East Forty-fifth Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Rec'd 10/2

September 30, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have your letter of September 26th and wish to advise that our Board met only yesterday, and that while your letter was not received until today, nevertheless, the Southern Regional Council was on our agenda for discussion. Unfortunately, because of past commitments and the number of new requests before our Board in the field of race relations and disarmament which are our Board's field of current major interest, it was impossible to allocate any money to your Organization at this time.

As I previously advised, our Board has a policy of making grants not exceeding three years, in order to enable our Foundation to continue to support new projects which might otherwise find it impossible to come into existence. However, our Board has a high regard for, and a continuing interest, in the Southern Regional Council. While I cannot promise that any grant will be made at any specific time you can be assured that your Organization will be on the agenda of our future meetings for consideration.

In the meantime, I would suggest that you send me 3 additional copies of the data which accompanied your letter of September 26th, namely, A Review of Program Activities During 1962, Operating Budgets and Income Forecast - 1963.

With all good wishes, I remain,

Sincerely,

THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION, INC.

By Jack Clarenan
Secretary

JC:ek

File: Foundations: Christopher Reynolds

April 24, 1964

Mr. Jack L. Clareman
Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation
6 East 45th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

It was a pleasure to meet you while in New York. I hope that you may get this way sometime to see us.

I have very much in mind your suggestion that the Foundation would be willing to consider project needs of the Council. We have always been able to resist the sometime temptation to contrive projects, either inventedly or by carving them out of our general operations. On the other hand, many specific opportunities do arise, and we try as best we can to meet them.

In the meantime, and if it meets with your approval, we would appreciate your keeping the Council on the Foundation's agenda.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File: Foundations - Christopher Reynolds

July 27, 1964

Mr. Jack Clareman
Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation
6 East 45th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

We would like, if we may, to amend the application we have before the Foundation in order to request a two-year grant of $7,500 per annum toward the budget of a project of economic counselling and study.

Although we have occasionally contributed research and publications* to a better understanding of the economic issues which underlie racial problems, we have long hoped for an opportunity to provide a more sustained and systematic service. This is, however, peculiarly one of those areas in which what can be done depends on finding someone to do it. We have been fortunate in securing a thoroughly qualified man, and are now able to establish the project.

The Southern Regional Council is one of the few organizations which bridges the dominating

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*Recent examples include: The Economic Status of Negroes: in the Nation and in the South, by Vivian W. Henderson; The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South (three pamphlet studies, on Houston, Chattanooga, and Atlanta); and A Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina.

the dominating interests of the contemporary South; viz., race relations and economic growth. It is perhaps the only one which does so from the vantage point of a thorough commitment to racial equality and Negro advance. We believe that the civil rights movement in the South will increasingly focus its attention on economic problems, and that southern economic leaders will increasingly see the need for confronting the disparities of income and opportunity which are basic causes of racial unrest.

We are, therefore, establishing this project. It will function in the following general ways:

1. provide economic data and interpretation for Negro groups and for businesses with southern interests;

2. provide counselling for bi-racial and Negro groups in the formulation of economic positions;

3. We are constantly consulted by federal agencies regarding administration of their programs in our field of interest, and these programs more and more relate to economic issues; the project willeenable us to contribute professionally disinterested and informed advice, and also to review and critique, both quietly and through publications, the effectiveness of those programs.

4. carry on research that relates the issues of regional economic development and racial relations, and publish occasional short studies.

There are several not-so-obvious considerations which underline the high usefulness of this project. One is that no private civil rights or race relations agency in the entire country, to the best of our knowledge, has the services of a staff economist, and there is a pressing need for informed guidance. Another, is that the area of research indicated in (4) above has been woefully neglected by economists. Basic research in this area is only now being carried through (chiefly, at North Carolina State University on a Twentieth Century Fund grant), and the opportunity is ripe for project research applying basic findings to critical, immediate problems. A third is that the

the federal poverty program will open new issues as well as new directions for all interested in human relations.

The project will be headed by Dr. J. Lloyd Elliott, a brilliant young economist who comes to us from William and Mary College, where he has been an associate professor. From other sources, we have been assured of approximately half of the necessary funds for a two-year project, and on that basis we have gone ahead. We are budgeting for the project for each year:

Salary for Project Director.....	$ 11,000
Secretarial Help	4,000
Printing	3,000
Travel of Project Director	1,000
Administrative Overhead (15% of Project Director's salary)	1,650
Total	$ 20,650

We hope that this proposal will merit your consideration, and that you will feel free to raise with us any questions you may have concerning it.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File
Christopher Reynolds Foundation

October 2, 1964

Mr. Jack Clareman
Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation
6 East 45th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

On behalf of the Council I acknowledge your letter of September 29, 1964 informing us of the Foundation's grant and your enclosed check for $2,500 in payment of it; our official receipt is enclosed.

We are all the more appreciative of the Foundation's action knowing, as we do, of your policy in favor of initial support rather than continued support. This renewal of the Foundation's assistance to us is, therefore, all the more gratifying.

I hope that you will call on us if we can ever be of service to you, and that you will look in on us if you are ever down this way.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)
Bc: Irving Carlyle

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
Six East Forty-fifth Street
New York 17, N. Y.

September 29, 1964

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Our Board of Directors met recently, at which time I submitted your request for a two-year grant of $7,500 per annum towards the budget of your project dealing with economic counselling and study.

As I have advised on several occasions, our Board has a high regard for the work being performed by your organization and desires to support your projects whenever it can. However, due to new requests from pilot projects constantly being received, for whom initial support is so important, our Foundation is not able financially to continue its support of projects previously supported by it and which have gained a solid footing. Nevertheless, our Board has decided to make a grant of $2,500 to your organization which can be applied towards the above-mentioned project or towards your overall budget. Enclosed is our check for $2,500 in payment of this grant.

9/30/64 RHA

With best wishes, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION, INC.

By Jack Clareman
Secretary

JC:ach

Encl.

file

July 16, 1965

Mr. Jack Clareman
Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation
6 East 45th Street
New York 17, New York'

Dear Mr. Clareman:

Thank you so much for your letter of July 15. We are sending you, under separate cover, the requested 5 copies of Encounter. I am delighted that you share our own opinion of it.

Let me take this occasion also to tell you that I am leaving SRC soon to come to New York, where I shall be director of the Field Foundation. My successor here will be Paul Anthony, a most able man who has been our Director of Field Activities. I shall go to work at Field on October 1, and some time by then Paul and I will effect the change-over here.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

See Christopher Reynolds Jd.

MEMRGA

MEMORANDUM July 16, 1965

To: BCCook

From: MMJohnson

Bernice,

Please package up 5 copies of ENCOUNTER and mail to Mr. Jack Clareman. (label attached.

thanx, mmj

June 16, 1965

Mr. Jack Clareman
Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation
6 East 45th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

Thank you so much for your letter of July 15. We are sending you, under separate cover, the requested 5 copies of Encounter. I am delighted that you share our own opinion of it.

Enclosed is a letter from our President to other members of the Council, which I would like for you to have. No public announcement has been made as yet. Paul Anthony is an excellent man, and the Council will be in good hands.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Rec'd 7/16/65

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
Six East Forty-fifth Street
New York 17, N. Y.

TW
PA
MI-file

July 15, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I received a copy of the pamphlet entitled "Encounter with the Future" and am so impressed with it that I would like to have five additional copies for distribution to our Board members. Enclosed is check for $1 covering the cost thereof.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION, INC.

By Jack Clareman
Secretary

JC:ach

Enclosure

Check $1.00 7-16-65
MPA

T H E S O U T H O F P R O M I S E

A Report On The Work Of
The Southern Regional Council

"In the Deep South one organization stands out as likely to wield the most influence in shaping the region's attitude toward integration....the Southern Regional Council...."
The Associated Press in the Charlotte (N.C.) News

"The Council has been working with marked success. Its activities today need national status and attention to make them visible and audible above the dust and noise."
Christian Science Monitor

"(The Council) has come to be the most dependable and reliable interracial body operating in the South."
Atlanta Daily World

"A spokesman for the area's best traditions of tolerance, humanity, dignity, and freedom."
Asheville (N.C.) Times

"The South's foremost interracial organization."
New York Times

"The Council (has) earned a reputation for sound, constructive research and publication of factual materials."
Atlanta Constitution

It is the strident voices from the South, heralding defiance of the law of the land, that have captured the headlines throughout the country. The evasive maneuverings of some Southern legislatures have aroused echoes of "interposition" from pre-Civil War days. Economic and social reprisals, practiced by pro-segregation groups, have temporarily frightened some into confusion and inaction.

But there are other voices and other forces in the South -- voices of hope and forces of progress toward integration.

Many of these voices and much of this constructive force find expression in the Southern Regional Council and its affiliated state Councils on Human Relations. Through this movement, white and Negro Southerners, with the aid of experienced professional staff, work for a more democratic society.

This summary report is prepared for the friends and supporters of the Southern Regional Council so that they may know how their investments of interest, energy, and funds have been used. In this crucial period of change in the South, the effectiveness of the Southern Regional Council will depend on the continued allegiance and support of all those who accept responsibility for building a more democratic society.

MUSTERING THE STATES

A roll call of the Southern states -- from Virginia to Texas, from Florida to Kentucky -- would find an SRC-affiliated Council on Human Relations in each state. Here is a living demonstration of the South of the future, for integrated Boards of Directors make policy, plan program and supervise the work of the professional staff. The Council aids the state organizations with counsel, materials, and the advisory services of a professional field staff.

In Arkansas, Kentucky, and Texas, the affiliates have had a direct part in bringing about desegregation. There, and also in Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia, it has been possible to work directly with either state or local school authorities.

Efforts in the hard-core states of the Deep South are of a more elemental nature. Affiliates in these states are working to further communication and joint planning by whites and Negroes and to help secure the basic rights of freedom of speech, assembly, and association in the face of pro-segregation intolerance.

This region-wide movement provides, almost uniquely, opportunity for Southerners of both races to shape together the communities in which they live.

STRENGTHENING FORCES OF PROGRESS

SRC has assembled a panel of specialists from various fields to serve as consultants to private and public leadership in Southern communities. The skills and insights of these consultants have been available to SRC's state affiliates and have greatly assisted them in planning sound organizational and program activities. Requests for aid are now coming in from other agencies and from community leadership. Assistance is tailor-made to fit need. If a community needs the advice of a superintendent who has experienced school integration, a specialist in law enforcement problems, or the like, SRC seeks to supply a qualified consultant.

FINDING THE FACTS

The research department of the Council provides substantial underpinning for all Council activities. A professional staff member is charged with the responsibility of maintaining reference files based on newspaper clippings, first-hand reports, and other materials that document current developments in Southern race relations. In the course of a year, the Council services some hundreds of mail requests for information, as well as requests made in person by a variety of visitors to the Council's offices. Among the Council's efforts in this field is a fact-finding program.

One of the recent surveys uncovered more than 1,100 instances of integration that took place in the South during the two-year period immediately following the Supreme Court decision. These findings, published in Integration North and South, have been widely distributed throughout the nation and in many foreign countries.

Other projects under the fact-finding program include (1) a survey of Negro suffrage, documenting problems and progress in the exercise of this basic right, (2) a three-month field study of the pro-segregation groups, their history and trends, (3) the trend in Southern industrialization and its relation to the racial picture, and (4) a study of labor and race relations. The findings of some of these special projects have already been treated in newspaper stories, magazine articles, and books. Others will be made available in the near future.

INTERPRETING THE SOUTH TO THE WORLD

The South is not isolated. An incident in south Georgia becomes front-page news in New Delhi, Munich, and Dakar. A steady flow of foreign visitors -- newsmen, government officials, students, and other opinion-makers -- come to the South for a first-hand view of our racial problems. Many of these observers, especially those travelling under State Department and private fellowships or exchange programs, look to the Southern Regional Council for balanced and accurate information. This is a vital role for the Council since it provides, almost uniquely, the example and insights of white and Negro Southerners working together

in a spirit of equality. We are able to demonstrate convincingly to emissaries from other lands that, however severe our racial problems, there are Southerners working to solve them. During 1956, at the rate of six to ten a month, the Council was host to visitors from 21 countries. 1957, thus far, promises even greater opportunity to interpret the constructive South to the world.

INTERPRETING THE SOUTH TO THE NATION

Factual and interpretive material from the Southern Regional Council finds its way into national news media in ever-growing quantity. Through personal interviews, news releases, and publications, the Council has become the information center for national news representatives who are interpreting the story of the South to millions of Americans. Recent examples of publications and organizations whose representatives have sought the assistance of the Council are The Saturday Evening Post, the Christian Science Monitor, the Associated Press, Life, U. S. News and World Report, New Statesman and Nation, Time, Look, Newsweek, Collier's, The Reporter, St. Louis Post Dispatch, NBC television news, Edward R. Murrow's "See It Now," and the Canadian Broadcasting Company. Publications of the Council and articles by Council staff members find their way to national organizations. "What's Happening in School Integration," a Public Affairs Pamphlet written by two members of the Council's staff, is receiving national distribution.

INTERPRETING THE SOUTH TO THE SOUTH.

Through the monthly publication, New South, and special pamphlets, the Council disseminates information to Southern opinion-makers, business, educational, religious, and civic leaders, and the interested public. The Council also services Southern news representatives and from time-to-time prepares special reports for program use. A recent Council release reporting for the first time the peaceful integration of buses in 21 Southern cities received wide and favorable attention in the South and elsewhere. Commented the Washington Star: ". . . The report of the Southern Regional Council . . . is more important, actually, than the accounts of friction in other communities. For this is the way in which effective desegregation will come to the South."

CLEARINGHOUSE AND COORDINATION

Since the Council has a full-time concern with Southern race relations, extensive information files, and a seasoned professional staff, it has been able to assist and advise many other agencies -- national, regional, and local. The Council is called upon with increasing frequency for information and advice to religious, labor, civic, and professional organizations carrying on programs in the South. Closely related to this function is that of supplying knowledgeable speakers and resource people for conferences, workshops, and meetings of many kinds. On October 24,

the Council sponsored a meeting of representatives from religious and human relations agencies with staffed programs in the field of race relations. Agreement was reached on several strategic communities where local efforts of the various agencies might be concentrated. In January, a follow-up meeting was held with 24 organizations represented. The group asked the Council to serve as convener of further conferences and as a clearinghouse for joint field activities.

In addition, the Council has a close working relationship with such groups as the YMCA and YWCA, the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian social action agencies, the Catholic Committee of the South, the American Friends Service Committee, the various Jewish agencies, and others.

WOMEN'S WORK

Under the direction of Mrs. M. E. Tilly of the Council's staff, this effort has brought together Southern church women of the several faiths and denominations for the sharing of ideas and convictions and joint planning in the field of race relations. Such meetings have been held on both region-wide and state-wide bases and have confirmed our belief that the women of the South -- most particularly the church women -- continue to play a unique part in giving vitality to the conscience of the region. On October 30-31 more than 100 leaders in church women's work over the region convened in Atlanta. The object was to arm this key leadership with resolution and specific ideas that they may translate into action in their states and communities. Follow-up state-wide meetings are scheduled to carry these plans to the local level.

WORK WITH THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Throughout its history the Council has worked closely with organized labor. Union officials have served on its Executive Committee and on the boards of state affiliates. Pamphlets and special reference materials have been used by local unions, staff representatives, regional offices, and in special education programs. Many union-sponsored conferences have drawn on the Southern Regional Council staff for speakers and instructors.

Recently the Council has broadened its services to the labor movement through the addition of a labor consultant. The new position has been filled by a native Southerner with many years' experience as a workers' education specialist. The Council works with unions to provide speakers, resource persons, and materials on race relations problems as they affect the trade union movement. The Council has an active interest in the positive measures taken by unions in the interest of better race relations, more democratic organizations, and increased job opportunities for all the people of the South.

BUSINESSMEN AND INDUSTRIALISTS

The Southern region is rapidly industrializing; King Cotton has abdicated. New industries and the growth of cities make new demands on Southern practices in race relations. To meet these demands, full use of the manpower pool, with equal inclusion of Negro workers, is required. SRC has surveyed the rate and type of industrial development, county by county, in the Southern states in the post-war decade. Businessmen and industrialists serve on the Board of the Council and its state affiliates. Through this participation and through its information program, the Council seeks to mobilize the positive influence of Southern economic leaders.

LOOKING AHEAD

In the months to come, the Council hopes not only to increase the efforts briefly described here, but to extend its activities into new areas of need and opportunity. The real enemies are discouragement and inaction. However severe the difficulties, the ultimate solution is secure so long as decent people pool their concern and resources in common effort.

Make file
re Richardson Foundation
(file in foundations)
cc. ref.
"Rural Advancement Proj."

July 31, 1964

Mr. H. S. Richardson, Jr.
President
The Richardson Foundation, Inc.
122 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Richardson:

This is to place before the Richardson Foundation a joint proposal of the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Southern Regional Council, and the state Councils on Human Relations that are affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

The sponsors of this proposal have faced an area of urgent problems, and have decided that they can contribute best to their improvement by a joint effort. We hope you will find that the proposed Rural Advancement Project merits your support.

Because of the sum involved, we are presenting this proposal to several foundations. As is explained in the proposal, the program is flexible, and depending on funds could be carried on in any number of states up to eleven. We ask, therefore, that you consider it in that light, and we shall, of course, be prepared to keep you advised of fund-raising progress. It is hoped that grants may be for a three-year period, or that, alternatively, renewals up to a third year may be considered.

The proposal is based on experience gained by the sponsors over the past two years in South Carolina. It has, therefore, been tried out, and we think has proved its effectiveness and value.

In addition to the proposal itself, several other documents are enclosed. These are:

1. A descriptive report of the South Carolina project.

2. Copies of programs of conferences held in Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, illustrating the concerns and resources which the Rural Advancement Project will draw on.

3. A memorandum on the program use made of a Southern Regional Council research study, to illustrate opportunities for cooperative use of research findings.

Both Miss Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund (112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York), and I will be pleased to discuss with you any questions you may have regarding this proposal.

We can only hope that the proposal conveys clearly some of the sense of deep need felt for this program by the sponsoring agencies. This is a very special period in American history, where a keen awareness is supplanting past indifference for the human resources -- for the people -- of the country. Nowhere is attention and intelligent help more imperative than in the rural South, where an over-supply of people (on the basis of present economic realities) will either be re-directed toward useful and dignified pursuits, or will inevitably carry their handicaps with them to already overburdened cities of the South and the North.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/rph
Enclosures

Rec'd 8/20/64

MJ - copy for F-B

Sent to FB 8/15/64

THE RICHARDSON FOUNDATION, INC.
GREENSBORO, N. C. - NEW YORK, N. Y.

PAV for info (+H.A.'n)

MJ - file

File: Foundations

122 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

Piedmont Building
Greensboro
North Carolina

August 19, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for your letter of July 31, 1964, and for the comprehensive outline you have furnished in regard to the Rural Advancement Project.

Currently, the Richardson Foundation is in the process of moving its chief operating office from New York City to Greensboro, North Carolina -- and hereafter the Foundation's activities will be concentrated, to a major extent, in this state. Also, the current programs and commitments of the Foundation are such as to have made it necessary for the Trustees to forego the opportunity to consider new project requests for the foreseeable future. We will, however, watch with interest the progress of the proposed program as it relates to the State of North Carolina.

Your courtesy in referring the proposal to the Richardson Foundation is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

THE RICHARDSON FOUNDATION, INC.

A. F. Schenck

Alexander F. Schenck
Executive Vice President

AFS:dwh.

Make folder
Hochschild Fund
File in foundations
cr. ref.
"Rural Advancement Project"

July 31, 1964

Mr. H. K. Hochchild
President — Hochchild Fund
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hochchild:

This is to place before the ~~New World~~ Hochchild ~~Foundation~~ Fund a joint proposal of the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Southern Regional Council, and the state Councils on Human Relations that are affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

The sponsors of this proposal have faced an area of urgent problems, and have decided that they can contribute best to their improvement by a joint effort. We hope you will find that the proposed Rural Advancement Project merits your support.

Because of the sum involved, we are presenting this proposal to several foundations. As is explained in the proposal, the program is flexible, and depending on funds could be carried on in any number of states up to eleven. We ask, therefore, that you consider it in that light, and we shall, of course, be prepared to keep you advised of fund-raising progress. It is hoped that grants may be for a three-year period, or that, alternatively, renewals up to a third year may be considered.

The proposal is based on experience gained by the sponsors over the past two years in South Carolina. It has, therefore, been tried out, and we think has proved its effectiveness and value.

In addition to the proposal itself, several other documents are enclosed. These Are:

1. A descriptive report of the South Carolina project.

2. Copies of programs of conferences held in Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, illustrating the concerns and resources which the Rural Advancement Project will draw on.

3. A memorandum on the program used made of a Southern Regional Council research study, to illustrate opportunities for cooperative use of research findings.

Both Miss Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund (112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York), and I will be pleased to discuss with you any questions you may have regarding this proposal.

We can only hope that the proposal conveys clearly some of the sense of deep need felt for this program by the sponsoring agencies. This is a very special period in American history, where a keen awareness is supplanting past indifference for the human resources -- for the people -- of the country. Nowhere is attention and intelligent help more imperative than in the rural South, where an over-supply of people (on the basis of present economic realities) will either be re-directed toward useful and dignified pursuits, or will inevitably carry their handicaps with them to already overburdened cities of the South and the North.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/rph
Enclosures

Hochschild Fund
meeting Dec

October 20, 1964

Mr. Harold K. Hochschild
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hochschild:

I am glad to learn through your secretary that you have reviewed the materials sent to you by Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar putting before the Hochschild Fund a joint proposal of the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Southern Regional Council, and the state Councils on Human Relations for a Rural Advancement Project to improve the economic and social position of disadvantaged Negroes and poor whites in rural areas of the South.

I should like to supplement the materials you have already received by sending you the enclosed folder which describes our Southern Rural Training Project financed by the Labor Department as well as the most recent progress report on the project. This will give you an example of how our proposal can provide a bridge between the poorest of the rural people, many of whom can neither read nor write, and government agencies with money and programs to help them. Thus, if the Hochschild Fund were to decide to finance one or more state field programs under our proposal, this would make possible freeing hundreds of thousands of dollars of government funds in Farmers Home Administration loans, training programs, needed day-care centers and health facilities, and various other programs available through the antipoverty act.

Separately, I am sending you a report of a conference we sponsored at Bricks, North Carolina at which a number of government officials spoke and where for the first time many people representing the rural poor were able to learn about programs available to help them.

I trust you will find these materials useful to you in making a decision concerning our joint proposal. I would be most happy to come to see you if you would like to discuss any of these items in further detail or to learn more about how our program actually works.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:tr
encs.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

February 11, 1965

Mr. Harold K. Hochschild
President
Hochschild Fund, Inc.
1270 Avenue of the Americus
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Hochschild:

This is to acknowledge with deep appreciation the $1,000 anonymous contribution of the Hochschild Fund, to the Southern Regional Council.

Your expression of confidence and interest in our work here is indeed encouraging. This contribution will help to support the Rural Advancement Project, which is being launched in cooperation with the State Councils on Human Relations, and the National Sharecroppers Fund.

We shall keep you informed on the progress of this program.

Our official receipt is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm
Enclosure

OK-S - draft for WWD's sig

Recd 1/25/65

HOCHSCHILD FUND, INC.
1270 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS
NEW YORK 20

HAROLD K. HOCHSCHILD, PRESIDENT
WALTER HOCHSCHILD, VICE PRESIDENT
MRS BORIS SERGIEVSKY, VICE PRESIDENT
JOSEPH MISCHE, SECRETARY & TREASURER

January 20, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In response to your letter of July 31, 1964, the Hochschild Fund is now in position to send you its check for $1,000 as an anonymous contribution to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. Please have official receipt sent to the Fund.

Sincerely yours,

W W Hochschild

President

encl.

Credit this to Rural Advancement Project RHA

RHA 1/25/65

Rural Advancement Project RHA

File
Hochschild
Fund

December 13, 1966

Mr. Harold K. Hochschild
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Hochschild:

In May you responded to our request for renewal of the Fund's support to the Rural Advancement Project with the indication it would be late in the year before a determination could be made on this.

Should it not be possible for continued support, we certainly understand the demands made and the needs that must be met. This is merely, however, to assure you that we continue to feel this program to be extremely important and that it needs additional resources if it is to be continued in the four states.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Rec'd 5/27/66

Copy sent to Jay Bennett 5/26/66

file H. Hochschild Foundation

HAROLD K. HOCHSCHILD
1270 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS
NEW YORK 20

May 25, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I have your letter of May 23rd.

I won't know until late this year whether I am in position to make a contribution for 1966.

I will give the matter consideration then.

Sincerely,

H K Hochschild

May 23, 1966

Mr. Harold K. Hochschild
President
Hochschild Fund, Inc.
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Hochschild:

Enclosed is an accounting of the Rural Advancement Project, to date, and a report on the funds received and expended for that program. This work has been made possible, in part, by the anonymous contribution of $1,000 from the Hochschild Fund. This is to respectfully request your consideration of continued support during 1966.

If additional information is needed, we shall be happy to supply it. I am sure, too, that Miss Fay Bennett will be pleased to give you a report on this important work.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures
cc: Miss Fay Bennett

Bring up. Dec. 1966

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Hochschild Fd.

REGARDING

Renewal of recent request in support of RAP — See PA's ltr of

DATE

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

See Hochschild Fund

December 27, 1966

Mr. Joseph Mische
Secretary-Treasurer
Hochschild Fund, Inc.
2270 Avenue of the Americas
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Mische:

Please express to Mr. Hochschild and the members of the Hochschild Fund our sincere appreciation for the contribution of $500.00. Our receipt is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

(3)

HOCHSCHILD FUND, INC.
1270 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS
NEW YORK 20

HAROLD K. HOCHSCHILD, PRESIDENT
WALTER HOCHSCHILD, VICE PRESIDENT
MRS BORIS SERGIEVSKY, VICE PRESIDENT
JOSEPH MISCHE, SECRETARY & TREASURER

December 20, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street N.W.,
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Before leaving for Africa, Mr. Hochschild asked me to send you the enclosed Hochschild Fund check for $500.00 as an anonymous contribution to the Council. Please send an official receipt to the Fund.

BHA - please note

500.00
12/22/66
C.S.

Sincerely yours,

J. Mische

J. Mische

Encl.

File
Flo: Rockefeller Fd
1965

November 1, 1965

Miss Flora Rhind
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street, 42nd Floor
New York, New York

Dear Miss Rhind:

This is to express again my pleasure as well as appreciation for the opportunity to meet you last week.

We have an interest, of course, in continued support from The Rockefeller Foundation, but please believe me this letter would have been written had I been assured last Wednesday that such a possibility was out of the question. (And, indeed it may be.)

One of our greatest strengths here is our knowledge of continuity. I was warmed at your reference to Dr. Will Alexander. We know that we are not pioneers but that we are privileged to continue in a tradition of excellence that would not have been possible except for that which has been done so well.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Rockefeller Fd - 1965

October 29, 1965

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street, 42nd Floor
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

Please know how very grateful I am for your hospitality and guidance when I was with you on Wednesday. The somewhat baffling experience of making my first rounds was considerably helped by your thoughtfulness and concern for the Council. Such suggestions as I receive from you will be acted on promptly.

Enclosed is a separate letter relative to our Annual Meeting.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Recd 11/8/65 Foundations

File

M 5 - 1965

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

November 5, 1965

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your kind note of October 29. It was a pleasure for all of us here to meet and talk with you and to learn something about the Council's present activities and new plans. It may be a little time before we will be able to discuss with our associates the question of further support for the Southern Regional Council. It might be helpful in preparation for this discussion if, when it is convenient for you to do so, you could send us a brief general statement about the Council's work and its financial situation and requirements. It is not essential that you do this immediately, but we will hope to give the other members of the committee an opportunity to read it before we raise the question of the possibility of additional support.

Hurray!

I appreciate your invitation to attend your annual meeting this year and hope to be able to attend at least a part of the sessions on the 15th and 16th. I think you may have mentioned when you were here where the meeting is to be held, but I do not recall, and it is not mentioned in your letter. I will be grateful if you will let me know so that I can arrange reservations at the same hotel.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

LCD:jw

Enclosures: Proposal
Board List
Staff List
Publications List, 1965
Proposed Budgets, 1966
SRC Publications Program
Press Comments about SRC
A Sampling of Comments on SRC Materials

See Rockefeller Fd. 1965
Not Rockefeller Bros

November 24, 1965

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

Enclosed is our proposal and the requested attachments. If you feel any of this should be done differently, please let us know. And, of course, we will be happy to supply you with any additional information you may want.

Please know once again how grateful we are for your interest and assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

A PROPOSAL

to the

ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

IN REQUEST OF SUPPORT TO THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

November 24, 1965

We cannot place before the Foundation a request for further assistance without expressing our gratitude for the Foundation's past support. We would like, too, to give some indication of what that support has allowed us to achieve.

In preparing this request, it was necessary to re-read the files pertaining to the Foundation from 1956 to the present. They reminded us of a great deal -- early correspondence from Dr. Mitchell to Mr. Kimball and Miss Rhind, later correspondence from Mr. Fleming and Mr. Dunbar with the above persons and Mr. Rusk and Dr. DeVinney. Throughout these files there was reflected the Foundation's careful scrutiny and analysis and, thereafter, the Foundation's continued interest and observation of Council program and effectiveness. This in itself gives us cause for gratitude and, we trust, gives the Foundation a basis for any consideration of future support which may be possible.

In the late 1950's and thereafter the Southern Regional Council was in a precarious position. The Council's programs and aims were unpopular with many of the people and most of the leadership of the region. There was little stable financial assistance and few foundations would consider support. Yet, the opportunities for the Council were perhaps never greater. The agency had acquired some fifteen years of experience and an excellent, though small, staff. Clearly defined programs in field work, research and information had been developed. A full-time research director, who was later to become executive director, had been secured and the Council was to enter perhaps the most productive period of research and information in its history. We were in an unprecedented position to influence public opinion and policy. And, perhaps most importantly, at least on a confidential and "off-the-record" basis, public officials and other leaders were beginning to turn to the Council for information and guidance.

During this period, in April of 1961, the Rockefeller Foundation announced a grant of $50,000 with the opportunity for the Council to request consideration of like support annually for four additional years. These funds have constituted from twenty to twenty-five per cent of the Council's support for general operations during these five years. We think, therefore, it is no exaggeration to observe

that whatever the Council has been able to accomplish during this period has been made possible by the Foundation's support.

During this period Council activity has grown substantially. Our staff has more than doubled with a proportionate increase in program. In several of these years our special projects expenditures have approximated a half million dollars a year. During the years of school-closing crises we were able to work with, support, and in some instances create parents' groups in support of public education in Little Rock, New Orleans, Atlanta, Mobile, in a number of smaller cities, and most recently the State-wide Mississippians for Public Education. The state Councils on Human Relations -- a genuinely interracial, community-by-community movement which has gone through lean years -- have more than doubled their membership and have more than tripled the amount of financial support available to them from local sources since our earlier request to the Foundation.

We have found rapidly increasing opportunities for cooperation with and assistance to appropriate agencies of the federal government and a growing, if not rapid, rate of opportunity for similar cooperation with state and local governments. (SRC has, for example, been approached recently with a request from the Peace Crops that we conduct training programs for Peace Corps volunteers, a request we are considering seriously though cautiously.)

Our information and research materials have increased considerably in number, and in effectiveness, reflecting a growing receptivity to such information. (Recently, we were able to publish a report on school desegregation which included, we believe, the most accurate statistical information available. The Office of Education informed us they felt our information on the number of Negro children in formerly white schools to be more accurate than theirs. A recent report on Southern justice and an analysis of the problems of Southern juries was, we were told by a member of the White House staff, of some influence on the President's request for legislative remedy.) Attached to this proposal is a description of our publications during the current year, and a brief commentary on our information and research plans for the next several years.

The Council has achieved a high degree of cooperation in publications and programs with other agencies and organizations. These agencies include the YWCA, the NAACP, the Anti-Defamation League, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist

Church. SRC continues its role as secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference, an informal gathering for the purposes of information sharing of more than 40 agencies and groups concerned with race relations in the region.

In 1962, the Council began one of its most ambitious special projects, the Voter Education Project. Under this project the Council has expended almost one million dollars in voter registration and education efforts, most of these administered in cooperation with other national, regional and local groups. Over 600,000 new voters were added to the rolls. From this effort we hope to organize the most comprehensive information available on the subject of Negro voter registration and political participation in the South. A team of research-writers is now at work on this effort which will be published in book form by contract with Harcourt, Brace in the spring.

More recently, we have received a substantial grant ($324,000 per year for three years) from the Ford Foundation which will enable us, under the special project format, to enter on a substantial basis a number of new program areas, ranging from urban planning to prison reform and criminal rehabilitation. We will be able to conduct studies in school desegregation, technological unemployment and the effectiveness of federal anti-discrimination and anti-poverty programs. Heavy use will be made of consultants to local leadership and appropriate public and private groups. In this instance, the Council is able to move not only closer to the dreams of its founders, but closer to the emerging needs and opportunities of the region by being a repository of unique skills and insights needed by the region.

(Perhaps it is valid here to insert the thought that support to general operations of the Council offers in many ways the greatest return for the funds invested. Such support not only allows the Southern Regional Council to exist, it provides that base which develops and administers the more elaborate projects which the organization is able to direct periodically. Therefore, the relative modest expenditures which allow us to develop and administer programs occasionally leads to program expenditures well in excess of our total general operating budget.)

Proposal - 4.
Rockefeller Foundation
November 24, 1965

We must hasten to add, as we always must in accounts of this nature, that the Southern Regional Council has no illusions of its power or ability to change the region. At best we can look for opportunities that are promising, needs that are pressing, new developments that require interpretation, or situations which hang in delicate balance. We can only hope that such resources as we can bring to bear will make a difference.

These skills and this realistic appraisal of limitations may be the reason the Council is unique, as we think it is. The Council is a strange agency, neither completely academic nor research-oriented in nature, nor action-oriented in the usual sense of that term. It is an agency, born out of the particular Southern mind, which is designed in the best judgment of those who direct it to meet the particular Southern need. This, in the sense of building a society as well as in the sense of correcting old evils, leads to the merging of special skills, interests, and resources. We find ourselves, therefore, attempting to analyze responsible questions raised about the exuberant student movement of the deep South, or to confer quietly with a Southern governor, to advise on request about appointments to federal governmental posts, to engage scholars for highly academic research, or to rush out a special report to clarify issues.

These, in all too brief an accounting to do justice to the grant, are some of the ways in which the Rockefeller Foundation has contributed to the Southern Regional Council during the past five years. It is, in part too, some report on present program.

In requesting consideration of further support, we should like to place before the Foundation three areas of concern: program, staffing, and financing. All are closely related and difficult to separate.

Program: To continue the ongoing program and to attempt to improve the quality of it, the Council must have the greatest degree of stability possible in its general operations. Our program of field work, particularly that of keeping closely enough in touch with the people and problems of the region to know what is happening, is essential to every interest of the Council; our program of disseminating information must not only perform its past functions but grow in the area of informing people of the new opportunities and programs available; and our research efforts must become more sophisticated as our approachable problems become more complex.

Whatever the temptations, demands, or resources of special projects, they must be seen as important appendages to the central body of the organization which makes its own stable, ongoing contribution.

In developing future program it is important to realize that in Southern race relations if the present time does not signal the end of an era than certainly it is the time of a long pause in the period of direct action. There will be more demonstrations, but generally efforts are turning inward to voter registration, community organization, self-help programs, the sharing in publicly funded activities.

We should recognize, too, that we are nearing that point when the institutions of government, particularly the courts and the legislature, have produced most of the legal framework that is necessary. Perhaps the last problem lending itself to simple identification will be that concerned with jury reform. The remaining ones will be infinitely complex.

Finally, we are approaching that point where race is an important, sometimes overwhelming, factor but not an exclusive one. Increasingly programs will have to be developed to include and assist all of the people.

Staff and Program Resources: As is quite obvious, staff is program and the quality of the Council's staff will determine the quality of the Council's programs. We have been able to attract highly qualified and dedicated people and we believe we can continue to do so, this, despite the ever growing competition from other sources, especially the federal government. But we cannot do so unless we can offer some measure of security. Here again, stability is required not just for comfortable planning, but as an essential to maximum productivity.

(An attachment to this proposal gives a list of staff and a brief description of each individual.)

The Council has long used consultants to extend its staff resources in the areas of field work, research, and writing. The talent in the South, particularly that which is college and university related, is large and available. For instance, Dr. Paul Gaston of the

University of Virginia has just completed an analysis of the effectiveness of the Summer Teaching Program sponsored by Yale University.

In this regard too, we enjoy good relations with a number of colleges and universities in the region. Increasingly, there is an opportunity to develop joint programs. We shall pursue these arrangements.

Finally, to meet our own needs but also those of all the agencies, we hope to work closely with college and university administrators in finding ways to encourage more young people from undergraduate and graduate schools to enter this field. This is seen both as a process of encouraging commitment and of developing curriculum.

Finances: Attached are the proposed budgets and estimated income for the Council for 1966 as approved at the Annual Meeting on November 16. For general operations this reflects a balance to be raised of $105,000. A determined effort will be made to seek a part of these funds from within the region. In fact, we have as a goal raising $20,000 from Southern sources during 1966. We have no idea of how realistic this goal is, but we are aware that we must begin such efforts however formidable the task.

We are in a position of having no choice but to return still to those sources where we can be certain the merits of our operation will be looked on objectively, whatever the final determination about support.

The Council remains, of course, in the position of having to raise its operating funds on a year-by-year basis. While this creates certain ever-present fund-raising problems, we do not consider this unfortunate. Quite the contrary, we think it a healthy situation to have to submit our work and plans over and over again to careful scrutiny as to its effectiveness and pertinence.

We respectfully request the consideration of the Foundation of a grant in support of the general operations of the Southern Regional Council in the amount of $50,000 per year for five years, beginning in 1966.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Atlanta, Georgia

-- Staff --

ADMINISTRATIVE

Executive Director
Paul Anthony, A.B., University of Miami; formerly SRC Assistant to the Director and Director of Field Activities

Secretary to the Director - Mrs. H. D. Johnson

Secretary-Treasurer
Mrs. Ruth House Alexander, Morris Brown College of Business

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer - Janet Smith, B.S., Berry College, M.A., Emory University

Mail Room Supervisor - Mrs. Bernice C. Cook
Clerks - Albert P. Brinson, John Reiman

Receptionist - Mrs. W. T. Knox

Executive Assistant
Edwyn Lewis, A. B., University of Miami; formerly Executive Director, Florida Council on Human Relations

RESEARCH

Director
Samuel L. Adams, A.B., West Virginia State College; A.B., Wayne State University; M.A., University of Minnesota; formerly staff writer, St. Petersburg Times; nominee for 1964 Pulitzer Award in Journalism

Staff Economist
Lloyd J. Elliott, Ph.D., University of Texas (Economics); formerly associate professor at William and Mary College

Research Assistants
Mrs. Ed A. Albright, formerly editor of Southeast News, of Congregational Christian Churches

Mrs. Numan V. Bartley, B.A. and M.A., North Texas State University

Mrs. H. H. Morrison, attended University of Chattanooga; formerly secretary, Tennessee Valley Authority

Mrs. Doris E. Kimball Reed, attended Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Georgia

Secretary - vacant ~~Mrs Jarrell~~

INFORMATION

Director
W. Patrick Watters, Jr., A.B., Emory University; M.A., University of Iowa; formerly city editor and columnist, Atlanta Journal

Editor, New South
Margaret Long, novelist, formerly staffer and columnist Atlanta, Richmond, Louisville, Macon, and Columbus newspapers and Associated Press

Secretary - Mrs. Tommy Shortt

FIELD ACTIVITIES

Director
Edwin Stanfield, A.B. and M.A., Union Theological Seminary; formerly Executive Director, Alabama Council on Human Relations

Administrative Secretary - Marge Manderson

Director of Women's Work
Mrs. M. E. Tilly, A.B., Wesleyan College, A.M., Garrett Seminary; Member, President Truman's Commission on Civil Rights

Secretary - Mrs. Johnnie C. Howard

SPECIAL PROJECTS

Voter Education Project

Director
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., B.A., DePauw University, L.L.B., Howard University; formerly Georgia Field Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, member, Arkansas Bar

Administrative Secretary - Mrs. Luther B. Morgan

Research Associate
Mrs. Jack Patterson, A.B., Vassar College

Field Consultant - vacant
Administrative Aide - Thaddeus Olive
MBA - Atlanta University

Labor Education Project

Director
Emory F. Via, A.B., Emory University, M.A. and Ph.D., University of Chicago

Associate Director - vacant

Secretary - Mrs. Jean Browning

Urban Planning

Director
Moreland G. Smith, B. Arch., Auburn University, L'Ecole de Beaux Arts, Fontainbleu, France (Diplome), Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M. Arch.)

Secretary - ~~vacant~~ Mrs — Hinson
MA - Northwestern University

Governmental Programs (Research and Consultation)

Director - ~~vacant~~

Secretary - vacant

Rehabilitation of Criminals and Penal Administration

Director - ~~vacant~~ John O'Boone

Secretary - vacant

Community Organization

Director
Al Ulmer, B.S., M.S., Florida State University; Peace Corps, Nigeria

NOTE: Consultants are being secured in the above project areas and in the areas of: Housing, Education, Welfare, and Technological Unemployment.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Atlanta, Georgia

Major Publications -- 1965

FEDERAL ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS: PRESENT AND PENDING. -- This 12-page digest of federal war on poverty programs informs the concerned individual on what he can do to stimulate group action to receive anti-poverty aid.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS. -- An' 11-page Special Report documenting the exclusion of Negroes from employment by federal courts in the South and showing the courts to be out of line with the fair employment practices of federal agencies and the philosophy of the civil rights statute.

ENCOUNTER WITH THE FUTURE. -- A study of the Negro Movement, its gains and losses, its radicalism and developing racism. A report on directions developing in youth movements, with special emphasis on the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the 34-page booklet provided a look at leaders in the movement, the philosophies, problems and possible pitfalls.

SOUTHERN JUSTICE: AN INDICTMENT. -- A documentation of the dual justice that abuses all Negroes from birth to death. The 31-page report explains the problem of the double standard of justice and goes far deeper than the illegal killing of civil rights workers, a practice recently brought into sharp focus with the acquittal of an individual charged with the wanton racial slayings in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and elsewhere in the South.

SEPTEMBER 1965: SCHOOL DESEGREGATION:OLD PROBLEMS UNDER A NEW LAW. -- A Survey of school desegregation in the South and the federal policies and problems that helped to limit desegregation to tokenism in most school districts. This 23-page report tells inadequacies of freedom of choice plans and cites widespread intimidation of individual Negro pupils and parents. It was published at a time when no one, including the federal government, knew the actual rate of school desegregation in the South.

THE MIGRANT FARMER: A PSYCHIATRIC STUDY, by M. Robert Coles, M.D.-- This report was written by a Harvard University psychiatrist who lived in the homes of Negro and white migrant farm families. His conclusions differ from the claims of some operators and owners of large farms who said domestic migrants are unwilling to do certain kinds of hard labor. The report tells of the isolation of migrant life of the sudden growing up from childhood to adulthood among the young migrants.

Major Publications - 2.
1965

BLACK BELT SCHOOLS: BEYOND DESEGREGATION. -- A study of education problems in rural communities of the South written by four Emory University educators. Going beyond the need for consolidation of small inadequate schools, the 40-page report, among other things, suggests: public nursery-kindergartens for children of ages 3 through 5; the use of boarding units for children in the middle grades, the employment of senior high school students as nursery school aides, and an intercounty, and college or university cooperative program for joint teacher-training, plus a coordinated plan of consolidation.

NEW SOUTH. -- Monthly publication with various in-depth articles on human relations in the South and related problems. The two-color, pamphlet-sized periodical averages about 20 pages. (In 1966, both the format and frequency of publishing New South will be changed. It will be published quarterly and the number of pages will be increased.)

ms. file. Ford

Southern Regional Council Publications Program

The publications program of the Southern Regional Council during the next few years will be guided by awareness that the South is in process of social, political and psychological change. This will be a time of change in government, in private institutions, in individual people, and in the combination of these three that produces public policy.

Major problems impinge on this time of change: the yet unfinished struggle for racial justice; the completion of transition from rural to urban society; the impact of technological, economic and scientific developments on a population whose characteristics are themselves changing; the lag behind most of the rest of the America in development of natural and human resources.

This time of change provides an opportunity for contributing to the development of wise and sane policy. These next few years are crucial because during them the general shape of the future of the South will be set and begin to become rigid. To read our publications of the past is to know the agony of a people struggling to change unwise, harmful public policy. Now is an opportunity to exert influence on what constructively is to be done -- rather than seek desperately to undo past mistakes.

In broad terms, our publications will be involved with efforts to strengthen the institutions and the organization of southern society, and to affect larger and freer participation in them.

Race relations remains a common denominator of southern problems. The need is great now to interpret attitudes of one race to the other, to show how often the self-interest of both races are the same, and to assist and evaluate enforcement of federal civil rights legislation. The South has not yet attained the basic equality of opportunity necessary to the full solution of its other problems.

But, paradoxically, it has progressed enough to make clear that conditions arising out of these other problems must be alleviated before the other one of race can be fully solved.

So, to an extent greater than in the past -- though this has always been part of our publications program -- we will be concerned with social and economic problems, and with government.

We will be especially concerned with education in all its ramifications, including adult education, public welfare, criminology, and employment. We will study new developments like community organization among the poor, and new approaches to credit unions, agricultural cooperatives, labor unions, and voter education.

We will continue to assist, evaluate and criticise responsibily the programs of the federal government, an ever enlarging responsibility. We will try to meet needs of state governments seeking new forms of organization and data. We anticipate many such needs because a variety of factors, including reapportionment, has brought these state governments more closely into contact with the reality of the South and its people. We will try to meet the increased needs for understanding better the way local government functions -- the complex and yet crucial role, for example, of city planning and urban renewal in the relative health of urban areas, or the processes by which people in a slum might gain the government services which are their due. We will investigate the many vexing problems revolving around where people live -- their homes -- and try to provide reliable information, good advice and -- in the case of integration -- simply a calm and reassuring voice.

We hope also to do more than has been done in the past toward sharing special resources of the South with the rest of the nation and the world. Southern culture -- from indigenous music to a felicity and ingenuity of folk expression -- should be preserved and nurtured.

In many of these areas, an aim will be to catalogue research and information that is available in the various states and cities, and, as needed, to collect and put such data together in regional perspective.

A major role in the publications program will be played by the magazine New South. It is being expanded and changed from monthly to quarterly appearance. It will reflect old and new program interests, will draw on a wider range of southern scholars and writers, and will continue a tradition of allowing Southerners to speak their minds and hearts about the southern experience.

Reliance in the publications program will continue strong on resources that are distinctive to the Southern Regional Council: its membership, a cross-section of constructive citizens and leaders, and the Human Relations Councils in every state and many of the cities and towns of the South. New programs will involve increased use of specialized researchers and consultants in many of the areas of concern, and this is an opportunity to publish material from a wider variety of southern thought and talent.

A strength of past publications has been flexibility, the ability to respond to the unexpected and the suddenly emerged difficulty or crisis. This will remain a conscious obligation.

The purpose of the publications, as in the past, will be to provide accurate, reliable, complete information where it is often not otherwise available in such form; to inform Southerners of resources, techniques and thought in the various areas of concern, new and old, in which they seek improvement; to put into perspective of careful thought as much of the data and the truth of southern reality and experience as we can encompass.

And through the coming next few years, there will be the awareness that the decision-making process can succeed or fail by virtue of the quality of the data upon which it relies.

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mt-file (Jad)

Press Comments About the Southern Regional Council

An outstanding voice on the side of justice and fair play in the South for the past quarter-century has been the Southern Regional Council.

Editorial, The Atlanta Constitution

* * * * *

But the Southern Regional Council is on the right track and neither the Governor of Louisiana nor the Governor of Georgia, nor any less respectable force can permanently prevent the carrying out the program the Council proposes.

Editorial, The Washington Post

* * * * *

The award to the Southern Regional Council, the foremost interracial organization working for human relations improvements in the South, was viewed by Southern moderate leaders as a major endorsement and tribute of the Council's long years of service on meager funds in the interest of human betterment throughout the region.

Under the executive directorship, in order of George S. Mitchell, Harold C. Fleming, Leslie Dunbar and Paul Anthony, the Council, composed of white and Negro leaders from all walks of life in the South, has attained numerous successes in human betterment projects through education, persuasion and research studies.

News story on receipt of Ford Foundation grant, The Chattanooga Times.

mm - file (Fad)

A Sampling of Comments on Southern Regional Council Materials

"The Pat Watters pamphlet on SNCC is a tremendous contribution ...by far the best thing I have seen on SNCC -- in a sense, the only thing I have read that seems to me to cut the essence of the matter ... could you send me ten more copies?"

-- Charles E. Silverman, Board of Editors,
Fortune Magazine

* * *

"I am delighted that SRC published a pamphlet exploring these things... could you let me have half a dozen more?"

-- August Meier, Roosevelt University

* * *

"...thanks for the materials from SRC. It will serve both me and my students admirably..."

-- Gerald Forbes, Ouchita Baptist College,
Arkadelphia, Arkansas

* * *

"I am pleased to know that I shall be able to receive the interesting and valuable products of your research division..."

-- Dewey W. Grantham, Vanderbilt University

* * *

"This is just what I was looking for..."

-- Robert J. Harris, University of Michigan Law School

"...your thoughtfulness and industry in responding to my request with vital information beyond my request."

-- Samuel DuBois Cook, Atlanta University

"Our deep appreciation for the 30 copies of .. Economic Status of Negroes. ... we could use them as we offer our course ... twice each year."

-- Harry W. Roberts, Virginia State College

File
Rockefeller Fd.
1966

February 8, 1966

Mr. J. Kellum Smith, Jr.
Secretary
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you for your letter announcing the further support of the Rockefeller Foundation to the Council. Needless to say, this removes a substantial strain from our budget, but it is very important to us also because of this further vote of confidence from the Foundation's Executive Committee and Officers.

We note the conditions of the grant, and shall abide by them. In keeping with our usual custom, we shall make no public announcement of the receipt of these funds.

We would be grateful for the payment for 1966 at the convenience of the Foundation. Our program report and audit for the calendar year 1965 will be sent to you next week.

Please know that we are deeply grateful, and shall make every effort to use these funds as responsibly as possible.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

In reply please quote: RF 66008

February 1, 1966

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I have the honor to inform you that at a meeting of the Executive Committee of The Rockefeller Foundation on January 28, 1966, action was taken to provide up to $250,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., for its general purposes. This sum is payable annually upon request from you during the six-year period beginning January 1, 1966, in tapering amounts, as follows: up to $50,000 in each of the calendar years 1966, 1967, and 1968, up to $40,000 in 1969, up to $35,000 in 1970, and up to $25,000 in 1971.

In making these funds available the Trustees of the Foundation expect that during the period of tapering support from the Foundation the Council will make every effort to broaden the base of, to increase, and to stabilize support from other sources both in the South and elsewhere. It is not within the usual scope of the Foundation's program to provide general support for an institution on a continuing basis.

We shall appreciate reviews of the Council's program as these become available. Also, please send us a statement of receipts and expenditures at the end of each calendar year of the appropriation. Any balance of the grant unexpended on December 31, 1971, will revert to the Foundation.

A brief public announcement of our grant will be made in the next quarterly report of the Foundation. There is, however, no objection on our part to your announcing the grant prior to the Foundation's report if for any reason you wish to do so. As a matter of routine I am enclosing a printed statement of the Rockefeller Foundation policy regarding the announcement of grants.

It is a pleasure to report this action to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Kellum Smith, Jr.

J. Kellum Smith, Jr.
Secretary

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

enclosure

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

Policy with Respect to Announcement of Grants

The Rockefeller Foundation records its grants in *The Rockefeller Foundation Quarterly Report* and in an *Annual Report*.

The Foundation is always glad to have its reports supplemented through announcements issued locally by recipients at the time the award is made. Only if the announcement involves an interpretation of the Foundation's purpose in making the grant do the officers of the Foundation request that they be given the opportunity of seeing the statement before it is released.

Acknowledgment of Foundation aid in the support of research may also be made when the research results are published.

The Foundation requests, however, that in making public references to grants, recipients avoid any implication that the Foundation has any control over the project or any responsibility for its results.

The name of the Foundation should not be used in advertising, especially of books, nor in designating projects, fellowships, laboratories, or buildings toward which it has contributed.

See Rockefeller Fd. 1967 (Be sure not to get this into Rockefeller Bros. folder)

May 9, 1967

Mr. J. Kellum Smith, Jr.
Secretary
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York 10020

Dear Mr. Smith:

In accordance with the stipulation of your letter of February 1, 1966, this is to respectfully request the Foundation grant to the Southern Regional Council for 1967-8 in the amount of $50,000.

Earlier in the year we supplied the Foundation with copies of our audit and program report for 1966. If you desire additional copies of these documents or any other information, we shall be happy to provide it.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file

The Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

March 4, 1968

Dear Paul:

Thank you for the copy of your annual report on the program of the Southern Regional Council and of the audit report of the Council's finances.

Reading about the work of the Council is always a pleasure, which I am sharing with other officers here. I am forwarding the financial report to our Comptroller.

Sincerely yours,

Leland

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

LCD:ma

See Rockefeller Fd. 1968 (Be sure not to get this into Rockefeller Bros. folder)

April 4, 1968

Mr. J. Kellum Smith, Jr.
Secretary
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York 10020

Dear Mr. Smith:

In accordance with the stipulation of your letter of February 1, 1966, this is to respectfully request the Foundation grant to the Southern Regional Council for 1968 in the amount of $50,000.

Earlier in the year we supplied the Foundation with copies of our audit and program report for 1967. If you desire additional copies of these documents or any other information, we shall be happy to provide it.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File Rockefeller Fd 1968

April 22, 1968

Mr. J. Kellum Smith
Secretary
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York 10020

Dear Mr. Smith:

This will acknowledge with grateful appreciation the Foundation's contribution of $50,000 toward the work of the Council during 1968.

More than ever before we feel a great sense of urgency, and I pledge to you and the Foundation that we shall use these funds as effectively as we can.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1 (Official receipt)

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION
111 WEST 50TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION 1913

NEW YORK
APR 17 '68
N.Y.
U.S. POSTAGE
06
PB 607078

$50,000.00
Contribution
Rec'd — 4-18-68
Kathy M

per letter 4-4-1968
request

IN PAYMENT OF THE FOLLOWING:

VOUCHER & CHECK No. 39155

In full, under grant RF 67054, Allocation No. 73, to enable Mr. Walter Patterson Watters, Jr. to have an uninterrupted period of writing

$18,000.00

file
Roch. Fd. 1968
cc: Pat Watters file

12-11-68
KM

Based on letter dated August 13, 1968

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION 111 WEST 50 STREET, NEW YORK 10020

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION
111 WEST 50TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

NEW YORK DEC 10 '68 N.Y.

U.S. POSTAGE 10

VIA AIR MAIL

May 21, 1969

Mr. Gerald Freund
Associate Director
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York 10020

Dear Mr. Freund:

Ifis very good to know that the Foundation is considering awarding a writer's fellowship to Miss Vera Rony.

We have worked with Miss Rony for about two years and published some of her work. She is a thoughtful, as well as talented writer about a little known segment of labor related events in the region during the earlier part of this century. We very much need research and writing about this period.

I am particularly enthusiastic about Miss Rony's plans to research and write on the events of the efforts of agricultural workers to organize in the South during the early '30's, and I know of no one more qualified to do this.

We have, periodically, offered modest financial assistance to Miss Rony, and are prepared to offer her some travel funds should she receive this support from the Foundation.

We continue to be very grateful to the Foundation for the current support you are giving Pat Watters. It is proving for him a very productive year.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

May 19, 1969

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In 1965 The Rockefeller Foundation started a small experimental program providing assistance to a number of carefully selected creative writers, critics, and literature scholars. Vera Rony has been nominated and invited to apply to the Foundation for assistance under this program.

I wonder if you would be willing to give us your frank judgment of the applicant's capacity for imaginativeness and originality. Since our program is quite limited, we are especially anxious to know whether the writer in question has given evidence of genuine creative ability in the past and is likely to carry new work to successful completion.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

Gerald Freund/sh

Gerald Freund
Associate Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME:

ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION 1968

REGARDING:

1 year writing grant

See letter dated June 26, 1968 from Gerald Freund in Pat Watters' Personnel File

DATE:

6-26

SEE:
(NAME OR SUBJECT)

PAT WATTERS PERSONNEL FILE

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME:

ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

REGARDING:

John Wheeler's letter to Miss Esther Stamm
xxxxxxxx re: Pat Watters' grant

DATE:

July 26, 1968

SEE:
(NAME OR SUBJECT)

PERSONNEL: PAT WATTERS

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME:

ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

REGARDING:

1 year grant for writing purposes

DATE:

ltr. August 13, 1968

SEE:
(NAME OR SUBJECT)

PERSONNEL: PAT WATTERS

file

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

November 8, 1968

Dear Mr. Anthony:

With this list of 1968 grantees under this Foundation's Individual Grant Program for Imaginative Writing and Literary Scholarship the officers wish to convey their thanks for your assistance. As you and others who served as nominators or referees know, the Foundation in each of the last four years invited suggestions of candidates from a large number of designated writers, editors, and scholars in every part of the country.

Again in 1968 our Advisory Committee and the officers had the difficult task of screening the many excellent candidates, inviting applications from some of these, and finally recommending a small number for assistance. Primarily, our desire to keep the standards of this program high kept us from including many good writers and worthwhile projects in the program.

We thank you for your valuable suggestions and hope that we may continue to have your good counsel in continuing the program.

Yours sincerely,

Gerald Freund

Gerald Freund
Associate Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

IMAGINATIVE WRITING AND LITERARY SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM GRANTEES - 1968

Name	Age	Time Period	Project
BISHOP, Alison Lurie	41	4 months	Work on a novel
CLARK, Thomas	27	1 year	Poetry writing
COOVER, Robert	36	1 year	Fiction writing
DABBS, James M.	72	1 year	Non-fiction writing
HOWLAND, Bette Sotonov	31	1 year	Fiction writing
IGNATOW, David	54	1 year	Poetry writing and travel overseas
KELLEY, William Melvin	30	1 year	Fiction writing and travel overseas
LOGAN, John	45	1 year	Poetry, criticism and fiction writing
MacDONALD, John	62	1 year	Research, writing and travel
MADDEN, J. David	34	1 year	Work on a novel
MEREDITH, William	49	1 year	Poetry writing and travel overseas
MERWIN, William S.	41	2 years	Poetry writing and travel overseas
PECKINPAH, Deneen	29	1 year	Poetry writing
ROOT, William Pitt	26	1 year	Poetry writing
STRAND, Mark	34	1 year	Poetry writing
WAKEFIELD, Dan	35	1 year	Non-fiction writing and travel overseas
WATTERS, Patterson	41	1 year	Non-fiction writing
WILLIAMS, Thomas	41	1 year	Work on a novel

December 19, 1969

Mr. Dean Rusk
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rusk:

After some thought I have decided that if the enclosed has not come to your attention, it should.

I am confident we have received scurrilous literature of this type from the same source previously.

Warmest regards and best wishes for the Season.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Dear Friend:

With this great drive for complete integration in this country we find that the very same politicians and federal officials who are promoting integration are saying one thing and practicing quite something else! Many of these high ranking officials and politicians living in Washington are sending their children to segregated or nearly segregated schools outside of Washington. They don't really want their children mixing with the black masses in our capital (over 94% of the children in Washington are negroes). They'll force the low class white people to mix but they'll evade it themselves.

It's inevitable that complete integration will lead directly to a mullato race in this country. Anybody with any foresight can see this. With 350 years or so to interbreed many white people in the United States already have some negro ancestry. Negroid features such as real curly hair, big nostrils, thick lips and other features can now be seen on the faces of white people here and there all over the country. Presently in interracial marriages in about 95% of the cases negro males are marrying white females. On college campuses across the country white coeds tell about being pestered by negro males, who are constantly trying to get dates with them. Equality to these boys means white girl friends. Some negroes have even revealed the fact that their parents tell them to marry as light as they can.

At the rate the negroes are multiplying in the United States we're assured of a mullato race in the not too far future. In 1960 one out of 10 Americans was a negro. By 1964 one out of 9 Americans was a negro. Now one out of 8 Americans is a negro already. If this trend continues there'll be a negro majority in the United States by the turn of the century. This great increase can most easily be recognized in the large cities which will all soon have large enough negro populations to elect their own negro mayors. Cleveland and Washington already have negro mayors and recently Detroit, Los Angeles and Houston had negro candidates up for mayor.

There are groups in this country, who with their equalitarian fanaticism are going all out to promote a future mullato race. The National Council of Churches is a group who knowingly or through their ignorance, is guilty of attempting to bring this about. We also find the television and movie industry going all out to promote a future mullato race. More and more shows are depicting interracial love scenes. The emphasis on and promotion of racial and sexual perversion is getting completely out of hand. Sexual and racial perversion both appeal to a perverted mentality and many producers and their subordinates are reputed to be homosexuals.

To keep from being racially swallowed up by the negroes the white people in Rhodesia and South Africa are intelligent enough to keep the races segregated. In this country if you intelligent enough to be against integrated interbreeding your called a variety of names by these fanatical equalitarians and assimilationists. They'll usually call you a Nazi, a Fascist or a racist if you disagree with their fanaticism. With this obsession with equality these people are quite willing to make our descendants part of a future mullato race.

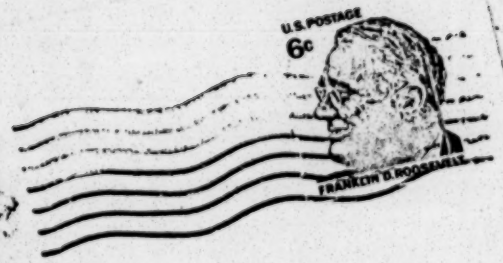
A recent champion of the mullato state was Martin Luther King. We all remember the great build up this man's funeral got by the television networks. He was presented as some kind of a saint. This was the same man who J. Edgar Hoover called a notorious liar. The F.B.I. knew what King was; they had him under wire tap surveillance the last four years of his life. Along with being a liar some of King's statements definitely show he was somewhat sexually motivated in his endeavors too. His statement that he had a dream that some day his children and white children would run around hand in hand was obviously sexually motivated.

In applied psychology the blunt truth is often considered tactless and cruel but the truth is negroes and white people aren't the same. Negroes walk, talk and look different. Many negroes even have what can be classified as ape-like features. A noted anthropologist in this country has established from his work the fact that negroes have what he described as small bent brains (note the frequent bulge at the front of their foreheads). This same anthropologist has stated that different races living today are at different levels of evolution. The Australian aborigines are still at a level similar to the Neanderthal man. It's a fact that some negroes have become eminent in this country (often through negro votes), but it's also a fact that there are teachers, professors, lawyers and accountants in this country with IQs below average (100). How many negroes fall into or near this category?

Summed up we can say America is being guided towards a future mullato race by equalitarians and assimilationists. In the near future we will have negro majorities and negro mayors in our large cities. Closer to the next century we can't help but have a negro president. If the trend continues there'll be more negroes than white people in the United States by the turn of the century (With an extremely high illegitimate rate and through the help of welfare the negroes are multiplying extremely fast). Only through the separation of the races can we escape the fate of becoming a mullato state in the future.

Sincerely Yours,
Dean C. Rusk

Defiance, Ohio



S. R. C.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta
Georgia
30303

February 27, 1970

Dr. Leland Devinney
Associate Director
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Devinney:

Enclosed is a memorandum relative to the Tax Act and SRC programs. I hope to be in New York in mid March and will check to determine if you are available. I would welcome the opportunity to bring you up to date on this matter, and the activities generally.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosure

March 11, 1970

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

Enclosed for your records are our program report and audit for 1969. I hope you receive this before our meeting next week.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosures - 2

MAR 15 1970

jl

The Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

March 13, 1970

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of March 9. Some of the officers and I would welcome the opportunity to have you and your associates, John Lewis and Emory Via, as our luncheon guests at the Foundation at 12:15 on Wednesday, March 18.

We look forward to seeing you and to hearing about developments in the work of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

LCD:dj

March 30, 1970

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
42nd Floor
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

Please forgive me for the delay in thanking you for the more than generous hospitality during our New York trip. The three of us found it interesting and very helpful.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

March 30, 1970

Mr. Nils J. Westerberg
Assistant Comptroller
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New Yprk, New York 10020

Dear Mr. Westerberg:

In response to your inquiry of March 25th to Mr. Wheeler, we are enclosing a copy of our audit for 1969. As that document indicates, the Foundation's grant of $18,000 has all been expended and entirely for the purpose for which it was granted.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosure

MAR 27 1970

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

March 25, 1970

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

A review of our records indicates that we have not received your statement indicating that the sum of $18,000 awarded under RF 67054 Alloc. #73 has been used entirely for the purposes intended.

Since this grant terminated December 31, 1969, we shall appreciate receiving this statement in the near future. Under the terms of the grant any unexpended balance reverts to the Foundation.

Sincerely yours,

Nils J. Westerberg

Nils J. Westerberg
Assistant Comptroller

Mr. John H. Wheeler
President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

MAD:axp
cc: Mr. Walter Patterson Watters, Jr.

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10020

OFFICE OF THE COMPTROLLER

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

APR 6 1970

April 2, 1970

Re: RF 67054, Alloc. #73

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of March 30, 1970 indicating that the funds provided under the above noted grant have been used entirely for the purposes intended.

Since the grant terminated December 31, 1969, we shall now consider the account closed.

Sincerely yours,

Alexander Daunys
Assistant Comptroller

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

EL

file

The Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

April 10, 1970

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Your letter of April 8 caught us a bit by surprise for it indicates that somehow a second step was taken before the first step that we were planning. We are now proceeding with that first step.

You will soon receive a letter over the signature of the Secretary of the Foundation respecting requirements under the Tax Reform Act of 1969. If, after consultation with the Council's counsel, you are able to sign and return the copy of this letter that will be enclosed, the intended first step will be completed.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

LCD:dj

COPY

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION
111 West 50th Street
New York, N. Y. 10020

April 10, 1970

In reply please quote: RF 66008

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Tax Reform Act of 1969 has created new responsibilities for grant-making foundations. In the first place it becomes necessary for us to ascertain what status under the Act is assigned to each grantee. On the basis of the information available to us, we believe you would be classified as a "private foundation" as defined in IRC Sec. 509(a), but not an "operating foundation" as defined in IRC Sec. 4942(j)(3). Will you please let us know that you agree, or, if you claim a different status, furnish us the evidence on which you rely in support of your position.

If you agree that we have assigned to your organization the correct classification under the Act, it follows that payment under a grant to you could not be applied against our pay-out requirements unless you satisfy the following conditions:

A. Not later than the close of your first taxable year after your taxable year in which you receive the payment, you would make a distribution equal to the amount of our payment, and your distribution would be a "qualifying distribution" which would be treated by you, however, as a distribution out of corpus; and

B. You would furnish us with records or other evidence reasonably satisfactory to us showing that the "qualifying distribution" described in the foregoing paragraph (A.) had been made by you. (See IRC Sec. 4942(g)(3).)

If you are a private non-operating foundation, the Act also requires that we exercise "expenditure responsibility" with respect to a grant to you. (See IRC Sec. 4945(d)(4). This means, in the words of the Act (See IRC Sec. 4945(h)), that we are "responsible to exert all reasonable efforts and to establish adequate procedures -

(1) to see that the grant is spent solely for the purpose for which made," and

"(2) to obtain full and complete reports from the grantee on how the funds are spent . . . ."

For our mutual protection against liability for "taxable expenditures" under the Act, we must also require that no part of the funds received by you under the grant would be used to carry on propaganda, or otherwise to attempt, to influence legislation, or to influence the outcome of any specific public election, or to carry on, directly or indirectly, any voter registration drive. (See IRC Secs. 4945(d)(1) and (2), and 4945(e).)

If you accept the classification as a private non-operating foundation, and wish to comply with the foregoing terms, please sign at the bottom, and return to us, the enclosed copy of this letter, as indicating your agreement to inform us immediately if the ruling granting your exemption under IRC Sec. 501(c)(3) is revoked or modified, to satisfy the above conditions A. and B., to give us full cooperation in meeting our "expenditure responsibility" above described under (1) and (2), and to comply with all other provisions of the Internal Revenue Code and with our requirements as to the use of the funds.

Sincerely yours,

J. KELLUM SMITH, JR

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

We agree to the understandings, terms, and conditions set forth in this letter.

Dated: , 1970 Southern Regional Council, Inc.

By_____
Executive Director

June 16, 1970

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street, 42nd Floor
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

It will be necessary for me to be in New York on the afternoon of June 25th. During the course of my trip, I would like very much to have a brief visit with you. Is it possible that you could see me either that morning, or anytime during the day on the 24th, or on the morning of the 26th?

Quite frankly, we are attempting to develop a new program authorized by our Executive Committee this past week end, and I would like to determine whether or not the Rockefeller Foundation will have any interest in it.

Enclosed is a copy of the draft submitted to our Executive Committee. Already several significant changes have been made in it, but this will give you the basic idea.

Giving the slowness of the mail, I will be grateful if you will have your secretary call me if you can see me on any of the above dates.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

September 4, 1970

Mr. William C. Olson
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, N. Y. 10020

Dear Bill:

Thank you for the note informing me of the change. While you will get it late, we will see that you are added to our mailing list.

I would be less than candid if I didn't tell you that I was envious.

If you have any other information on the center I would very much enjoy having it.

Warmest regards and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

SEP 3 1970

The Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

September 1, 1970

Dear Paul:

This is to inform you that, effective November first, I will assume my new duties as Director of the Villa Serbelloni, The Rockefeller Foundation's international study and conference center at Bellagio, Lake Como, Italy.

Succeeding me as Chairman of the Program Committee for the Villa Serbelloni, the interdisciplinary group in New York which evaluates requests and applications for residencies and conferences at the Villa, is Dr. Ralph W. Richardson.

While it may prove easier to communicate with Betsy and myself through the offices here in New York, our Italian address and phone number are:

The Rockefeller Foundation
Villa Serbelloni
22021 Bellagio (Como)
Italy

Tel: (Area code 031) 950.105

Sincerely,

Bill

William C. Olson
Director-Designate
The Villa Serbelloni

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

HUMAN RESOURCES & PUBLIC SERVICES

(1)

SUB AREA HEALTH SUB-AREA

(a) I. General Problem Areas	(b) Specific Aspects	(c) Data Needed	(d) Availability (Bibliography & Data Sources)	(e) Analysis Required	Rationale for Priorities
Health manpower shortage	1. Geographical maldistribution. 2. Specialty maldistribution 3. Numerical shortage 4. Increased use of hospital emergency rooms and out-patient depts. as a source of primary medical care.	1. Information on distribution of health manpower within SMSA's preferably by census tract and poverty related data. 2. Expand Health Resources Profile (all sources) to include additional census South states. 3. Information on number & distribution of para-medical personnel.	1. Health Resources Profile 2. "Distribution of Physicians in U.S." (AMA) 3. "Tennessee, Manpower Survey" examining distribution of manpower in rural, intermediate and urban counties. 4. Various isolated supportive data limited to specific geographical areas such as the West Alabama Health Survey. 5. State Summaries from the Community Profile Data Center, U.S. Public Health Service. 6. Various state publications such as the Mississippi Health Resources Profile, Arkansas Primary Care Study, Statistical Profile of Hospital Out-patient Services, Univ. of Penn. Law School material; Health Service Use: National Trends & Variations, etc.	1. Further analysis of physician data contained in the Health Resources Profile. 2. Further analysis of the State Summaries (see (d) 5) 3. Analysis of relation between health manpower data and poverty.	The lack of available health manpower is especially acute for the poor and minorities in rural and inner-city areas where need is greatest. Not only is there a numerical shortage and a problem in geographical distribution, but the effects of overspecialization within the medical profession have resulted in an inadequate supply of primary care manpower necessary to meet the vast majority of the patient's medical needs.

HUMAN RESOURCES & PUBLIC SERVICES

2

SUB AREA HEALTH SUB-AREA

(a) I. General Problem Areas	(b) Specific Aspects	(c) Data Needed	(d) Availability (Bibliography & Data Sources)	(e) Analysis Required	Rationale for Priorities
Lack of access to health facilities, with special attention to problems of the poor.	1. Lack of transportation to health facilities as a particularly acute problem for the poor. 2. Location of health facilities (doctor's offices, health depts., hospitals) in relation to the service area, particularly in inner-city and rural areas. 3. Time factor (especially in emergency cases) such as distance in rural areas and traffic congestion in urban centers.	1. Information on the availability of public transportation systems in rural areas. 2. Representative sample information on the locating of health related facilities without adequate consideration of problems of access.	1. Florida Public Transportation Study. 2. SRC Health Resources Profile, Documentation of the lack or minimal availability of health facilities and manpower, particularly in rural and inner-city areas. 3. Congressional hearings on the Emergency Medical Services Act. 4. SRC map and analysis showing median family income by county.		In many cases lack of access to healt facilities prevent the poor from receiving necessary treatment and encourages dependence on crisis-oriented emergency type medicine rather than preventive care.

HUMAN RESOURCES & PUBLIC SERVICES

3

SUB AREA HEALTH - SUB-AREA

(a) I. General Problem Areas	(b) Specific Aspects	(c) Data Needed	(d) Availability (Bibliography & Data Sources)	(e) Analysis Required	Rationale for Priorities
The relationship between the immediate environment and health status.	Urban and rural environmental health hazards including bacterial contamination of individual water supplies, substandard housing, inadequate plumbing facilities, insects, rodents, overcrowding, lead paint poisoning, etc.	1. Material on the extent of urban environmental health hazards such as overcrowding, substandard housing, rodent, etc. by census tract or proverty related areas. 2. Additional general supportive material on the interrelationship between the individuals's environment (living conditions) and health status.	1. Various Congressional hearings, especially those held by the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs which include testimony on the effects of poor housing on health and the presence of other housing-related hazards such as lead paint poisoning. 2. Several housing field studies covering limited geographical areas. 3. EPA (Environmental Protection Agency) study on community water supply systems. 4. Housing Census; (Rural Low Income Housing Study as sample). 5. Unpublished morbidity and general health related data from the Vanderbilt Student Health Coalition and the Tennessee Valley	1. Analysis of TVA and Student Health Coalition material (some preliminary analysis has been completed). 2. Correlation of the above data with various environmental indices, such as impure water, substandard housing.	Primary medical care alone cannot break the cycle of poverty and ill health. Any meaningful improvement in health status must include the alleviation of adverse environmental conditions which contribute to poor health, especially in rural and inner-city areas.

HUMAN RESOURCES & PUBLIC SERVICES

(4)

SUB AREA HEALTH SUB-AREA

(a) General Problem Areas	(b) Specific Aspects	(c) Data Needed	(d) Availability (Bibliography & Data Sources)	(e) Analysis Required	Rationale for Priorities
			Authority compiled for a number of Appalachain Tennessee counties and rural counties in western Tennessee.		

HUMAN RESOURCES & PUBLIC SERVICES

5

SUB AREA HEALTH SUB-AREA

(a) I. General Problem Areas	(b) Specific Aspects	(c) Data Needed	(d) Availability (Bibliography & Data Sources)	(e) Analysis Required	Rationale for Priorities
Malnutrition	The effects of malnutrition on general health and on physical and mental growth.	1. Additional documentation of the effects of malnutrition on physical and mental growth. 2. Information on the effects of malnutrition on general health and health status.	1. SRC Poverty Analysis, Census figures on the number of people below the poverty level. 2. Assorted reports and articles documenting the effects of inadequate protein consumption on brain formation and the general effects of malnutrition on physical growth. 3. Community Nutrition Bulletins, Hunger U.S.A., Hunger U.S.A. Revisited, Hunger 1973, etc. 4. Testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs. 5. Ten State Nutrition Survey, Health and Nutrition Education Survey (preliminary findings).	Comparison of poverty population with malnutrition data through sample studies.	Presumption of malnutrition as an inhibiting factor on human growth and development and the effect of malnutrition on productivity and life enjoyment of the poor.

HUMAN RESOURCES & PUBLIC SERVICES

6

SUB AREA HEALTH - SUB-AREA

(a) II. Existing Programs	(b) Descriptions (State/Fed./Local Role)	(c) Data Needed	(d) Availability (Bibliography & Data Source)	(e) Analysis Required	(f) Possible Policy Implications Short Long	(g) Rationale for Priorities
Medicaid: Federally initiated program designed to alleviate financial barriers to adequate medical care for low-income persons.	Federal and state funding on a matching formula basis; administered by state human resources depts. which determine eligibility and benefits within broad HEW guidelines.	1. Unpublished state reports by Medical Services Administration for 1969 on Medicaid recipients, payments, and use by age, race, sex and urban and rural residence. 2. Problems in administering and implementing HEW Directives. Agency difficulties, client difficulties. 3. Individual state plans with updated list of offered benefits and proposed methods of implementing and administering program.	1. Information from Univ. of Penn. emphasizing legal legal aspects of Medicaid program. 2. Various materials from Congressional hearings such as Hearings before the Sub-committee on Medicare-Medicaid of the Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate. 3. Selected material from numerous publications such as journals, magazines. and newspapers, etc. dealing with the Medicaid program. 4. Materials from Dr. Karen Davis, Brookings Institution.	1. Analysis of state plans (see 3c) 2. Comparison of program benefits with need and attention to state variations. 3. Analysis of how current National Health Insurance bills will affect the Medicaid program.		Medicaid as now implemented by most Southern states fails to reach the majority of those in need of medical financial assistance partially because eligibility is tied to state welfare requirements. On a regional basis, the program offers the fewest number of optional medical services making Medicaid in the Southern states, generally, very limited in scope. The full potential for assistance through Medicaid requires support from state and county officials charged with its administration, and definitions of need compatible

SUB AREA HEALTH SUB-AREA

II. (a) Existing Programs	(b) Descriptions (State/Fed./Local Role)	(c) Data Needed	(d) Availability (Bibliography & Data Source)	(e) Analysis Required	(f) Possible Policy Implications Short	(f) Possible Policy Implications Long	(g) Rationale for Priorities
Medicaid: (continued)			5. Information on National Health Insurance bills currently under Congressional consideration.				with the economic facts of life.

SUB AREA HEALTH - SUB-AREA

II. (a) Existing Programs	(b) Descriptions (State/Fed./Local Role)	(c) Data Needed	(d) Availability (Bibliography & Data Source)	(e) Analysis Required	(f) Possible Policy Implications		(g) Rationale for Priorities
					Short	Long	
County Health Programs - Possible expansion of personal health and environmental services.	County health depts. are funded through the Public Health Service Act and administered by state health depts. Public services include inspection of food handling institutions, public water supplies, etc. Personal health services are usually limited to V.D. control, well-baby clinics, immunizations and other non-treatment type functions.	1. Representative sample data from health depts. throughout the region with emphasis on personal services, number of people served, types of services offered, location within service area, staffing patterns, hours of operation, etc. 2. Information on funding levels 3. Information on the feasibility of expanding personal health services to include actual medical treatment and extended environmental health functions.	NOTE: Information under (c) would be difficult to gather and extremely time consuming. 1. Very brief national survey of county health depts. 2. <u>South Carolina Low Country Health Profile</u>	Analysis of all data under section (c) compared to needs, existing health resources and poverty data.	Would the expansion of county health depts. to include additional personal health and extended environmental services with organized outreach provide a needed resource to medical scarcity areas? (To some extent county health depts. are underutilized because of staff attitudes and the restricted nature of available services).		Whether an increase in services would be feasible in terms of the additional staffing, equipment and necessary funding is a question which may well require a great deal of further study and research. However, with the rare exception of special demonstration experimental programs, or where private services and public resources combined nearly meet treatment needs, county programs provide the most immediate potential for

HUMAN RESOURCES & PUBLIC SERVICES

(8)

SUB AREA HEALTH - SUB-AREA

II.	(a) Existing Programs	(b) Descriptions (State/Fed./Local Role)	(c) Data Needed	(d) Availability (Bibliography & Data Source)	(e) Analysis Required	(f) Possible Policy Implications		(g) Rationale for Priorities
						Short	Long	
	County Health Programs(con'td.)							"in-place services" to people in need.

SUB AREA HEALTH - SUB-AREA

II. (a) Existing Programs	(b) Descriptions (State/Fed./Local Role)	(c) Data Needed	(d) Availability (Bibliography & Data Source)	(e) Analysis Required	(f) Possible Policy Implications Short / Long	(g) Rationale for Priorities
Food Stamp Program	Federally funded program through U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Administered by state and county welfare agencies with partial state matching funding for non-public assistance recipients.	1. Number of outreach workers employed at regional and local levels. 2. Information on the effects of inflation on food purchasing power at the national and state level.	1. Information on administrative defects in implementing the program such as complex certification procedures, inconvenient offices hours and location of offices, eligibility standards, etc. 2. Consumer and Nutrition Services, U.S.D.A. statistics on the number of food stamp participants in the south by state. 3. SRC Poverty Analysis and census figures on the number of persons below the poverty level (the poverty level determines eligibility).	Comparison of poverty population data by state with the number of food program participants.	Retention of Food Stamp Program vs. change to guaranteed income.	Inadequacy of the food stamp program to reach all those in need.

SUB AREA HEALTH - SUB-AREA

II. (a) Existing Programs	(b) Descriptions (State/Fed./Local Role)	(c) Data Needed	(d) Availability (Bibliography & Data Source)	(e) Analysis Required	(f) Possible Policy Implications		(g) Rationale for Priorities
					Short	Long	
Food Stamp Program(con'td.)			4. Data on payment scales from Consumer and Nutrition Services, U.S.D.A.				
			5. Testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs.				
			6. Publications such as Hunger U.S.A., Hunger U.S.A. Revisited, Community Nutrition Institute Bulletins, Hunger 1973, etc.				
			7. Ten State Nutrition Survey and the Health and Nutrition Education Survey.				

SUB AREA HEALTH - SUB-AREA

III. (a) Alternatives or New Programs	(b) Descriptions (State/Fed./Local Role)	(c) Data Needed	(d) Availability (Bibliography & Data Source)	(e) Analysis Required	(f) Possible Policy Implications		(g) Rationale for Priorities
					Short	Long	
Expanding the number of paramedical and allied health personnel.	1. The Comprehensive Manpower Training Act of 1971 and other similar programs under the Public Health Service Act emphasize the training of new and increased medical manpower particularly in the fields of paramedical and allied health personnel. These Federal training programs provide for loans or grants to students, grants to educational institutions for construction and general expenses and grants to hospitals for continuing education of their personnel. 2. Several state programs such as the Rural Health Assistance Act in North Carolina which sets up	1. Present legislative funding levels of Federal and state programs. 2. Information on the extent of participation within the region for Federal manpower training and state programs. 3. Barriers to program initiation and expansion like opposition by local medical associations.	1. Topical Law Reports containing original legislation. 2. Various publications and journals dealing with examples of programs initiated under such legislation. 3. Information from Duke University on use of physician extenders.	1. Analysis of the extent of participation and potential initiation of programs within the region.			To increase the pool of paramedical and allied health personnel from which rural and inner-city areas may draw, especially those unable to attract full time physician manpower.

HUMAN RESOURCES & PUBLIC SERVICES

(12)

SUB AREA HEALTH - SUB-AREA

III.	(a) Alternatives or New Programs	(b) Descriptions (State/Fed./Local Role)	(c) Data Needed	(d) Availability (Bibliography & Data Source)	(e) Analysis Required	(f) Possible Policy Implications		(g) Rationale for Priorities
						Short	Long	
	Expanding the number of paramedical and allied health personnel. (con'td.)	2. rural primary care clinics staffed by physician extenders.						

SUB AREA HEALTH - SUB-AREA

III. (a) Alternatives or New Programs	(b) Descriptions (State/Fed./Local Role)	(c) Data Needed	(d) Availability (Bibliography & Data Source)	(e) Analysis Required	(f) Possible Policy Implications		(g) Rationale for Priorities
					Short	Long	
Innovative Health Delivery Systems: a) HEW Comprehensive Health Centers b) Rural primary health care clinics c) Mobile health units d) Community health councils e) Health Maintenance Organizations (HMO's)	The HEW Comprehensive Health centers are presently funded through an extension of the Public Health Service Act. Centers serve poverty target areas as ambulatory medical treatment facilities as well as providing specific supplemental services tailored to the area's needs. Rural clinics are generally small primary medical care facilities staffed by physician extenders and funded through a variety of mechanisms including foundation grants, state support, and groups and agencies such as the Appalachian Regional Commission. The Community Health Councils are local resident groups (in	1. Information on the number and extent of new delivery systems (including demonstration and pilot programs) particularly on the use of rural clinics and mobile vans. 2. Evaluating material on the impact of innovative health delivery mechanisms now in operation on health levels and the provision of services. 3. Information on the feasibility or non-feasibility of applying the HMO concept to disadvantaged groups, particularly in rural areas.	1. Information supplied by several rural health clinics now operating in North Carolina. 2. <u>Comprehensive Health Care: A Southern View</u> (SRC) 3. Extensive data on the comprehensive health centers from HEW and OEO. 4. Health Resources Profile (SRC). 5. Material from the Vanderbilt Student Health Coalition including program evaluations and extensive material on health indices.	1. Further analysis of the extent of need for medical services from the Health Resources Profile. 2. Analysis of material from the Student Health Coalition, especially health indices data.	The initiation and expanded use of various innovative health delivery systems.		To further test the feasibility of existing or recent innovative delivery systems for providing greater access and availability of health services to medical scarcity areas and the eventual improvement of health status particularly among the poor and minoities.

SUB AREA HEALTH - SUB-AREA

(a) III. Alternatives or New Programs	(b) Descriptions (State/Fed./Local Role)	(c) Data Needed	(d) Availability (Bibliography & Data Source)	(e) Analysis Required	(f) Possible Policy Implications		(g) Rationale for Priorities
					Short	Long	
Innovative Health Delivery Systems: (continued)	a very few localities) organized by the Vanderbilt Student Health Coalition to initiate and provide needed health services to rural areas. The Health Maintenance Organization Act of 1973 authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to make grants and enter into contracts with "public and non-profit entities" in order to determine the feasibility of developing new HMO's or expanding the operations of existing plans.		6. Several national and local studies on the greater health needs of the poor and minorities with data on certain morbidity-related factors. 7. Unpublished report to SRC on the difficulties of applying the HMO concept to a rural area with high poverty population.				

April 8, 1970

Mr. J. Kellum Smith, Jr.
Secretary
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50 Street
New York, N. Y. 10020

Dear Mr. Smith:

The Foundation's check for $35,000 was received yesterday. We are, of course, grateful.

It was a pleasure meeting you and having lunch recently, and I very much appreciate your interest in the Council. Should you ever have an occasion to come to Atlanta, I hope you will let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

February 9, 1971

Mr. J. Kellum Smith, Jr.
Secretary
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, N. Y. 10020

Dear Mr. Smith:

We are enclosing a copy of our Program Report, and a copy of the Audit for 1970.

These documents are also being sent to Dr. DeVinney.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosures

February 9, 1971

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

We are enclosing a copy of our Program Report, and a copy of the Audit for 1970.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Encls.

FEB 18 1971

The Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

February 16, 1971

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This will acknowledge and thank you for the Southern Regional Council's Annual Report for 1970. I am bringing the review of program activities to the attention of the other members of the Equal Opportunity Program Committee and I am forwarding the Auditors' Report to our Comptroller.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

LCD:dj

SRC-Admin
Copy to Director's File

The Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10020

OFFICE OF THE COMPTROLLER

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

MAY 8 1972

May 4, 1972
Re: RF 66008

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you for your letter of April 26, 1972 with which you enclosed your statement of receipts and expenditures under the above noted grant.

Since this grant has terminated and the funds provided have been accounted for, we shall consider the account closed.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Kirschner
Assistant Comptroller

Mr. Emory F. Via
Acting Co-Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

MAD:hb

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

November 22, 1972

Dear George:

Thanks so much for your kind invitation to attend the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council, to be held at Atlanta on December 1.

I am very sorry to have to tell you that I will not be able to be at the meeting since I already have a commitment for that day.

George -- since I won't be able to attend, may I check with some of my associates here and see if someone else might be able to be there? I am sure the meeting will be interesting and do feel that it might be helpful for someone from The Rockefeller Foundation to attend.

Thanks again for inviting me, and I am really sorry I cannot join you on December 1.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Jesse

Jesse P. Perry, Jr.
Associate Director

Dr. George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

JPP:pe

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
GEORGE H. ESSER, JR., EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Copy

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

February 12, 1973

Dr. Clarence Gray
Vice-President
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, N. Y. 10020

Dear Dr. Gray:

Ralph Cummings came by in January and informed me that you were planning to make a trip to the South in late February. The purpose of this letter is to give you a very cordial invitation to spend some time with the staff of the Southern Regional Council here in our offices on your trip, for I think it is here that we can best show you the problems that we see in the region, the roles that we hope we can play in the region, and the kind of assistance that I think the Foundation can play in the South, both generally and more specifically in support of our own efforts.

I would like to suggest an agenda of several items, all of which I have discussed with Dr. Ray Marshall of Texas, who, as you recall, is chairman of our steering committee for economic development. I mentioned Ray simply to emphasize the fact that we regard ourselves as engaged in a cooperative effort with other interested persons and agencies in the region and that we are conscious of both the potential of and limitations in the roles that we might play.

1. <u>The Council's current objectives in economic development</u>.

Within the limits of our current budget, which does not provide a great deal of program support, we have identified and our Executive Committee has approved four specific projects in the area of economic development which are attached for your information, some of which can be implemented with our limited resources, some of which will require additional assistance.

Let me call your specific attention to the first objective. We are conscious of the great amount of research relevant to the problems of the region with specific emphasis on the problems of poor Southerners and black Southerners, which is to be found in University programs, such as Dr. Marshall's program at the University of Texas. But much of this information is set forth in studies which are not generally available to people in the region at large and which are in academic forms that are not easily understood. Dr. Marshall has given us full access to his studies and reports with the understanding that we will pick those that have general interest and significance and rewrite them for more popular presentation to governmental and business leadership in the region and for the benefit of agencies and community groups who have specific interests in the economic welfare of the very high proportion of poor Southerners.

Tax policy is another area where general information is of specific importance at this time, with current issues arising out of the revenue-sharing legislation and out of the problems of school finance typical of the cases now before the Supreme Court. But in the long run, the relationship of all kinds of tax policy to the use and development of land may be of most importance to the future of rural development in the region.

With good writers, to whom we have good access, with persons who are competent to evaluate research (and we have recently added a very competent staff person who formerly worked for Dr. Ginsburg at Columbia), and with our projected magazine which will have broad regional coverage, I believe that the Council can become a very effective clearinghouse for research and information relative to rural development and specific problems of economic development in the region. This is a role that Dr. Marshall also encourages.

You will also note that we plan to give specific attention to information on and evaluation of those projects which are being carried out by cooperatives and community development corporations. This is another area in which Dr. Marshall and the Council would cooperate and on which we have common interests, and which may be of particular significance to the future of rural development.

2. <u>Rural Development - Generally</u>.

I would hope that we could put on the agenda a discussion of the prospects for rural development in the region, for we know that you have specific interests in this area, interest which are shared to a greater or lesser extent by a number of other

major foundations. I do not see the Council as becoming a major research center on problems of the rural South, but I see the Council having very close relationships with such a research program or institute, and I see the Council as capable of functions which are complementary to and supportive of such research.

I have already mentioned the function of a clearinghouse for more popular presentation of current research projects. Another and related function which I think the Council can carry out most effectively, and which would complement research activities, is that of monitoring the performance of governmental agencies in carrying out responsibilities which affect the lives of rural residents, both farm and non-farm. Specific examples would include programs of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, including subsidy and loan programs, technical assistance, and research. Such monitoring should also extend to the activities of extension services in the states as they affect small farmers and non-farm segment of our population. Another example would be the monitoring of agencies concerned with rural development, ranging from the multi-county planning districts now found in most states to multi-state agencies, such as the Appalachian Regional Commission, to new national programs such as the Rural Development Act, should it be funded.

Still another possibility in the rural development area that has come to our attention more and more is the role that the Council can play as a broker or catalyst between existing governmental programs and organizations of poor and black Southerners who need assistance. There is an increasing sensitivity on the part of many governmental agencies to the need for redirecting their own programs to meet specific problems of poor and black Southerners, but often they do not know how to undertake this responsibility. For example, we have been asked for assistance by the Rural Development Center of the University of Georgia at Tifton to help bring in representatives of community-based organizations for a regional conference on rural development. We are also engaged in helping establish a technical assistance organization to relate the technology of industry to the needs of community-based economic development efforts.

3. <u>The impact of governmental decentralization on rural development</u>.

I am attaching a draft proposal under which we would undertake the responsibility for monitoring the impact of recent federal decentralization efforts on the people of the South. Because many of those programs has some relations to rural development, that project needs to concentrate some of its efforts on the whole issue of rural development.

4. Vocational Education, Manpower Training and Other Employment Programs.

As one of our projects already adopted for 1973 indicates, we are concerned with elimination of discrimination in employment in the region, a problem that particularly effects citizens in small cities and rural areas. But we need to determine again through monitoring, the impact of vocational education practices in public schools, and the manpower training activities of community colleges and other state programs, in affecting the employment possibilities of minority citizens in the region. We have a proposal for monitoring these activities as well.

****

This is an ambitious agenda, and I recognize that we cannot hope to implement all of it quickly. It is important, however, for the Council to be sensitive to the full range of problems that affect the region, and in some cases we will be successful if we do nothing more than insure that our magazine reflects or adds insights to these problems.

If the Council is to move ahead in providing some leadership on these issues of economic development in the rural South, however, we do need additional financial support. Pending the clarification of your own goals and objectives, which I hope we can discuss with you when you visit us, we have not submitted a specific proposal for financial support. We would welcome, however, the opportunity to formulate a specific proposal from among the issues embraced above for the support of the Council's program in economic development for the South, with emphasis on the rural South, for the next two years. I would hope that that support could be in the neighborhood of $150,000 a year for two years, but we are anxious to have the benefit of your counsel in determining some of the specific areas into which we would place immediate emphasis.

I hope very much that you, Ralph and others can make this visit this month, and I will be in touch with you by telephone next week to determine when a date can be set.

Sincerely yours,

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

GHE:jb
Enclosure

cc: Mr. Ralph Cummings

Circulate to staff on his schedule.

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

March 14, 1973

Dear George:

This is to confirm that I will meet you at your office at 9:00 Thursday, March 22. I'd like to have a discussion with you to start off with, and then to visit with your staff working on the task forces so that I can get a better idea of what they hope to do and how they plan to do it. Please don't make any special preparation for me. I will also look forward to having dinner with you and Harry that evening.

My best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph

Ralph W. Cummings, Jr.
Agricultural Economist

Mr. George Esser
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

RWC:tl

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. COMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
GEORGE H. ESSER, JR., EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

May 16, 1973

Dr. Clarence Gray
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York 10020

Dear Clarence:

It was a great pleasure to be with you last week and have the affirmation of Rockefeller Foundation's desire to support SRC's evolving program.

We have gone back to review realistically the costs of achieving each of the objectives in which you and SRC share a common interest. First, Harry and I are conscious that we underestimated costs when we first defined these objectives. Secondly, we want to be assured that we can deliver in quality and as soon as possible on every project about which we are having discussions.

After we discussed the specific projects in which you and Ralph had expressed an interest, you graciously raised the possibility that we might want to include these in a special proposal along with other needs that we are currently facing, and pointed out that such a procedure would necessitate going to the full Board with the proposal rather than the simpler process of a series of small grants-in-aid. I promised you that Harry and I would review these options and let you know this week.

As we have discussed before, SRC has been in the process of a difficult redirection in program objectives better attuned to the requirements of the region in the '70's. Harry and I

felt the necessity last spring to bring in some new blood to the staff to supply the kind of balance we felt the organization required. We are basically pleased with the results of new program development, new staff organization, and a new and sympathetic response from funding sources. At the same time we are engaged in a special effort to secure growing support from Southerners and Southern institutions, so that over the next four years we may reduce somewhat our dependence on philanthropic funds.

To be perfectly candid, we do need additional help this summer, help which we have set forth in the accompanying proposal. We welcome your analysis of that proposal, and we hope that you will conclude that it is sufficiently persuasive to merit submission to and consideration by your Board. If it is not, we would be prepared to submit the budgets for each individual program objective for grants-in-aid.

During the past few months we have been able to secure support not only from those foundations which have traditionally given help to SRC, but also from a half dozen additional sources. With the kind of long-term assistance from the Rockefeller Foundation we discussed last week, with continuing help from our current sources and with a growing net income from associate memberships beginning in 1974, I can foresee the kind of fiscal stability which will enable Harry and myself to give additional and needed attention to the kind of program development activities we all know will be essential.

We apreciate deeply your interest and support, and we will look forward to discussions with you concerning these proposals.

Sincerely yours,

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

GHE,jr/rh

Enclosure

File

P R O P O S A L

to

ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

from

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

May 16, 1973

P R O P O S A L

SUMMARY

This proposal asks for funds to accomplish two major purposes:

1. To provide financial support for key program objectives adopted by the Executive Committee of Southern Regional Council in January 1973, and for which SRC and the Rockefeller Foundation have a mutual concern. These programs would:
   a. Define and interpret the basic problems of poverty in the South, generally for the region and specifically for subregions of the rural South, with emphasis on basic demographic trends and on income, education, housing and health conditions in poor rural areas.
   b. Assist the Council in analyzing and interpreting key issues of state and local tax policy in the region.
   c. Inventory and analyze the problems faced by the wide variety of community-based economic development organizations in the region.
2. To strengthen SRC's staff capacity to analyze critical issues in economic development in the region, to

prepare readable reports interpreting this analysis for a wide audience, to monitor governmental performance in efforts to improve conditions in rural areas and to support community-based economic development projects, and to initiate processes of community consultation in different areas of the region which would encourage dialogue and action on public policies which can help meet conditions of poverty.

I. INTRODUCTION

Following the appointment of a new Executive Director and Associate Director for SRC in the spring of 1972, the staff of SRC began a process of examining current issues in the region to which the Council should give special attention, in keeping with the strategy outlined by the full Council following a special study committee process in 1971. The staff then took recommendations to the Executive Committee in the fall of 1972, and these recommendations evolved into Program for the '70's reviewed and adopted by the full Council at its annual meeting on December 1-2, 1972. A copy of that program is attached as an integral part of this proposal.

Council staff then chose a series of specific program objectives which they believed would provide substance in the effort to lend new insights to regional problems in education, economic development, health and housing. Eighteen specific projects, supplemented by a number of special reports, were approved by the Executive Committee at its meeting on January 27, 1973.

Since the time of the annual meeting, which was attended by Dr. Ralph Cummings of the Rockefeller Foundation staff, there has been a series of conversations between officers of Southern Regional Council and officers of the Rockefeller Foundation concerning the needs of the South, with a special focus on the rural South, as well as ways in which SRC might work with the Rockefeller Foundation in helping to deal with mutual concerns in the region.

This proposal asks for funds to accomplish two major purposes:

A. First, the proposal contains detailed information on the financial support needed to achieve key program objectives of the Council for 1973, and in which the Rockefeller Foundation has expressed a specific interest.

1. A comprehensive definition of poverty in the South relying heavily on the 1970 census data but drawing on other sources of information where pertinent and available. The analysis would describe generally the problems of poor Southerners in the region, and would further aggregate comparable data for subregions of the rural South which the Council and the Rockefeller Foundation will identify. Emphasis will be placed on the basic characteristics of people in the South, with emphasis on the poor population of the South - its distribution, age and family characteristics, labor market activities, public assistance and other income information, and education. There will also be complementary information on housing for the poor in the region and on their health conditions.

2. The Council has had a specific interest in analyzing and interpreting state and local tax policy in the region. One project underway will update and expand the Council's 1969 study on The <u>Tax Structure in the Southern States</u>. A second, more long range, study will focus on the relationship between state tax

policies and economic development in the region with emphasis on problems in rural counties having a large number of poor families.

3. Finally, the Council has been very much interested in the number and variety of community-based economic development organizations in the region, particularly cooperatives and community development corporations. Under the proposal the Council (a) will inventory these organizations within the region, (b) will analyze the public policies which both encourage and frustrate the ability of these organizations to achieve the status of self-support, and (c) will identify the particular obstacles which they face in their efforts to become self-supported.

Additional information on each of these program objectives, together with the budget support necessary to complete each of them will be found in Section II of this proposal.

B. SRC has made strenuous efforts in the past few months to initiate and develop significant program objectives in each of four major problem areas, to continue and expand its traditional publications program (the monthly, South Today and the quarterly, New South), and to meet specific critical needs in the region in keeping with its traditional concern for aid to organizations of poor Southerners and black Southerners. All of these efforts have combined to put a strain on the Council's current budget. Despite the continued support of several foundations which have long given financial aid to the

Council and new help coming from funding sources which have not traditionally helped the Council, there are some specific ways in which the Rockefeller Foundation can help SRC both achieve its program objectives with a quality performance and survive some budgetary uncertainties during the next few months. We would therefore like to request some additional assistance for the next few months in accordance with discussions between officers of SRC and of the Foundation.

The basic purposes of the additional support which SRC is requesting will be to strengthen the capacity of the SRC staff to analyze critical issues in economic development in the region, with emphasis on the rural South; to prepare readable reports interpreting these analyses for a wide audience; to monitor governmental performance in efforts to strengthen the economy of the region and to help poor Southerners both find jobs and successfully develop community-based economic development projects; and to initiate processes of community consultation in different areas of the region which will encourage dialogue and action on public policies at every level of government policies which can help solve the problems of poor Southerners. Section III will speak to these specific needs.

II. SPECIFIC PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

A. Analysis of Poverty in the South

The eleven Southern states in which the Southern Regional Council operates have 10,180,437 poor people, 38% of the nation's total. Yet they contain only 25% of the nation's population. And while 14% of the nation's citizens live in poverty, 20% of those in these eleven states do.

Who are our poor, and where do they live? What other problems are associated with their condition or result from it? In what way and where are problems common between states, and how can they begin to work together toward solutions? How can the Southern Regional Council's task forces concentrate their resources in an informed way to lead toward solutions?

Such questions require a base of knowledge about the poor in the South and the interrelationship of their problems. We would emphasize that our approach deals secondarily with the characteristics of the poor - and those not necessarily as causes of poverty - using them to concentrate primarily on how the statistics define the problems, and how they define the areas in which those problems exist and are concentrated.

The South is best defined as a region statistically, culturally, and economically by a number of measures that lump certain of the states together as similar. Those measures include lower education levels, a lower proportion of foreign born, a higher proportion of blacks, a higher proportion of agricultural employment, higher fertility rates, higher infant

mortality rates, a higher proportion of Protestants, lower capital investment in manufacturing, smaller average acreage per farm, etc. But observation tells us that the region is by no means homogenous, and that distinct subregions may be similarly defined. A few have been defined historically by the obvious geographic barriers or by an economic development enhanced by geographic advantages. A more subtle economic definition of sub-regions results from patterns of metropolitan development, marketing, and transportation. Obviously, such sub-regions may take in parts of two or more states, and may share more commonality than the regional sections within any one state.

Our analysis of poverty in the South is designed to give us an objective definition of sub-regions based on the characteristics of its poor people and their problems. It is our conviction that the nature of the problems and their intensity will tend visually and statistically to define rural areas more accurately. Thus, while we intend to examine state data because many of the problems must be solved at a state level, and while we expect to look at regional figures in comparison with the rest of the country, our primary interest is in the pattern of poor rural sub-regions that appears to exist. It is for this reason that we have chosen to look at some of the data by counties and some of it by residential distribution of the population between several categories of urban residence and farm and nonfarm residence. With a baseline of the distribution of the South's white and black population and changes in that distribution since 1960, we will

examine the distribution of the white and black poor population, the incidence of poverty in both races, such characteristics as age, sex of family head, employment status, occupation, industrial job classification, income, the extent of public assistance and social security income, levels of formal education, and housing.

The analysis will also cite apparent relationships among problems, and the report will be published by October 1st, in a form designed for general use, illustrated by maps, graphs, charts, and some tables. An appendix, perhaps bound separately, will contain basic data tables from which the analysis is drawn.

Such an analysis should provide states of the region a more objective description of their mutual concerns in rural areas and enhance their ability to plan together to solve problems. It is essential as baseline data for the program development of the Southern Regional Council's task forces. (See Appendix for substantive detail.)

BUDGET:

Personnel:	
Contractual & Part-time Assistance:	
Tabulation	$ 4,000
Research Analysts	6,000
Writer	2,500
Computer time	5,000
Telephone	200
Graphics and art work	2,000
Printing (10,000 copies)	10,000
Total	$29,700

B. Regional Health Profile to Supplement Poverty Analysis

Information on the region's health is essential to an understanding of the region's primary problems, particularly of those Southerners in poverty. Since census data can supply basic kinds of information, other information is being gathered from all available sources to complement the poverty analysis and provide the "Southern Health Status and Resources Profile," with attention to the following:

1. Level of health in the South. This will include some brief demographic material, but of much greater importance, the health status indices (mortality and morbidity rates) to compare the region's health level with the national level. Particular emphasis will be placed here--as elsewhere in the report--on rural health problems. The section will also deal with the relationship between poverty and health with statistics illustrating that areas of concentrated poverty (rural and inner city) have the poorest health status based on mortality and chronic condition rates. The adverse effect of malnutrition and hostile environmental conditions on health will also be examined.
2. Examination of Health Resources. This will be a look at manpower, facilities, programs and services. Particular attention will be paid to the maldistribution of health personnel (physicians, nurses,

dentists). The lack of primary care manpower will be documented. Along with this we will also look at some innovative use of health personnel, such as the student program at Vanderbilt. We will also try to show some examples of innovative use of facilities, particularly in rural areas.

3. Financial barriers to Health Care. This will include a look at costs in the South, as well as insurance coverage with attention to lack of coverage by the poor and a more complete examination of the inadequacies of Medicaid and Medicare.

BUDGET:

Professional Consultant	$ 1,500
Research Associates	3,000
Printing	2,500
Telephone	200
Travel	1,000
	$8,200

C. State and Local Tax Structure in the South

At a time when additional pressure is being placed on state and local government to assume additional responsibilities for critical public services, it is important to have accurate information available throughout the South on the sources of state and local taxation, with an analysis that indicates the relative impact in each state of state and local tax policy. This effort is particularly important because Southern states have historically relied more upon regressive forms of taxation than states in other regions of the country.

The Southern Regional Council is making arrangements with Dr. Eva Galambos to revise, expand and bring up to date her 1969 study entitled "The Tax Structure of the Southern States."

BUDGET:

Research	$ 3,000
Printing & Distribution of final report	2,000
	$ 5,000

D. Impact of Large Scale Land Ownership on Southern Rural Poverty

One of the critical problems in the South is the extent to which many corporations now own very large areas of land in Southern counties. These include paper, agri-business, and mineral extraction enterprises. The result is domination of many rural counties by one or two major corporate concerns.

These same counties generally have a higher proportion of poverty, inadequate public services, and limited opportunities for new economic development and job creation.

The Southern Regional Council, through a senior staff member, proposes to initiate a thorough analysis of this growing trend with attention to the following issues:

1. To what extent do state and local tax policies encourage the aggregation of large tracts of land, and how does the taxation of this land and/or minerals compare with the taxation of other income producing properties in the Southern states?
2. What is the quality of public services in counties with a higher proportion of land ownership concentrated in a few persons or corporations, and what appears to be the impact, if any, of this pattern of land ownership and economic control on the quality of those public services?
3. What is the need and potential for other economic development in such counties, and what is the impact of this pattern of land ownership and control on this potential?
4. What has been the impact of this pattern of land ownership and economic control on opportunity for black citizens in these counties as compared with that for whites?
5. What role has state government played in helping to assure other kinds of economic development in counties with this pattern of land ownership and economic control?

The research director will select a sample of counties in which land-intensive industries are dominant, using a profile of land ownership, distribution and use; tenancy patterns; population and racial composition; other income and demographic characteristics; and economic analysis.

This research will require a fourteen-month effort, including one-half the time of Mr. George Harris as staff member in charge, until the report is ready for final writing. At that time he will take a four-month leave of absence to prepare the report which will also constitute his Ph.D. dissertation. A complete research design is being prepared.

BUDGET:

Two research assistants	$ 10,000
Travel for staff director and research assistants	5,000
Computer Programing	2,000
Telephone	1,800
Report Printing & Distribution	2,500
Consultants	1,000
Four-months leave of absence for preparation of final report as dissertation	6,000
	28,300

E. Analysis of Self-Help and Community Based Development Organizations

The reorganization of USDA under the Rural Development Act of 1972, the current federal suit brought by the Agri-business Accountability Project against HEW and USDA, and the survival needs of rural co-ops and CDC's combine to form the matrix of our concern in this project: What measures should be taken to make small farming an economically viable option, and to strengthen self-help economic development programs?

The project will include a systematic survey of selected cooperatives and CDC's, matching services and resources needed with services and resources available, and received, through Farmer's Home Administration, the Extension Service, other U. S. Departments of Agriculture programs, and other federal and state programs. We will interview a sample of county, university, state extension, federal agency personnel, as well as members of cooperatives and CDC's, to identify obstacles to delivery of essential services and the kinds of remedies that will be required.

BUDGET:

Consultant or staff member employed for life of project	$ 12,000
Full-time SRC Intern	7,700
Travel	5,000
Telephone	2,000
Printing and Publications	2,000
	$ 28,700

III. STRENGTHEN SRC STAFF CAPACITY IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

A. In order to strengthen and stablize the capacity of the Council to pursue a realistic program in the areas of economic development for the next year, with emphasis on problems of poor Southerners and specifically problems of the rural poor, the Council asks for financial assistance to provide the following staff resources:

1. One senior staff person to specialize in economic development and to serve as the task force coordinator in building a constituency for change in issues related to economic development. Support for a senior staff member involves the following expenditures:

   BUDGET:

Salary	$20,000
Fringe benefits (18%)	3,600
One-half time Secretary	4,000
Travel and Phone	3,000
	$30,600

2. With the assistance of relatively small grants from two other foundations, the Council is establishing a Monitoring Program, which will evaluate the performance of selected federal, state and local programs, particularly programs which should provide substantial help to poor and black Southerners, and are capable of support for economic development and manpower

development efforts for poor Southerners. We request one additional salary to complete the staffing of a three man-team, all of whom will have prior experience in the monitoring of public programs.

BUDGET:

Salary	$18,000
Fringe Benefits (10%)	1,800
Travel & Telephone	2,500
	$22,300

3. One of the strategies which the Council hopes to employ in reaching out to Southerners who are interested in current regional problems and their possible solutions is the holding of a series of conferences in individual states in the region for which special information has been developed. The Council plans to sponsor conferences on rural poverty, the rural South, and state and local tax policies in several areas of the region during the fall and winter.

BUDGET:

Salary - Full time SRC Intern	$ 7,700
Conference costs	12,000
	$19,700

B. In addition to these requirements for strengthening the program in economic development, two special needs have developed this spring. Modest financial assistance would permit much more effective use of the current staff and improve the timing and quality of the series of special reports which will be issued in the next eight months.

1. If the Council is to attract the widest possible audience for its special reports analyzing critical issues, we have found that good writing which is neither academic nor pedestrian is essential. We request funds to employ a writer to provide full-time assistance to the task forces for the preparation and editing of special reports.

   BUDGET:

Salary	$12,000
Fringe Benefits	2,160
Telephone & Travel	1,500
	$15,660

2. The Council's Research and Information Program contains two staff members who have the talent and skills for both research design and a wide range of data collection and analysis. Because of expanded output from this staff, we ask for the salary of a secretary who would (a) relieve the research personnel of routine library functions and (b) handle a growing volume of typing related to data analysis.

   BUDGET:

Salary	$7,200
Fringe Benefits (18%)	1,296
Office Supplies & Equipment	750
	$9,246

APPENDIX A. Analysis of Poverty in the South - Substantive Detail

The poverty report will use the data in the 1970 Census of Population and in some cases data from the 1960 Census. The basic variable, poverty, has been developed by the Social Security Administration and consists of a series of poverty income thresholds. The poverty threshold depends on the size of a family, the sex of the family head, number of children under 18 years, and farm and nonfarm residence. A poor family or individual is one whose income falls below his relevant threshold. This survey relies entirely on this income concept of poverty though other measures have been proposed.

Two dimensions, with respect to poverty, will be emphasized in the analysis: the incidence of poverty and the distribution of the poverty population. Incidence measures the probability of a sub-population being poor. The distribution of the poverty population describes a sub-population's share of the poverty population. For instance, incidence of poverty is high among Southern aged rural blacks, but their share of the poverty population is low.

The report will compare the 11 southern states with each other and with the regional total. Comparisons with U.S. totals will be used as a baseline, but the analysis will focus on differences and similarities within the region.

For most of the items discussed below tables will use a residential variable that has these six categories: Urban-central cities, urban fringe, cities 10,000 to 50,000, cities 2,500 to 10,000; Rural - farm and nonfarm. In some cases only three residential categories will be used - Urban, Rural Farm, and Rural Nonfarm.

For the substantive issues discussed below tables will usually present the U.S. total, the 11 state southern region, the 11 southern states separately by either the 6 or 3 category residence variable. County data will be presented for some items and maps will be prepared containing the county data. The substantive areas of the survey follow.

All tables and analyses will include racial distributions. The black versus white comparisons are a principal focus of the report.

I. Population Distributions

A. Population Changes Since 1960

The emphasis will be on the changing distribution by the residential categories, especially on movement of blacks out of the South, or out of rural areas into central cities. Equally important is the flight of whites to suburbs. A county analysis of the proportion black populations will also be prepared.

B. Rural Population

Since rural residence is highly associated with poverty the rural population will be computed for each county and presented on a county map of the South. Comparisons with the black population by county can readily be made.

C. Poverty Population

What is the poverty rate by county? This will be presented on a county map. The poverty rate for selected cities will also be presented on the same map, if feasible. In conjunction with the map data on black populations and rural populations areas with critical needs can be identified.

What is the distribution of the poverty population compared to the population as a whole? Is it isolated in pockets or is it present everywhere? Is the incidence of poverty related to residence? Where is it higher/lower?

What is the difference between the poor black and the poor white? Is their residential distribution the same as or different from their racial distribution or is it the same for the poor of both races? Is the incidence of poverty by race different according to residential area?

II. Demographic Characteristics

A. Age and Family Characteristics

Who are the poor by age and family characteristic? Our categories of concern are: the aged (65 and over), families headed by a male under 65, families headed by a female under 65, and unrelated male and female individuals. What is the incidence of poverty among these various groups?

For the total population (nonpoor and poor) what is the age profile using these categories: under 16, 16-24, 25-54, 55-64, 65 and over. What change has taken place in this distribution since 1960? What is the distribution of the 1970 poor population by age categories? Without getting into a detailed analysis of age distributions or projections we want to point out the trend toward growing numbers of the aged and the increase in the working age population since the coming of age of the baby boom population and the effect these trends may have on the poverty population.

B. Education Levels

For the population 25-64 by levels of schooling completed (up to 8 years, some high school, high school graduate, some college, and college graduate), what is the incidence

of poverty and what is the distribution of the poor by educational level? Education is commonly attributed as a major cause of poverty, but the relationship is not pervasive as can be shown when the population is divided by race and sex categories.

III. Labor Market Activity

Since earnings are the major source of income for the population any situation which reduces labor market activity or curtails it altogether will be a major determinant of poverty. For the working age poor population by sex what is the distribution by labor force participation, employment and unemployment, full-time versus part-time employment, full-year versus part-year employment? For these same characteristics what is the incidence of poverty?

What is the incidence of poverty among various occupations and industries, by sex? What are the incidence rates of poverty among families with male heads with a working wife compared to those families without a working wife?

IV. Severity of Poverty and Use of Transfer Payments

A. Severity of Poverty

What is the distribution of those families receiving 50% or less of the poverty level income by sex of

family head? These represent the most destitute group and those who need the most aid.

What is the mean income deficit of poverty families by sex of head and individuals? This is the average amount necessary to bring the family/individual up to the poverty level. Aggragate costs of alleviating poverty by area can be estimated.

B. Transfer Payments

Is public assistance meeting the needs of the poor? Of those in poverty, what proportion are receiving public assistance? What is the mean grant? Of all families receiving assistance, what proportion are above the poverty level?

For the aged poor what percent are receiving social security benefits? What is the mean benefit? What is the incidence of poverty for the aged by income source?

V. Income Trends Since 1960

Since the methodology for defining poverty was developed after the 1960 Census, direct comparison on poverty trends cannot be made. Using income distributions for both 1960 and 1970, as well as median income, it will be possible to

identify the segments of the southern population that have or have not improved their economic position since that time.

VI. Some Consequences of Poverty

A. Housing

The poor have fewer resources to devote to their housing; hence they tend to live in the poorest housing stock. What is the distribution of the poor by housing characteristics? To what extent are they dependent on substandard or deficient housing. What is the incidence of poverty among all those living in substandard or deficient housing?

B. Health

The single best measure of inadequate health care is infant mortality. For counties and selected urban areas what is the infant mortality rate and the postneonatal mortality rate? These data in conjunction with the county data on black, poor, and rural populations will present another dimension in defining the rural poverty areas. (These data do not come from the Census of Population but are part of the poverty report nevertheless).

VII. Defining Rural Subregions of the South

Two aspects of the poverty report data and graphic material

will be useful in defining sub-regions. The various county maps which show black population concentration, rural population, poverty population, and perhaps infant mortality statistics will aid in identifying the counties and sets of counties which have the most extreme characteristics of rural poverty.

Secondarily, the various tables which contain categories for rural farm and rural nonfarm will delineate the characteristics of rural areas in the 11 states. Used in conjunction with the map detail these will be suggestive of aggregation across state boundaries.

Once sub-regions are defined the tables of the poverty report will be run for the sub-regions for those items that have relevance.

File Jay - Get copy of Gaventa letter from Sadie so I can respond.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Esser DATE: May 25, 1973

FROM: Bowie COPIES: Harris

SUBJECT: John Gaventa Proposal & Rockefeller Foundation

I think we should encourage Gaventa to send a copy of his proposal to the Rockefeller Foundation. Their interest in the Communications Division appears to be quite genuine. You might want to recommend some specific directions to Gaventa relative to funding possibilities and the revisions that might be necessary in the proposal. In particular, a de-emphasis on the use of this project as an organizing tool, and secondly, extending the project so that it will have some carry through possibilities past the summer. The project might also include a program for training people in the region in the use of video tape and other media tools, so they might more adequately continue the project when Gaventa returns to Oxford. It would seem that the international dimension should be interesting to Rockefeller Foundation.

General Delivery
Clairfield, Tennessee
37715
April 20, 1973

Mr. George Esser
Southern Regional Council
9 Farlie Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Esser,

I am a former Vanderbilt University student who has been working in the Appalachian mountains of East Tennessee for the last two years on various community issues, mainly such things as taxation, strip-mining, absentee land ownership, etc. I have been supported by the Vanderbilty Student Health Coalition and have also done some work in the Model Valley area in and around Clairfield. Currently, I am on leave of absence from a Rhodes Schoalrsip at Oxford, to do more research and community organizing in the area.

At the request of Monica Appleby I am sending two documents which you may find of interest.

The first document is a report dealing with property taxation of coal lands in Central Appalachia. It contains a great deal of information pertinent to land ownership in the area and may be useful for the study on land ownership patterns in the South which I understand the Council is beginning.

The second document is a proposal for funding for a video project to be carried out in England and in the Tennessee Appalachias. While the Council may not be in a position to fund the proposal, you may find it interesting as an idea of how video can be used in the process of community education and community change. If you do, however, know of any possible sources of funding for the proposal I would appreciate your assistance.

Thank you for your attention. If these two items lead to a need for further information, I will be glad to offer what help I can.

Sincerely,

John Gaventa

John Gaventa

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
GEORGE H. ESSER, JR., EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. [illegible] 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 29, 1973

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Mr. Tom Wahman, Rockefeller Brothers Fund

From: George Esser and Harry Bowie

Copies: Mr. William Dietel, Rockefeller Brothers Fund
Mr. Clarence Gray, Rockefeller Foundation
Mr. Eamon Kelly, Ford Foundation
Mr. Bryant George, Ford Foundation
Mr. Roderick Petrey, Edna McConnell Clark Foundation

INTRODUCTION

The Southern Regional Council warmly endorses the concept of the Task Force on Southern Rural Development and will accept the responsibility for its sponsorship with genuine support for the idea and commitment to its objectives.

This memorandum is in response to Mr. Wahman's memorandum of May 2 and subsequent discussions with Mr. Wahman. It does not seek to repeat those sections of his memorandum on which there is general agreement but simply to add new material or comments deemed important.

Purposes

In the Council's opinion, the purposes set forth are important, comprehensive and timely. In our conversations and program discussions with Council members, foundation staff and public leaders during the past few months, we have given increasing emphasis to

the specific obstacles which face most of the citizens of rural areas in the South, obstacles which have not received priority in the policies of government at any level.

It is generally recognized that the processes for productive economic development in the region's rural areas need to be intensified and better coordinated. It will be necessary to make maximum use of all available resources -- including the land but also, and more importantly, the region's human resources. It is the land which has been most intensively used, but there is also evidence that technology has not yet been fully applied to wise use of land. The evidence is even stronger that human resources have not been developed effectively, that capital has both been in short supply and ineffectively used, and that greater efforts to utilize new technology will be necessary.

Furthermore, these efforts to marshall and maximize the use of resources must be carried out in areas that currently have an inadequate tax base, poorly-funded and administered public service, an existing economy which currently produces too few jobs and jobs that too frequently carry low wage levels, and leaders who generally have not encouraged trial or adoption of new policies and programs.

We cite these obvious facts for one reason. We believe the process described as the first purpose is of particular importance if any fresh identification of problems, public policies and programs to implement such policies is to take place. The task force must be prepared to look at problems in new ways, from varying points of view, and to be willing to fashion new approaches to each class of problems.

Furthermore, we would emphasize our belief that the task force should feel free to call together small groups of Southerners in brainstorming situations so that a wider cross section of concerned people can be approached and so that the linkages mentioned at the top of page 3 can be multiplied.

We endorse the proposal that the task force should include as one of its functions a delineation of ways in which foundations might help implement the policy objectives which the task force concludes are essential for the region.

Composition

Fifteen persons, drawn from important educational, governmental and economic sectors with significant membership from black South, should permit a good cross section in representation as well as constitute a board whose size will not be too large to discourage the elbow-rubbing process.

As for the procedure for selections, SRC would suggest the following:

1. Because of the importance we attach to the choice of a Chairman who will command respect throughout the region, the Council will recommend a candidate for this position for review and endorsement by the supporting foundations before any other member of the task force receives an invitation. The advice and counsel of the Chairman will be sought on other task force appointments. Furthermore, the name of a candidate for the position of staff director will be submitted to the supporting foundations at an early stage, with the agreement of both Council officers and the task force chairman.
2. SRC will develop a slate of 30 names from the region and typical of the categories listed above. This list will be screened by SRC with special annotations concerning the background and possible contribution of each person.
3. The slate of 30 will then be submitted to representatives of the supporting foundations for review and comment, with modifications by SRC to follow on the basis of these comments. A rank order for issuance of invitations will be established with back-up candidates identified to insure maintenance of the cross section of representation.
4. Invitations will be issued by SRC in the form of official letters from the President and the Chairman, followed or preceded by personal visits or telephone calls.
5. The Council proposes that members of the task force be compensated for all expenses incurred in the course of task force business but that no per diem payments be made.

Staff

We concur with the suggestions for staff size and length of time for employment, but we would add this caveat. If it should prove difficult to recruit a deputy director and a research person for positions which would terminate arbitrarily at the end of 18 months, we should have some flexibility for somewhat longer terms to insure that these persons are protected while seeking new positions.

Task Force Procedure

We concur in the idea of a working task force which would fix a substantive agenda, rely on the staff for preparation of working papers to amplify agenda items, and meet every six to eight weeks for a thorough discussion of policy questions raised by the working papers. One of the commitments task force members must be willing to make is faithful attendance at meetings for one or two days each meeting. Policy on the frequency and length of meetings will be established by the task force.

A small staff cannot carry out much original research, so the emphasis must be on collection and analysis of available information, supplemented by the judicious use of consultants for specific research and investigative projects. We would also anticipate, early in the life of the task force, a few working conferences to which groups of 20 to 30 people concerned with problems of the rural South would be invited. At these conferences task force members and the staff would explore some of the issues on the task force agenda, draw out a cross section of views on these issues, and hopefully elicit the interest and support of persons who have decision-making responsibilities in the policy areas being reviewed by the task force.

A further possibility, to be determined by the task force and staff, would be utilization of survey procedures to determine both facts and attitudes from the region under study.

Geographical Emphasis

Attention will be focussed on the primarily rural sections of the South, but it will be necessary to look at economic

relationships with the metropolitan centers and larger economic systems to which such subregions relate. Final decisions must await task force review, but it is clear that the following subregions will merit close attention:

1. The Coastal Plain region extending from Virginia into Georgia.
2. The Black Belt of the Deep South.
3. The Mississippi Delta.
4. The Southern Appalachians.

Specific Issues for Study

We concur that the primary responsibility for defining problems and issues for study must be left to the task force, and we further believe that the primary emphasis should be on economic issues. It is helpful, however, to list some of the problems which might be on initial agenda:

1. A more precise definition of the economic systems at work in each of the major subregions and the relative impact on people in those subregions (unemployment; underemployment; age and sex; wage levels, etc.) in order to identify the magnitude of the development problem in each subregion.
2. The present and future impact of large-scale public development projects such as the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, completion of the interstate highway system, and water and power projects, and the impact of large-scale land ownership, public and private.
3. Incentives for creating a better balance between industry and agriculture in rural areas.
4. The uses of capital and technology on the land to increase opportunities for small farmers and businessmen, and steps which might be taken to lessen the impact of the mechanization of tobacco harvesting and woodcutting.

5. Policies in education and manpower development which will increase opportunity for low-income residents for employment in industry.
6. Steps which might be taken to encourage the development of service activities in rural areas to provide additional employment and economic development opportunities and to add to the amenities for rural community development.
7. A review of the systems for delivery of basic public services in rural areas, particularly those services which are critical to a favorable environment for economic development, to determine how those services can be more effectively provided to (a) encourage economic development, (b) at a reasonable cost, and (c) through intergovernmental systems that will work.
8. Identification of existing and potential support systems which can be utilized in rural areas. For example, to what extent can the black land-grant colleges identify and carry out new support roles in rural areas?
9. Re-examination of the impact on poor rural residents of recreation and tourist attractions as the emphasis of rural economic development in some subregions, as well as an examination of the relationships between economic development and protection of the environment.
10. Identification of the steps required to implement the findings and recommendations of the task force.

The Role of SRC

The general responsibility outlined for SRC accords with our views, with the observation that the essential ingredient will be a relationship of trust and confidence between the Task Force chairman and staff director, on the one hand, and Esser and Bowie on the other. Frequent informal communication within that relationship will be more important than a formal procedure.

The task force will have full access to the resources of SRC (library, staff, etc.) although extensive utilization of SRC

staff will have to be coordinated with Esser and/or Bowie to insure that other SRC responsibilities continue to be met.

Budget

The suggested budget was helpful, but after a careful study of our experience, we have found it necessary to make additions as noted on the table below. The principal changes are:

1. Provision for travel expenses for task force members.
2. Extension of the deputy director's time, if necessary, to 24 months.
3. A specific item for Social Security, group life and medical insurance, and disability. To be safe, provision has been made for retirement at the SRC rate of 8% of payroll, although the staff recruited may request that SRC pay into the system under which they are currently covered. Hopefully, such payments can be negotiated as part of salary and savings made in this part of the budget.
4. The rental figure is based on current rates in this building which is in the "low rent" district of downtown Atlanta.
5. A separate item has been added for the purchase or lease of furniture and basic equipment.
6. The travel item has been increased substantially on the theory that moderate travel by the two senior staff must be expected into the critical parts of the region.

No amounts have been requested for SRC overhead, financial administration, library support, etc., which the Council is prepared to absorb.

Suggested Budget-Task Force on Southern Rural Development
1 July, 1973 to 30 June, 1975

Task Force

Travel and Meetings -		
(8 at an average of 2 days per meeting)		$ 18,000
Staff		
Salaries		
Director (30-35,000 for 24 mos.)	$65,000	
Deputy Director (20-25,000 for 24 mos.)	42,500	
Researcher (15,000 for 18 mos.)	22,500	
Secretary (24 mos. at $7,900)	15,800	
Secretary (18 mos. at $7,600)	11,400	
Fringe Benefits		
Basic (Social Security, medical group life, disability at 10%)	15,720	
Retirement (8%)	12,576	185,496
Office and Administrative Costs		
Rent and Overhead (1,000 sq. feet for 24 mos.)	10,000	
Office Supplies and Equipment (3,000 per 12 mos.)	5,000	
Telephone (1,500 each 6 mos.)	5,000	
Travel (Average of 5,000 for each 6 mos. period plus 2,000 for follow-up 6 mos.)	17,000	
Furniture (Desks, chairs, filing equipment, typewriters; combination of purchase and lease)	5,000	42,000

Program Development

Consultants	75,000	
Conferences & Seminars (For reimbursement of participants)	15,000	90,000
		335,496
Miscellaneous and Contingencies (at 5% of total)		16,750
		$352,246

From findings of Marshall + SRC

we move to criteria for the system

Which requires an action program; carefully eval.

1. Demonstrate how we can make service employment system work. Monitoring, outreach leg. serv. Produce opportunities where lacking. Cite examples

2. Consistent enforcement of legal rts.

3. Demonstrate a logical system of govt. + policies — review + research policies. for ec. dev. Highways Manp. Dev. Agriculture — Small farmers.

4. Restore confidence in ability of ind. thru govtal policies.

5. Experiment w/ delivery systems

6. Assure participation — monitoring, legal serv., voting. Black el. officials.

7. Continuously inform

July 6, 1973

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Dr. Clarence Gray, Dr. Ralph Cummings, Dr. Ray Marshall, Dr. Dan Price, Dr. Lynn Daft, Mr. William Motes, The Rev. Harry Bowie, Mrs. Lucy Watkins, Mrs. Gretchen Maclachlan, Mr. George Harris

FROM: George H. Esser, Jr.

This memorandum confirms our arrangements to meet in the offices of the Southern Regional Council on Friday, July 20, at 9:30 a.m. to discuss further steps to be taken in analyzing the problems of poverty in the South as a region, and to identify sub-regions which can help us better understand the incidence of problems which call for solution.

I am enclosing two items. The first is a statement of the work being undertaken by the Southern Regional Council staff under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for analysis of the problem of poverty in the Southern states, and in the region as a whole. The second is a more detailed statement of the information which we are gathering for analysis.

The first memorandum refers to some of the kinds of additional information which we should seek on a second computer run. We want your advice on this subject, so that we might include all the variables which will cast light on the problem of poverty region-wide and in selected sub-areas of the region. At the same time we will want your help in defining the districts or sub-areas for which information should be aggregated, so that we can help policy-makers better understand the issues they must face in

more local situations, and so that public and private agencies can better understand areas in which policy changes are essential in support of rural development.

If the Southern Regional Council staff can be of assistance to you in making arrangements for this meeting, please call Ms. Jay Brothers at (404) 522-8764.

jb

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
GEORGE H. ESSER, JR., EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern F , Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. , GEORGIA 30303

July 9, 1973

Dr. Clarence Gray
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, N. Y. 10020

Dear Clarence:

I am enclosing our specific proposals for the immediate funding of the five projects listed below.

A.	Analysis of Poverty in the South	$ 29,700
B.	Regional Health Profile to Supplement Poverty Analysis	8,200
C.	State and Local Tax Structure in the South	5,000
D.	Impact of Large Scale Land Ownership on Southern Rural Poverty	28,300
E.	Monitoring of Governmental Programs affecting Poor Southerners	22,300
		$ 93,500

Each of these statements has been reviewed and revised and brought up to date. The budgets are all within the initial amounts requested, but with specific allocations amended where found necessary.

Ray Marshall will discuss with us when he comes on the 20th the ways in which we can cooperate in the analysis of the CDC's and coops. And I am postponing any specific requests for the remaining $27,000 until we have a better idea of our specific requirements for further implementation of all the projects in which you have expressed an interest.

We are very pleased to have these projects underway with Rockefeller Foundation support, and they will enable us to raise some very important issues very quickly. I assume you have already received the memorandum confirming the meeting on July 20th to discuss districts and subregions for which information should be aggregated and further information which we should plan to secure on the second computer run.

Let us know if we can be of any assistance in your efforts to plan a second tour for Dr. Knowles.

I will give you a call this Friday when I am in New York to determine if you need further information.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

jb

Enclosure

PROJECT PROPOSALS TO THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

A. ANALYSIS OF POVERTY IN THE SOUTH

The eleven Southern states in which the Southern Regional Council operates have 10,180,437 poor people, 38% of the nation's total. Yet they contain only 25% of the nation's population. And while 14% of the nation's citizens live in poverty, 20% of those in these eleven states do.

Who are our poor, and where do they live? What other problems are associated with their condition or result from it? In what way can states deal logically and practically with the differing needs in differing regions within their borders? In what way and where are problems common between states, and how can they begin to work together toward solutions? How can the Southern Regional Council's task forces concentrate their resources in an informed way to lead toward solutions?

Such questions require a base of knowledge about the poor in the South and the interrelationship of their problems. We would emphasize that our approach deals secondarily with the characteristics of the poor -- and those not necessarily as causes of poverty -- using them to concentrate primarily on how the statistics define the problems, and how they define the areas in which those problems exist and are concentrated.

The South is best defined as a region statistically, culturally, and economically by a number of measures that lump certain

of the states together as similar. Those measures include lower education levels, a lower proportion of foreign born, a higher proportion of blacks, a higher proportion of agricultural employment, higher fertility rates, higher infant mortality rates, a higher proportion of Protestants, lower capital investment in manufacturing, smaller average acreage per farm, etc. But observation tells us that the region is by no means homogenous, and that distinct subregions may be similarly defined. A few have been defined historically by the obvious geographic barriers or by an economic development enhanced by geographic advantages. A more subtle economic definition of subregions results from patterns of metropolitan development, marketing, and transportation. Obviously, such subregions may lie within a single state's borders, or they may take in parts of two or more states, and may share more commonality than the regional sections within any one state.

Our first thrust in the analysis of poverty in the South is designed to give us an idea of subregions based on the characteristics of its poor people and their problems. It is our conviction that the nature of the problems and their intensity will tend visually and statistically to define rural poverty areas more accurately. Thus, while we intend to examine more detailed data within each state during the second stage of our analysis because many of the problems must be solved at a state level, and while we expect to look at regional figures in comparison with the rest of the country, our initial interest is in the pattern of poor rural subregions that appears to exist. The analysis will also give us a picture of urban poverty problems. It is for this reason that, in the initial phase, we have chosen to look at some of the data by counties and some of it by resi-

dential distribution of the population between several categories of urban residence and farm and nonfarm residence. With a baseline of the distribution of the South's white and black population and changes in that distribution since 1960, we will examine the distribution of the white and black poor population, the incidence of poverty in both races, by such characteristics as age, sex of family head, employment status, occupation, income, the extent of public assistance and social security income, levels of formal education, and housing.

In the second phase of our analysis, and with the added objective information on the population groupings and intensity of problems, we plan to examine the problems within the defined areas of existing or proposed multi-county regions within states. Several aggregations of counties suggest themselves as appropriate, including Economic Development Administration districts and the newer planning districts into which most states have now been divided by their administrations. Or it may be that some larger aggregation of counties is suggested by the economy and political realities within a given state. Our purpose will be to provide information within a practical and realistic framework, which will be usable to the individual states and their administrative subregions in seeking solutions to the problems of poverty within their borders. The choice of districts will be made at a conference of consultants, staff, and Rockefeller Foundation representatives in late July; and participants will also be invited to suggest additional variables for the second phase of the study.

The first analysis, which will also cite apparent relationships among problems, will be published by October 1st, in a form

designed for general use, illustrated by maps, graphs, charts, and some tables. An appendix, perhaps bound separately, will contain basic data tables from which the analysis is drawn. Such an analysis should provide states of the region a more objective description of their mutual concerns in rural areas and enhance their ability to plan together to solve problems. It is essential as baseline data for the program development of the Southern Regional Council's task forces.

The second phase of the analysis will require additional computer runs in August, aggregating county data by the boundaries of the districts chosen. Compilation and analysis will run concurrently with the latter stages of the first analysis, with publication of reports on individual states scheduled for mid to late December. It is tentatively planned to present the appropriate data in readable tabular form, grouped by district, with a brief commentary on district comparisons and the state as a whole. The eleven reports will be duplicated in an inexpensive format and made available to a more limited mailing list than the earlier, more general, publication. Such analyses should prove their benefit not only to the individual states, but also to the multi-county districts within states where, ultimately, much of the planning will take place. (See Appendix for substantive detail on initial analysis. Substantive detail for the second phase will reflect many of the same variables, along with those added by conference participants, but data will be aggregated by states and by districts chosen rather than by individual counties, categories of urban and rural residence, state, and region.)

B U D G E T

Personnel	
Contractual and part-time assistance	
Tabulation	$ 5,000
(Initial study - 2 full-time 2 mos. @ $625 - $2,500. 2nd study - 2 half-time, 4 mos. same base ($7,500), $2,500)	
Research Analysts	2,000
(1 fourth-time, 4 mos. or equiv. in consulting time to work with us and writer)	
Writer	3,000
(2-3 mos. - Aug.-November)	
Computer Time	4,000
(1st study - $1,000) (2nd study - $3,000)	
Telephone & Supplies	550
Graphics and art work	2,000
*Printing	13,150
(1st study - 10,000 copies @ $1.00 $10,000; Appendix - 3000 copies @ 50¢, $1,500) (2nd study - 300 of each individual state report @ 50¢ per copy - $1,650)	
TOTAL	$29,700

Copies of these studies will be distributed without charge to a selected mailing list of policy-makers and influential private citizens in the region.

APPENDIX A. Analysis of Poverty in the South - Substantive Detail

The poverty report will use the data in the 1970 Census of Population and in some cases data from the 1960 Census. The basic variable, poverty, has been developed by the Social Security Administration and consists of a series of poverty income thresholds. The poverty threshold depends on the size of a family, the sex of the family head, number of children under 18 years, and farm and nonfarm residence. A poor family or individual is one whose income falls below his relevant threshold. This survey relies entirely on this income concept of poverty though other measures have been proposed.

Two dimensions, with respect to poverty, will be emphasized in the analysis: the incidence of poverty and the distribution of the poverty population. Incidence measures the probability of a sub-population being poor. The distribution of the poverty population describes a sub-population's share of the poverty population. For instance, incidence of poverty is high among Southern aged rural blacks, but their share of the poverty population is low.

The report will compare the 11 southern states with each other and with the regional total. Comparisons with U.S. totals will be used as a baseline, but the analysis will focus on differences and similarities within the region.

For most of the items discussed below tables will use a residential variable that has these six categories: Urban-central cities, urban fringe, cities 10,000 to 50,000, cities 2,500 to 10,000; Rural - farm and nonfarm. In some cases only three residential categories will be used - Urban, Rural Farm, and Rural Nonfarm.

For the substantive issues discussed below tables will usually present the U.S. total, the 11 state southern region, the 11 southern states separately by either the 6 or 3 category residence variable. County data will be presented for some items and maps will be prepared containing the county data. The substantive areas of the survey follow.

All tables and analyses will include racial distributions. The black versus white comparisons are a principal focus of the report.

I. Population Distributions

A. Population Changes Since 1960

The emphasis will be on the changing distribution by the residential categories, especially on movement of blacks out of the South, or out of rural areas into central cities. Equally important is the flight of whites to suburbs. A county analysis of the proportion black populations will also be prepared.

B. Rural Population

Since rural residence is highly associated with poverty the rural population will be computed for each county and presented on a county map of the South. Comparisons with the black population by county can readily be made.

C. Poverty Population

What is the poverty rate by county? This will be presented on a county map. The poverty rate for selected cities will also be presented on the same map, if feasible. In conjunction with the map data on black populations and rural populations areas with critical needs can be identified.

What is the distribution of the poverty population compared to the population as a whole? Is it isolated in pockets or is it present everywhere? Is the incidence of poverty related to residence? Where is it higher/lower?

What is the difference between the poor black and the poor white? Is their residential distribution the same as or different from their racial distribution or is it the same for the poor of both races? Is the incidence of poverty by race different according to residential area?

II. Demographic Characteristics

A. Age and Family Characteristics

Who are the poor by age and family characteristic? Our categories of concern are: the aged (65 and over), families headed by a male under 65, families headed by a female under 65, and unrelated male and female individuals. What is the incidence of poverty among these various groups?

For the total population (nonpoor and poor) what is the age profile using these categories: under 16, 16-24, 25-54, 55-64, 65 and over. What change has taken place in this distribution since 1960? What is the distribution of the 1970 poor population by age categories? Without getting into a detailed analysis of age distributions or projections we want to point out the trend toward growing numbers of the aged and the increase in the working age population since the coming of age of the baby boom population and the effect these trends may have on the poverty population.

B. Education Levels

For the population 25-64 by levels of schooling completed (up to 8 years, some high school, high school graduate, some college, and college graduate), what is the incidence

of poverty and what is the distribution of the poor by educational level? Education is commonly attributed as a major cause of poverty, but the relationship is not pervasive as can be shown when the population is divided by race and sex categories.

III. Labor Market Activity

Since earnings are the major source of income for the population any situation which reduces labor market activity or curtails it altogether will be a major determinant of poverty. For the working age poor population by sex what is the distribution by labor force participation, employment and unemployment, full-time versus part-time employment, full-year versus part-year employment? For these same characteristics what is the incidence of poverty?

What is the incidence of poverty among various occupations and industries, by sex? What are the incidence rates of poverty among families with male heads with a working wife compared to those families without a working wife?

IV. Severity of Poverty and Use of Transfer Payments

A. Severity of Poverty

What is the distribution of those families receiving 50% or less of the poverty level income by sex of

family head? These represent the most destitute group and those who need the most aid.

What is the mean income deficit of poverty families by sex of head and individuals? This is the average amount necessary to bring the family/individual up to the poverty level. Aggragate costs of alleviating poverty by area can be estimated.

B. Transfer Payments

Is public assistance meeting the needs of the poor? Of those in poverty, what proportion are receiving public assistance? What is the mean grant? Of all families receiving assistance, what proportion are above the poverty level?

For the aged poor what percent are receiving social security benefits? What is the mean benefit? What is the incidence of poverty for the aged by income source?

V. Income Trends Since 1960

Since the methodology for defining poverty was developed after the 1960 Census, direct comparison on poverty trends cannot be made. Using income distributions for both 1960 and 1970, as well as median income, it will be possible to

identify the segments of the southern population that have or have not improved their economic position since that time.

VI. Some Consequences of Poverty

A. Housing

The poor have fewer resources to devote to their housing; hence they tend to live in the poorest housing stock. What is the distribution of the poor by housing characteristics? To what extent are they dependent on substandard or deficient housing. What is the incidence of poverty among all those living in substandard or deficient housing?

B. Health

The single best measure of inadequate health care is infant mortality. For counties and selected urban areas what is the infant mortality rate and the postneonatal mortality rate? These data in conjunction with the county data on black, poor, and rural populations will present another dimension in defining the rural poverty areas. (These data do not come from the Census of Population but are part of the poverty report nevertheless).

VII. Defining Rural Subregions of the South

Two aspects of the poverty report data and graphic material

will be useful in defining sub-regions. The various county maps which show black population concentration, rural population, poverty population, and perhaps infant mortality statistics will aid in identifying the counties and sets of counties which have the most extreme characteristics of rural poverty.

Secondarily, the various tables which contain categories for rural farm and rural nonfarm will delineate the characteristics of rural areas in the 11 states. Used in conjunction with the map detail these will be suggestive of aggregation across state boundaries.

Once sub-regions are defined the tables of the poverty report will be run for the sub-regions for those items that have relevance.

B. Regional Health Profile to Supplement Poverty Analysis

Information on the region's health is essential to an understanding of the region's primary problems, particularly of those Southerners in poverty. Census data can supply only limited kinds of information, so other information is being gathered from all available sources to complement the poverty analysis and provide the "Southern Health Status and Resources Profile," with attention to the following:

1. Level of health in the South. This will include some brief demographic material, but of much greater importance, the health status indices (mortality and morbidity rates) to compare the region's health level with the national level. Particular emphasis will be placed here--as elsewhere in the report--on rural health problems. The section will also deal with the relationship between poverty and health with statistics illustrating that areas of concentrated poverty (rural and inner city) have the poorest health status based on mortality and chronic condition rates. The adverse effect of malnutrition and hostile environmental conditions on health will also be examined.
2. Examination of Health Resources. This will be a look at manpower, facilities, programs and services. Particular attention will be paid to the maldistribution of health personnel (physicians, nurses, dentists). The

lack of primary care manpower will be documented. Along with this we will also look at some innovative use of health personnel, such as the student program at Vanderbilt. We will also try to show some examples of innovative use of facilities, particularly in rural areas.

3. Financial barriers to Health Care. This will include a look at costs in the South, as well as insurance coverage with attention to lack of coverage by the poor and a more complete examination of the inadequacies of Medicaid and Medicare.

4. The information will be in a form so that it can be used to define health problems in the districts and subregions identified for analysis in Project A.

To follow up this publication, we are exploring ways of analyzing this data with the more sophisticated tools provided by the computer so as to be able to interpret, with more confidence, the extent to which specific groups in the South receive less than an equal share of the health benefits of the society, and to draw solid inferences as to causal relationships between social class, health services and facilities, and health status which would not otherwise be warranted. Additional funds will be required, and they are being sought.

BUDGET:

Professional Consultant	$ 1,500
Research Associates	3,000
Printing	2,500
Telephone	200
Travel	1,000
	$ 8,200

APPENDIX B: FURTHER STATEMENT ON RESEARCH INTO THE IMPACT OF LARGE-SCALE LAND OWNERSHIP ON SOUTHERN RURAL POVERTY

The Rural South: Paradoxes for Public Policy

For the past year as staff coordinator for the SRC Task Force on Econoic Development, I have researched literature that describes poverty in the South. Both the literature, and that literature developed as a student at WWS, emphasized that lagging rural development continues to depress average income for the region. Many economists suggest that since the costs of development relative to the low population densities of rural areas are high, then the movement of rural population to urban centers should be supported. National policy makers have apparently accepted this thinking.

Yet, there are realities concerning life in the rural South which in the short-run, will inhibit comprehensive economic development. The pace of growth in the South surely has been dampened by a few of the often contradictory realities which follow:

1. Much of the South's considerable wealth is in land, agricultural, and extractive industries--timber, paper and pulpwood, coal and oil, farming and agri-business. On the other hand, nearly half (47%) of all poor people in the nation are in the South. Two-thirds of the South's poor are in the rural South. Over one-half (53%) of all

Blacks in the nation are still in the South. And nearly 60% of all minorities--Native Americans, Mexicans, Latins, and Blacks--in the South are in places of less than 10,000).

2. On the one hand the various states have developed sophisticated campaigns to attract and hold national and international manufacturing industries. On the other hand there are severely limited public programs to train rural Southerners for jobs in those new industries.

3. Through Nixon's decentralization of social welfare programs, the responsibility for human resource development programs falls largely to the states. Southern states have historically ignored this responsibility. They are unprepared to accept it now.

4. The barriers to accepting reasonable responsibility for public human resource services, currently, lie less with state governors than with Southern state legislatures and the organization of state government. Most Southern states have very short legislative sessions and are dominated by conservative representatives.

5. Since 1966, Blacks have elected over 11 hundred public officials to state and local government. Yet, in Georgia for an example, the Honorable Julian Bond cannot get support in the legislature for measures designed to improve the condition of Black Georgians.

The same condition faces every other Black public official in the South.

6. Taxation in Southern states, which would have to be increased to provide human development resources, is currently most permissive. According to Ken Quindry at the University of Tennessee's Center for the Study of Public Policy, nearly one-half (46%) of the nation's underutilized tax effort is in the 14-state Census South. In other words, revenues would increase tremendously in Southern states if they were to simply use their taxing powers at national average levels.

Comprehensive approaches to economic development in the Southern region must appreciate the complexity of Southern history, economics, and social attitudes. Approaches which fail to appreciate these realities constrain themselves to arbitrariness. But now, let me describe the dominant approaches to development, some of the recent criticisms, and what these approaches imply for the rural South.

Federal and State Economic Development Strategies

Southern states, generally, have not developed comprehensive approaches to economic development. State efforts are largely limited to the encouragement of locating new manufacturing firms. The range of state tax incentives to encourage such location is indeed impressive. But, given limited educational and job skills suitable to capital-intensive industries,

rural Southerners are not the principal beneficiaries of these efforts.

Instead, we must look to the federal government for more comprehensive community and economic development strategies. Since the formation of the Appalachian Regional Commission in 1965, the federal government's strategy has been to promote "growth centers" within redeveloping domestic regions. The rationale has been that, if manufacturing centers could be encouraged in such areas, then rural populations fleeing depressed economies would be attracted to opportunities within their regions, rather than migrate to already burdened urban centers in the North and West. The federal programs designed to promote such intra-regional "growth centers" were also developed under the auspices of the Economic Development Administration (EDA), whose future is now in doubt in Mr. Nixon's reordering of budget priorities. However, there has been little assistance to support the validity of the "growth centers" concept as it applied to Black rural poor families. Southern rural racism has systematically excluded Black participation in allocating the benefits of the programs.

Another similar criticism of the "growth centers" concept has been raised by Dr. Ray Marshall, Chairman, Department of Economics, University of Texas at Austin. Dr. Marshall has gathered locational data that new firms are not locating in Southern urban centers. Instead it appears that they are

locating at a 25-mile radius of Southern SMSAs. However, these new firms are seeking areas with moderate to high job skills in the work force. Traditional racial discrimination virtually assures that areas with high concentrations of Blacks will be given limited locational priority.

While the rural poor, and particularly the Black rural poor, are being squeezed in the current competition for industrial employment, there are equally serious federal plans afoot to further squeeze the regional agricultural worker. In preparation for the coming round of international agricultural trade talks, Mr. Nixon asked the USDA for a directive paper to guide him in those negotiations. The paper, dubbed the "Flanigan Report", was controversial in that it openly encouraged the President not to submit its recommendations to Congress. However, for regional and small farmers, the report promised even more immediate damage. In exchange for lowered tariffs in the international market against U.S. feed grains and livestock exports, the report recommended that the U.S. be prepared to bargain away the dairy industry and the tobacco industry. The disincentives to limit domestic production of dairy and tobacco products is to result from the manipulation of current governmental price supports. The report went on to acknowledge that the small farmer, or those still using labor-intensive farming methods, would in the short-run be hardest hit.

There are current long-run advantages in implementing

the recommendations of this report, and there are strong lobbies in these industries that will watchdog their respective interests. But what of the tenant farmer, the small farmer and the cash crop or subsistence farmer? Where are the training programs and the human resource support programs for the "new migrants" to urban industries within the region? How are Southern "growth centers" being prepared to help guarantee a smoother transition for migrants from rural to urban life than was witnessed nationally in the 1950 and '60s.

Currently, and for sometime to come, state and local government must assume the responsibility for answering these and comparable questions. A significant example of the answer implicit in these questions can be found in the gap betwen Southern state tax effort in education and the national effort in this curcial area. The U.S. average per pupil expenditure in 1970-71 was $868. The U.S. average state and local tax effort as a percentage of average personal income was 4.7%. Only one state in the SRC region, Louisiana, exceeded the U.S. average tax effort. Thus, per capita expenditures for public education in Southern states ranged from the low in Alabama of $523 to $797, the high, in Louisiana--all lower than the national average.

Another possible gap which is, I believe, in need of greater understanding will be the subject of my research. While considerable attention has been given to the distribution of poverty in the Southern region, far less attention has been

given to the distribution of Southern wealth. Economists, who have studied the early development of industry in the South, have pointed to the positive effects of monopolistic tendencies which existed in those early years. They felt that Southern economic resources were too scarce to make effective use of competitive economic practices. Also the agrarian nature of the Southern economy and the traditional economic discrimination against Blacks facilitated such control. However, if the South has diversified its economic base with increased industrialization, perhaps it is the concentration of ownership of the principal resource in rural areas--land--that contributes to a condition characterized by depressed wages. Moreover, if the hegemony of those who own the principal economic resource--land--in rural areas extends to the political life of those areas, then rural dwellers are placed at a distinct disadvantage in obtaining for themselves the desired quality of life. And this would be particularly true if the rural dweller is Black.

The Dissertation

I intend to analyze the effects of large, private land holdings on the provision of public human resource services to rural residents in counties dominated economically by three land intensive industries--pulpwood, coal, and agriculture/agri-business. My unrefined test hypotheses are as follows:

1. There is an inverse relationship between low local revenues and the extent to which

large tracts of land in these counties are concentrated in familial and corporate ownership arrangments.

2. There is an inverse relationship between concentrated land ownership and the quality of tax assessment and administration in these counties.

3. The level and kinds of public human resource services vary with the degree of concentrated land ownership in these rural counties. Each of these questions is subject to rather straightforward statistical techniques.

The substantive relationship between vested rural economic interests, the local tax assessment process, and the level of public human resource services must be developed more subjectively. In addition to statistical data, I want to use an investigative research approach to these policy issues, and this will require some rather delicate interviewing.

My research will not be isolated from other attempts to rationalize Southern rural poverty. Rather, it will be a part of the SRC's larger concern for rural poverty, and its commitment to a continuing program of research to find causes and to propose solutions for issues in public policy.

C. State and Local Tax Structure in the South

At a time when additional pressure is being placed on state and local government to assume additional responsibilities for critical public services, it is important to have accurate information available throughout the South on the sources of state and local taxation, with an analysis that indicates the relative impact in each state of state and local tax policy. This effort is particularly important because Southern states have historically relied more upon regressive forms of taxation than states in other regions of the country.

The Southern Regional Council has made arrangements with Dr. Eva Galambos to revise, expand and bring up to date her 1969 study for SRC entitled "The Tax Structure of the Southern States," with publication scheduled for the fall.

BUDGET:

Research	$ 3,000
Printing & Distribution of final report	2,000
	$ 5,000

D. Impact of Large Scale Land Ownership on Southern Rural Poverty

One of the critical problems in the South is the extent to which many corporations now own very large areas of land in Southern counties. These include paper, agri-business, and mineral extraction enterprises. The result is domination of many rural counties by one or two major corporate concerns.

These same counties generally have a higher proportion of poverty, inadequate public services, and limited opportunities for new economic development and job creation.

The Southern Regional Council, through a senior staff member, proposes to initiate a thorough analysis of this growing trend with attention to the following issues:

1. To what extent do state and local tax policies encourage the aggregation of large tracts of land, and how does the taxation of this land and/or minerals compare with the taxation of other income producing properties in the Southern states?
2. What is the quality of public services in counties with a higher proportion of land ownership concentrated in a few persons or corporations, and what appears to be the impact, if any, of this pattern of land ownership and economic control on the quality of those public services?
3. What is the need and potential for other economic development in such counties, and what is the impact of this pattern of land ownership and control on this potential?

4. What has been the impact of this pattern of land ownership and economic control on opportunity for black citizens in these counties as compared with that for whites?

5. What role has state government played in helping to assure other kinds of economic development in counties with this pattern of land ownership and economic control?

The research director will select a sample of counties in which land-intensive industries are dominant, using a profile of land ownership, distribution and use; tenancy patterns; population and racial composition; other income and demographic characteristics; and economic analysis.

This research will require a fourteen-month effort, including one-half the time of Mr. George Harris as staff member in charge, until the report is ready for final writing. At that time he will take a four-month leave of absence to prepare the report which will also constitute his Ph.D. dissertation. A complete research design is being prepared, but a fuller description of his thinking is attached as Appendix B.

BUDGET:

Two research assistants	$ 10,000
Travel for staff director and research assistants	5,000
Computer Programing	2,000
Telephone	1,800
Report Printing & Distribution	2,500
Consultants	1,000
Four-months leave of absence for preparation of final report as dissertation	6,000
	$ 28,300

E. Monitoring of Governmental Programs affecting Poor Southerners

With assistance from two relatively small grants, the Southern Regional Council has established a Monitoring Project which in September will begin evaluating the performance of selected federal, state and local programs, particularly those designed to provide substantial assistance to poor and black Southerners. Funding already available provides for the employment of two professionally-trained staff members, one of whom, Professor Joe Tom Easley, most recently a professor of law at the University of Georgia, will be director of the project.

In order to insure that early priority can be given to analysis of programs which are capable of providing support for community economic development and manpower development for poor and black Southerners, the project requires a third professional staff member. The work of the three full-time staff members will be supplemented by the efforts of young graduates and students from Southern law and graduate schools who will be recruited for part-time service.

BUDGET:

Salary	$ 18,000
Fringe Benefits (10%)	1,800
Travel, Telephone & Supplies	2,500
	22,300

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
J. Kellum Smith, Jr., Secretary
Esther S. Stamm, Assistant Secretary

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

July 26, 1973

In reply please quote:
RF 73056, E 7351

Dear Mr. Esser:

I am glad to be able to inform you that action has been taken by the officers of The Rockefeller Foundation to make available up to $93,500 to the Southern Regional Council toward the costs of research on rural development in the Southern United States. This sum is available for use during the eighteen-month period beginning July 1, 1973, at the end of which time any unexpended balance will revert to the Foundation.

In recommending this action, the officers understood that the funds would be used in accordance with the budget submitted in your letter of July 9, 1973, to Dr. Clarence C. Gray III, and in compliance with the expenditure responsibility letter countersigned by you and dated July 9, 1973.

Arrangements for payments on this grant may be made by writing directly to our Comptroller. As soon as possible after its termination, we shall need to have reports, both on the use of funds received (a statement of receipts and expenditures) and on the substantive outcome of the grant.

A brief public announcement of this grant will be made in the next quarterly report of the Foundation. As a matter of routine, we are enclosing a printed statement of the Rockefeller Foundation policy regarding the announcement of grants.

It is a pleasure to report this action to you.

Sincerely yours,

J Kellum Smith Jr.

Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File

The Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10020

OFFICE OF THE COMPTROLLER

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

July 30, 1973

Dear Sir:

Re: RF 73056, E 7351 - To the Southern Regional Council toward the costs of research on rural development in the Southern United States - $93,500.00

The Secretary of The Rockefeller Foundation has already sent Mr. Esser a letter of notification of the above-mentioned grant, explaining the general terms under which it was provided. This letter is concerned only with accounting and financial reporting on the use of the funds.

To help us meet legal requirements, we ask that you record our contribution, together with those expenditures which relate to it, in a separate ledger account in your books of account. Invoices, worksheets supporting allocated items, and other records pertaining to the grant should be retained in your files for four years after the termination of the grant.

A statement of receipts and disbursements is needed for the grant fiscal period. The financial statement should be in the same format and provide at least as much detail as the budget. The statement should pertain to the overall support for the program, showing total receipts and total disbursements against funds received from all sources, as well as receipts and disbursements attributable to the Foundation's grant. At the conclusion of the grant period, we ask that you send us a statement that all the funds disbursed from the Foundation's grant were used solely for the purposes for which the grant was made. Any unexpended balance should then be returned to the Foundation.

If you have any questions concerning the accounting and reporting requirements for this grant, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Kirschner

Leo Kirschner
Assistant Comptroller

The Financial Officer
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

LK:eh

August 2, 1973

Mr. J. Kellum Smith, Jr.
Secretary
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Smith:

Concurrently with your letter of July 27th asking for our special assurances in relationship to the grant to support Dr. Mann's research, I received the formal notification from the Internal Revenue Service that the Southern Regional Council has been reclassified from the status of "private foundation" to that of a "publicly-supported organization." A copy of that letter from the Internal Revenue Service is enclosed. Please note this reclassification with respect also to the recent grant which SRC received from the Foundation, and for which I submitted the special assurances you sought.

I am assuming that it will not be necessary for me to sign and return a copy of your letter of July 27th in view of this reclassification.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to write or call me.

Sincerely yours,

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

jb
Enclosure
cc: Dr. Clarence Gray
Dr. Ralph Cummings

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
J. Kellum Smith, Jr., Secretary
Esther S. Stamm, Assistant Secretary

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

July 27, 1973

Dear Mr. Esser:

To avoid any problems that might arise from uncertainty as to the status of your organization under the Tax Reform Act of 1969, we think it best for the protection of both our organizations to ask that you supply us with certain assurances, set forth below, which would be required if your organization were in the category with respect to which the Act imposes the most stringent limitations on grants from a private foundation such as The Rockefeller Foundation.

1. Unless your organization is ruled by the U.S. Treasury Department to be (i) a publicly supported organization described in Section 509(a)(1) through (a)(4) of the U.S. Internal Revenue Code or (ii) a private operating foundation as defined in Section 4942(j)(3), not later than the close of the first taxable year of your organization after the taxable year in which your organization receives a payment on a grant from this Foundation, your organization will make qualifying distributions, which are treated as distributions out of corpus under Section 4942(h), equal to the sum of (i) such payment and (ii) all other contributions received during such taxable year that are required to be redistributed under Section 4942(g)(3); and promptly after the end of such fiscal year will furnish to this Foundation a statement signed by an officer of your organization showing that such qualifying distributions have been made (with the information required by Treasury Regulation §53.4942(a)-3(c)(1)(ii)) and that such distributions have been treated as distributions out of corpus under Section 4942(h).

If your organization obtains a ruling from the Treasury Department that it is either a publicly supported organization or a private operating foundation, it will furnish this Foundation with a copy of such ruling. Any other change concerning the exempt status of your organization will be reported promptly to this Foundation.

2. Your organization will --

(i) repay any portion of a grant which is not used for the purposes of the grant;

(ii) promptly after the end of each taxable year of your organization in which your organization receives any payment on a grant or has in its possession any unexpended grant funds, furnish complete annual reports on the manner in which the funds are spent, compliance with the terms of the grant, and the progress made in accomplishing the purposes of the grant;

(iii) for at least four years after completion of the use of grant funds maintain records showing separately from other accounts kept in your books and records the receipt of payments on the grant and the expenditures made in furtherance of the grant purposes, and upon request by this Foundation make such records available for inspection;

(iv) not use any portion of the grant --

(a) For any purpose other than the purpose for which the grant was made;

(b) To carry on propaganda, or otherwise to attempt to influence legislation (within the meaning of Section 4945(d)(1));

(c) To influence the outcome of any specific public election, or to carry on, directly or indirectly, any voter registration drive (within the meaning of Section 4945(d)(2));

(d) In violation of the requirements of Section 4945(d)(3) with respect to a grant to an individual for travel, study, or other similar purposes, or in violation of the requirements of Section 4945(d)(4) with respect to a grant to certain organizations; or

(e) For any purpose other than one specified in Section 170(c)(2)(B), which relates to religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes.

All Section references in the above are to Sections of the U.S. Internal Revenue Code, and are intended to refer to the Section and the regulations thereunder.

After receipt of the enclosed copy of this letter, with the form of acceptance signed by the president or chief executive officer of your organization, we shall be in a position to continue our consideration of support for research to be carried out by Dr. Charles K. Mann for the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

J Kelleum Smith Jr.

Mr. George Esser
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The undersigned organization agrees to the terms and conditions set forth in this letter.

_____

By _____

Title:

Dated:_____

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W[illegible] 30303

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

August 22, 1973

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Dr. Clarence Gray and Dr. Ralph Cummings

FROM: George Esser and Ray Marshall

During the past few months we have been discussing at frequent intervals the problems of people in the rural South and steps that might be taken by foundations to make a significant impact on the incidence and degree of poverty. There has also been proposed a special Task Force on Southern Rural Development to review national, state and local policies affecting rural poverty and to suggest changes in those policies that would have an equivalent impact on poverty.

This memorandum summarizes what we know about poverty in the South, distinguishes between the approaches used to deal with Southern poverty, and suggests an additional major approach to solutions for Southern rural poverty.

POVERTY IN THE SOUTH

Research undertaken by the Center for the Study of Human Resources at the University of Texas has established the following.

1. Poverty in this nation is heavily concentrated in the South.
   a. In 1969 the South had 31% of the population but 46% of the nation's poor.
   b. For the U. S. as a whole, poverty is disproportionately metropolitan: 50% of the American population lives in metropolitan areas, but 70% of the country's poor live in metropolitan areas. On the contrary, poverty in the South is disproportionately non-metropolitan: 50% of the South's population lives in non-metropolitan areas, but 2/3 of the South's poor live in non-metropolitan areas. In 1970, 44% of the nation's poor white population living in non-metropolitan areas lived in the South; almost all of the nation's non-metropolitan poor blacks lived in the South.
2. Poverty is especially severe for blacks in the South.
   a. Numerically there are more poor whites in the South, but the incidence of poverty is 38% for blacks, and only 11% for whites.
   b. The incidence of poverty in Southern metropolitan areas is 9% white, 28% black, in Southern non-metropolitan areas, the incidence of poverty is 17% white, 55% black. A special study of rural poverty in the South in 1967 disclosed an incidence of poverty of 25% white, 59% black.

c. In the South 65% of the black poor live in non-metropolitan areas, 25% in central cities. By contrast in the North and West, 6.3% of the black poor live in non-metropolitan areas, 80.7% in central cities.

d. In the six deep Southern states (Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina) 89% of the rural blacks and 55% of the rural whites earn less than $3,000 a year.

3. Because most black Southerners were originally in the agriculture labor force, it is important to look at the conditions of blacks in agriculture today. They are:

a. Much poorer than whites in agriculture - have less land, capital and education.

b. Have been displaced much faster from agriculture than whites.

c. Were much less prepared for non-farm jobs than whites.

d. Have gained relatively more than whites from movement out of agriculture:

-In the short run, black migrants have higher incomes and more stable employment in the North than blacks with the same characteristics who were born in Northern urban areas or moved between Northern urban places, but in the long run, black migrants do not advance out of poverty as fast as do white migrants.

-The Southern blacks migrating to the North are the best educated, most productive part of the Southern rural work force, which creates serious leadership problems for the region.

e. Black and small farmers in the South have been discriminated against by the United States Department of Agriculture, both in terms of program implementation and benefits. This discrimination is based partly on race and partly on biases against small farmers. Discrimination also applies to the non-farm employment opportunities for blacks arising from large-scale rural projects such as TVA and the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Project.

f. Despite massive outmigration, more blacks are employed in Southern agriculture than in any other four non-agricultural industries. Agriculture, therefore, remains a most important industry for the Southern poor black.

4. There is a serious leadership and organization problem in the rural South because the rural poor tend to be powerless and disorganized. Agri-business is the only well organized economic interest group in the rural areas. As a consequence, public policy formulation and administration have reflected agri-business interests and not the interests of the rural poor and minorities.

5. Blacks have not shared in the relatively rapid growth of non-farm jobs in the South. Research has shown that proportionately more new industrial jobs, for example, are taking place from 25 to 50 miles outside of metropolitan areas, so the reason for the failure for the blacks to share in that growth is not related to place of residence. Discrimination in rural areas and the rural blacks' relative lack of job skills are better explanations for the failure of rural blacks to share the benefits of this growth in employment opportunities.

   a. The number of poor black families in 244 deep South counties decreased in the period 1959-1969 from 444,560 to 288,400 or 35%. In the same counties the number of poor whites declined from 361,500 to 267,000 or 26%. Put another way, the incidence of black poverty decreased from 81% in 1959 in these 244 counties to 56% in 1969, or a decrease of 25 points. The comparable incidence of white poverty decreased from 32% in 1959 to 20% in 1969, or a decrease of 12 points.

   b. In the six deep Southern states, nonfarm employment for 1960-1970 increased by 21.6%, but the net increase in jobs was only 8.2%, contrasted with a net population growth of 14.4%.

c. In a study of the 244 counties having 5,000 or more blacks, it was clear that blacks gained manufacturing jobs in the heavily black counties, but not jobs in the higher skill levels.

d. An examination of the 244 counties with 5,000 or more black citizens shows that manufacturing growth took place mainly in the white counties. These include the non-metropolitan counties that grew during the 1960's after having declined in the 1950's, and all of these counties had one thing in common - they were predominantly white.

APPROACHES TO RURAL POVERTY IN THE SOUTH

Despite the heavy incidence of poverty in the rural South, and continual references to its persistence, there have been few concentrated efforts to deal with the problem. The President's Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty treated it as part of a national problem in its 1967 report, The People Left Behind. A variety of OEO and foundation projects have focussed on specific service programs and demonstration projects. Scattered research has dealt with aspects of the problem, but only the recent efforts of the Center for the Study of Human Resources at the University of Texas has attempted to look at the entire regional system. The land grant colleges have devoted few of their efforts to people problems in rural areas.

National policy has been curiously blind to a situation for which national policy deserves responsibility. Although

U. S. Department of Agriculture policies, favoring the large farmer against the small and encouraging the movement from labor intensive to mechanized agriculture, have resulted in making the labor of tens of thousands obsolete, there has been no matching effort by USDA to help poor Southerners automated off the land to find new opportunities. The prevailing sentiment, rather, has been to encourage migration away from the rural South. Likewise, the policies of the Economic Development Administration, and other national agencies founded to encourage economic growth in depressed areas, have been to concentrate on "growth centers" and to encourage migration to those centers. The emphasis has been on industrial growth,not on linking the poor to job opportunities.

There has been very little effort to link state development policy with the specific needs of the poor, black or white, and there has been almost no effort to coordinate all human resource development programs in an effort to deal with the factors making it difficult for the rural poor to compete in an industrial market.

It is clear from the statistics we have cited that a major problem of rural poverty is the competitive status of the poor themselves - trained to work with their hands, poorly educated, in poor health, and ill adapted to the urban and industrial work environment. But too little research and action has gone into

the defining how to strengthen human resources in the South. Special attention needs to be focused on the concentration of rural poor in the South, not only from the point of view of research, but of actions which can develop access to opportunity for these people.

To be sure, there are a number of very important demonstration programs underway in the region at the present time. Several community development corporations are receiving substantial federal and foundation aid to prove that community-based economic development ventures can be valuable and successful. More than 100 cooperatives of various kinds are active in the region and receiving help from foundations and some federal programs. A few manpower development projects in the region have experimented with such approaches as outreach, start-up training for potential employees of industrial plants, and intra-state mobility to jobs.

None of these demonstration projects, however, are aimed specifically at the general problem of developing human resources, and none are calculated to test the capacity of the total system of economic development, education and social support services to move the rural poor into the arena of opportunity.

GOALS FOR ACTION

The major question is what can be done to affect this heavy incidence of poverty in the rural South, particularly among black Southerners.

As noted above, several discrete experimental demonstration projects are underway. They have significance for the long run for helping establish that viable economic enterprises can be created and made feasible. Without substantial change in national and state policies in support of community development, however, no major progress can result in the short-range from these projects.

A second major approach which has been suggested is a thorough and comprehensive review of all national, state and local public policies influencing economic development in rural areas in the South. Such a re-examination, and a major change in policies aimed at expanding opportunities for poor Souterners, is long overdue, particular in view of the rapid forced migration of labor from the agricultural work force.

The purpose of the proposed Task Force for Southern Rural Development is to carefully review all policies affecting economic development in the rural areas, and existing research bearing on such policies, and to come up with recommendations for new policies which will expand economic opportunities in Southern rural areas and reach more of the people who are suffering in poverty.

These efforts leave one major aspect of poverty in the South untouched. If the Southern poor are marked by poor education, lack of modern sector work experience, poor health, and lack of access to opportunity, these facts speak loudly about the inability of current human resource development systems to have a impact on the poor Southerners. These human resource development systems

include public education, vocational education and other manpower development programs, job creation programs, health delivery systems, housing delivery systems, and other programs deemed at helping individuals prepare themselves and find opportunity within the current economic system.

What is needed is a project that combines research, policy formulation, program monitoring and program improvement for this group of functions. The Center for the Study of Human Resources at the University of Texas and the Southern Regional Council propose a major research and demonstration project over a five-year period with the following goal: To demonstrate that strengthening of current federal, state and local human resource programs, embraced under a common human resources development policy, can have a measurable impact on the incidence of Southern rural poverty.

The proposed Task Force and this project are complementary but separate proposals. The proposed task force will focus on national and state policies which help to generate economic development, and suggested changes in those policies can have a significant impact on the complex of economic opportunities available in the rural South over the next decade. In the meantime, however, there are problems which face the poor Southerner, black and white, in his efforts to make the best of what is available and to become competitive for both present and future economic opportunities.

In our judgment, if the results of the task force deliverations are implemented within a reasonable period after it finishes its work, the benefits of that project will be multiplied if, simultaneously, we have evolved successful processes for strengthening the individual and organizational capacities of the rural poor in the region to compete for new opportunities, and have evolved human resource development systems to the point that they are responding to the needs of the rural poor.

OBJECTIVES OF THE HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

This project would have multiple and inter-related objectives.

1. Equity of Access to Resources

One of the major problems in the Rural South is that resources needed for human development are not equitably allocated between rural and urban areas, and no substantial change is forecast so long as the major political and economic strength in rural areas is concentrated in the agri-business complex. If the rural poor short-comings in education, job training and development, access to employment, and access to other service delivery systems such as health are to be remedied, public resources from every level of government must be more clearly allocated to programs in rural areas.

Specific suggestions for meeting specific problems will be covered in other objectives, but under the general heading of Equity of Access, several things need to be done.

(a) There must be a careful monitoring of all those programs designed to encourage economic development in rural areas and to allocate resources to meet the needs of rural people. This means monitoring selected decision making process in federal agencies, state agencies, and local and multi-county agencies.

(b) At the same time it will be necessary to develop, train and strengthen leadership in rural areas, and to strengthen rural institutions, so that leadership for problem solving and for rural human resource development can come from the ranks of the rural poor themselves. This objective must include support for concerned public officials, particularly black elected officials.

(c) Because there are no strong organizations to represent the interest of the rural poor, even the limited protective social legislation applicable to these areas is regularly violated because of inadequate monitoring. This is true of civil rights, the minimum wage, child labor, social security, workmen's compensation, water rights and acreage limiations, farm labor competition, health and safety, and other fields. Strong and consistent monitoring and analysis is needed.

2. Improvement of Manpower Development Programs

Recent studies by the Center of the Study of Human Resources at the University of Texas, and in other places, have established that the black rural poor in particular are not getting a fair share of new industrial jobs in the rural South. While new industrial jobs are being created rapidly in

Southern rural counties,most of those new locations and plant expansions are taking place in predominantly white counties, which are also distinguished by the fact that skills and education are higher than in the more heavily black counties. Whether location choices are attributable to discrimination or not, specific action must be taken to improve the skills of the rural poor, particularly the black rural poor, in those counties where economic development is not yet on the increase. Several steps will be required, all of them coordinated.

(a) It will be important to initiate a careful evaluation of current manpower development programs in the Southern states.

(b) It will be necessary to improve the quality of job training in rural and depressed counties, and to introduce effective start-up training projects for those persons who have the potential for new jobs.

(c) Improvements in the manpower development system should be related to industrial location policy, so that new plants will have knowledge of the potential in these counties.

(d) More effective labor market information systems must be developed.

(e) Efforts should be made to experiment further with mobility projects to insure that the rural Southern poor have access to jobs which require either commuting or short distance move.

(f) As pointed out below under the objective of Anti-Discrimination, more effective use should be made of outreach programs to link potential employees with job vacancies.

3. Education

Because of the past history of public education in rural counties, and because of the unequal allocation of educational resources to rural counties, public education systems in rural counties have traditionally not offered a quality of education that matches the need of the poor Southerner for knowledge and skills to enable him to compete for employment, either in urban centers or in the new modern sector industries being established throughout the rural South. It will be important to monitor rural school systems to insure that the quality of education is improved to match current needs and to eradicate lingering vestiges of cotton culture education. As problems are identified, action to upgrade school curriculum and policies can be initiated.

4. Job Creation and Economic Development

In addition to efforts to match the rural poor with existing and potential job opportunities, it will be essential to sponsor projects to create new jobs, to expand the effectiveness of current income producing efforts, and to encourage new types of economic development. One major goal should be assistance in a variety of ways to small farmers, to enable small farmers who still own their land to compete or to become more viable economic units. Projects implementing this objective may include experimental forms of financial support (including

assistance for land acquisition by poor blacks), monitoring systems of aid from state and federal agencies to insure that resources are allocated fairly, support for locating and taking advantage of new marketing outlets, and research on the availability of machinery adapted particularly to the use of small farmers. Special attention would have to be given to the use of cooperative institutions in support of small farmers.

Consideration also needs to be given to support of small, economic ventures now owned and operated by the rural poor, including small manufacturing plants as well as retail and service establishments. Consideration should also be given to the help that public programs can provide to the support of economic development.

A major effort should be concentrated on determining ways in which the rural poor can benefit from the opportunities arising from new development projects, such as the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Project.

5. Anti-Discrimination Procedures

Despite the impact of court decisions and national legislation in removing the barriers of segregation, discrimination in employment, education and the provision of services continues to be a critical barrier to the poor and black Southerner. Special projects need to be designed to help eliminate the impact of discrimination in these systems in the rural South. These should include the monitoring of employment in public and private institutions and the provision of critical services such as

education, health and manpower development. They should include outreach programs to demonstrate that there are black Southerners qualified for and motivated for employment in public and private institutions. And it will be important to provide special legal services to insure prompt litigation in support of rural Southerners suffering discrimination.

6. Research and Experimentation in Critical Services Delivery Systems

We know that poor health, poor housing, and inadequate diet, and other similar problems make it much more difficult for rural Southerners to compete for employment and provide for their families. It is also in the rural South where health, housing, and aid to the aged, the young, and the handicapped are the least sufficient. There should be additional research on ways in which these critical delivery systems can be improved to provide more effective services to the rural poor, and experimental projects devised on the basis of that research.

7. Administration of Justice

The rural poor suffer heavily from unequal treatment in the administration of justice. Special steps should be determined to insure equity to the black poor in the administration of justice in rural areas.

8. Consumer Protection

Because of the unequal administration of consumer protection laws, and the lack of resources available to the rural poor, the rural poor suffer most from current practices in the rural

South with respect to the provision of credit, the availability of legal services to protect consumer rights, etc. In setting up this project, ways of assuring consumer protection should be established.

THE PROPOSED PROJECT

During the next two years the proposed Task Force on Southern Rural Development will be examining the effectiveness of existing public policies on opportunities for economic development in the rural South and the access of economic opportunity to poor Southerners. Once this process is completed, the process of securing policy change will take an indeterminant time at all levels of government.

This process of policy re-examination is essential for development of rural South. But while it is going on, and in the absence of any initiative from state or federal governments, the plight of the rural poor will not be significantly improved. Furthermore, the proposed Task Force cannot administer experimental programs designed to improve the productivity of those systems which support human resource development.

The Center for the Study of Human Resources of the University of Texas and the Southern Regional Council propose that a special project to affect human resource development systems in the rural South be established to demonstrate that improvement in these systems can have a measurable impact on the ability of rural Southerners, particular poor black Southerners, to compete effectively in a growing economy and to take better advantages of policy changes which might eventuate from the efforts of the task force.

This project would have the following characteristics.

1. The Center for the Study of Human Resources and the Southern Regional Council, and other organizations including participating foundations, would select a group of counties which are typical of the problems of the rural South - two many poor people, including a high proportion of black poor; inadequate job markets; inadequate public financial resources. A useful reservoir from which to select these counties exists in the 244 counties with more than 5,000 black population which have been carefully analyzed by the Center for the Study of Human Resources of the Univesity of Texas and for which full statistical information is already available for further analysis on tape.

2. Once a group of counties has been selected, and some groundwork has been done to establish the presence of local support for a comprehensive project, an advisory committee would be formed from within those counties to help administer the project. This advisory committee, would, over a period of months, develop a governing board for the project. The Center and the SRC would develop a plan for (a) identification of critical problems in the counties selected, (b) monitoring of public decision making within those counties, and (c) selection of a group of projects intended to respond to the objectives set out above. The intention would be to design a set of interrelated projects whose goals would be improvement of the whole human resource development system in the affected counties.

3. As projects were identified and funded, and as staff or administration of demonstration projects were employed, the demonstration portion of the project would be spun off as an independent organization, with membership on the board from the Center and from SRC but predominantly from the affected counties.

4. The Center and SRC would continue to provide specific services to the project in the form of research, of assistance in the monitoring of public and private agencies, and in the evaluation and interpretation of project results on a regional and national basis.

5. In order to insure that these projects could operate without the constraints typical of most demonstration projects within the last ten years, the project should be established in advance for a five year period. During that five years, the process of research, identification of projects, implementation of demonstration projects, and evaluation would be completed.

6. Although public funds might be available to support one or more demonstration projects, careful consideration should be given to whether the entire project should not be privately funded to insure that the independence of the project is maintained and the integrity of its findings are not subject to challenge. On the other hand, close cooperation with public agencies will be absolutely essential, since most of the human development resource systems are publicly funded, at least in part.

August 30, 1973

Dr. Michael Novak
Rockefeller Foundation
1111 West 50th Street
New York, New York 10020

Dear Dr. Novak:

Several years ago a young professional man in Charlotte, N.C., found himself at an extremely critical point in life. Depressed, troubled deeply by a drift in society and his own affairs that he could not cope with, he began to ask questions of himself that he could not answer. At one point, he was on the brink of abandoning a career which previously had been not only satisfying to himself but which allowed him to make a significant contribution to the society in which he lived. At the suggestion of a friend, he took a brief leave of absence instead, and spent it with Dr. Carlyle Marney at Interpreters' House in the mountains of North Carolina. It is reasonable to say that the young man continues to make a contribution to society today because of that visit to Interpreters' House.

This example has been repeated hundreds of times since Dr. Marney established his unusual ministry. It is essential, in my judgment, that that kind of ministry continue. I understand that Dr. Marney is being considered for support by the Rockefeller Foundation. From what I know of Interpreters' House and the interests of the Rockefeller Foundation, I would say that support would both eminently justifiable and likely to have positive results.

Our society has become so complex, so demanding, so corrosive of the human spirit, that it seriously threatens the continuing supply of an adequate quantity and quality of doers, thinkers and decision-makers -- those men and women who traditionally have comprised our leadership community. In his own unique way, Dr. Marney offers a regenerative process to the victims and potential victims of this corrosion. He reaches out to troubled seminarians, educators, businessmen and public servants, helping them to find within themselves and among themselves new directions, new strengths and new insights. To a remarkable degree, he returns them to their stations more determined, more dedicated than ever.

I support his work wholeheartedly. I believe you will find it supportable also.

Sincerely,

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

GHE,jr/rh

September 5, 1973

Dr. Clarence Gray
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York 10020

Dear Clarence:

I am enclosing our specific proposal for immediate funding of the project listed below.

The Status and Prospects of Small Farmers in the South	$56,500

This is the proposal which was discussed by Dr. Marshall and myself with yourself and Dr. Cummings on August 23-24. It is, as we noted at that time, an expansion of the proposal in May 16 document entitled "Analysis of Self-Help and Community Based Organizations." As I stated in my letter of July 9, we had always anticipated that this proposal would involve directly the Center for the Study of Human Resources at the University of Texas. The expansion in scope represents the considered judgment of Dr. Marshall and the SRC staff following several meetings in July and August. The statement which is enclosed with this letter embraces all of the objectives set forth in our proposal of May 16, but it goes further to explore the status of small farmers in the South, generally, a research objective which is very critical at this age of development in the region.

This proposal will exhaust the funds granted by the Rockefeller Foundation to SRC in June in support of SRC's economic development program. In separate communications you will

receive a request for assistance to support the proposed task force on Southern Rural Development, and the statement which outlines the months ahead.

This proposal will exhaust the funds granted by the Rockefeller Foundation to SRC in June in support of SRC's economic development program. In separate communications you will receive a request for assistance to support the proposed task force on Southern Rural Development, and the statement which outlines the kind of demonstration project which Dr. Marshall and SRC believe the foundation may want to explore as a part of its future program.

Please do not hesitate to call for any information and clarification of this proposal.

Sincerely yours,

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

GHE:syc

September 5, 1973

Dr. Clarence Gray
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, N. Y. 10020

Dear Clarence:

In our conferences together on August 23rd and 24th, we agreed that the Southern Regional Council would submit a special proposal for a grant-of-aid of $35,000 for the next fiscal year to help finance the proposed Task Force on Southern Rural Development. The Southern Regional Council will sponsor the task force over a two year period of time beginning as soon as possible this fall.

I am enclosing copies of a memorandum from Mr. Thomas Wahman at the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and from the Council in response to his memorandum. These two memoranda constitute the essential provisions of the proposal for the task force, but I am including additional information on the points which we discussed in New York in August.

1. The need for such a careful and thorough review of national, state, and local policies bearing on rural development in the region, has been under discussion between representatives of the Council and representatives of several foundations for almost a year. Despite the economic renaissance in the South, the incidence of poverty in the rural South has not decreased, and there is evidence that the gap between income in the rural South and that of persons in the urban South and other parts of the country is opening rather than closing. It is further clear that policies of industrial development are not producing

opportunities for the majority of rural Southerners, particularly black Southerners. The purpose of the task force is to involve an informed group of Southerners in an intensive review of all of those policies, from the governmental sector and the private sector, which influence economic development in the rural South, and which if changed, might have a direct impact on economic opportunity for that large group of Southerners who presently live in poverty.

2. The process of selecting the task force and staff is, I believe, covered thoroughly in the Council's memorandum of May 29, 1973. The Council has not proceeded with selection of the proposed task force or staff until sufficient financial support was assured. We have, however, proceeded with identification of persons who might logically be on the task force, and with the identification of persons who would fill a critical role of staff for this effort. We have in mind that a Southerner owning land in the Deep South and having a national reputation should be chairman, and confidentially we would hope to persuade Mrs. Lyndon Johnson to fill this role. And she also has the intellectual qualifications we must have. The selection of staff is, at the present time, a most crucial issue for at least two persons who, in our judgment, would be best suited for these duties, must be recruited within the next few weeks.

3. At the present time we face the following situation with respect to financial support for the task force. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund has approved financial support for one-quarter of the budget, and the money is in hand. The Ford Foundation is processing a grant this week for its financial support of the task force for the first two years. The Clark Foundation has notified us that the proposal will be submitted to its board at its fall meeting. With financial support for the first year of operation from three out of four foundations, the Council has concluded that sufficient support and interest will be available to proceed with selection of the task force and staff.

4. Because we believe it is important that the task force should have final determination of its agenda within the general parametus of economic development in the rural South, the Council has not attempted a comprehensive analysis on all of the issues which might be considered by the task force. We believe that the issues set forth on pages 5-6 of the Council's memorandum, which complement the statements made by Mr. Wahman following his meeting with staff representatives of the four

foundations, is a reasonable list of the issues to which task force must address itself. We would emphasize that the timing and scope of the task force operation will make it difficult if not impossible for significant new research to be undertaken in support of analysis of these issues. Rather it will be necessary for the staff to prepare working papers based on current published research and the advice of individuals and agencies with specific information and talent in the area, under a consultant arrangement.

5. The final product of the task force's efforts will be a major printed report embracing the task force's analysis of the problems facing the rural South, the impact of national, state and local policies on the current level of development and for the future, and changes in those policies which, in the judgment of the task force, can have a positive impact on the economic opportunities available to rural Southerners and encourage rational development of rural areas for its people. In addition to recommendations for changes in these public and private policies, there will be suggestions for the kinds of efforts that foundations might, in the future, want to support. There would be little opportunity for original research, and no responsibility for coordinating demonstration projects. A system of liaison with the supporting foundations will be established from the beginning efforts of the task force.

6. The scope of the task force's concerns will be very broad, as noted in the memorandum. In the judgment of the Council the process of reexamining public policy for economic development, and for educaton and human resource development, for delivery of public services, and for all of the support systems now or potentially related to the rural Southerner will be comprehensive and form the basis for both educating the public and for review of policies for years to come. The process should result in that kind of careful and objective analysis that takes place once every generation. Concurrent with this effort to review public policy in depth, we believe that a whole range of demonstration projects focused on how the existing system, with innovative changes, can best meet the needs of rural Southerners will be both possible and important. The ideas which have been discussed by Dr. Marshall and myself with you and others at the Foundation, are, we believe, complementary to the idea of the task force, and we specifically encourage the Foundation to move ahead with identification of demonstration projects that can help meet the needs of rural

Southerners. Through those demonstration projects proof of the need for changes in public and private policies can be demonstrated, while the breadth of the task force's deliberations will permit a much more informed understanding of all the changes which need to be made.

7. The Council would anticipate coming back to the Foundation during the next year for a grant to supplement the grant in aid requested in this letter and help complete financing of the work of the task force.

If you have further questions, please do not hesitate to call me.

Sincerely yours,

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

GHE:jb

Enclosures

cc: Dr. Ralph Cummings

September 6, 1973

Dr. Clarence Gray
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York 10020

Dear Clarence:

The enclosed memorandum requires much refinement, but I hope it arrives in time to be of use to you. No doubt it will raise additional questions which we should discuss in the weeks ahead. It covers most of the ideas Ray Marshall and I discussed with you on the 23 and 24.

We believe it suggests a most important role for direct action by the Foundation during the next few years. We also believe that SRC can play an important supporting role to the Foundation in that effort -- particularly in the following ways:

1. Assistance in the process of determining an appropriate target area and the programmatic elements of the demonstration project.

2. Participation in some of the necessary research efforts, including the proposed consortium, although Ray Marshall would have to play the most important leadership role in the research effort.

3. Monitoring of critical governmental programs in the target area and the region generally. The SRC Monitoring Project is now staffed and ready for operations.

4. Interpretation of the research results and, later, of the demonstration project results to a wide audience throughout the region.

Ray and Harry Bowie and I will be prepared to discuss these ideas with you further, at your convenience.

Cordially,

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

GHE:syc

cc: R. Cummings
R. Marshall
Maclachlan
Bowie
Harris - Bildner

Ed Bairie
Return to my desk

The Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

September 17, 1973

Dear George:

As a follow-up to our telephone conversation, let me respond to the several communications which I have received from you regarding our cooperative activities.

Ralph is preparing for consideration release of the funds requested regarding the status and prospects of small farmers in the South.

I will hold for the moment your request for a grant in aid to support a task force on Southern regional development because I have prepared for consideration by my colleagues proposed outlines for a Foundation approach to rural development activities of which a task force will be one item. Therefore, I want to hold this request until I get directions from my colleagues as to how to best proceed. I expect that the matter of how to proceed will be resolved within the next few weeks.

We are at a critical juncture in our consideration of a role for the Foundation in rural development. I believe that very shortly we will have a mandate to proceed; however, it is necessary for me to await final decisions by the approving authorities. I am very optimistic and I will be in touch with you.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence C. Gray III
Deputy Director

Dr. George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

CCG:pe

September 22, 1973

Dr. Clarence Gray
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street, 42nd Floor
New York, N. Y.

Dear Clarence:

I appreciated your letter this week, and I wish you well in your efforts to secure support for a major rural development program in the South. You are the best judge of foundation procedures, and I simply hope that you can push ahead the decisions as rapidly as possible.

Harry Bowie and I will be in New York on October 2, 3, and 4, and we would be happy to come by and see you if further discussion would be helpful. Give me a ring next week if you would like to see us.

Cordially yours,

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

jb

file

The Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

November 7, 1973

Dear George:

Your invitation to attend the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council arrived while I was away on an extended trip. We sent the enclosed postcard back giving this information, and Clarence Gray says he talked with you on the phone about this. I am very sorry that I was unable to attend. I hope that the meeting went well.

My very best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph

Ralph W. Cummings, Jr.
Agricultural Economist

Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

RWC:rmp

June 6, 1974

Dr. Ralph Cummings
Rockefeller Foundation
111 W. 50th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Ralph:

The Southern Regional Council requests a grant of $300,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation in addition to the unspent balance from the previous grant made to the Council by the Foundation in 1973 (Grant #RF 73056), for the period up to June 30, 1976. This proposal would cover the following projects which are described in the detailed program description delivered to Dr. Clarence Gray on April 18th and supplemented by additional materials on May 30, 1974.

1. Follow-up to the research projects on state and local tax policy in the South and analysis of poverty in the South, for a period of one year -- $30,000.

2. Research on public services/human services for the Commission on the Future of the South (established by the Southern Growth Policies Board) for a period of 6 months -- $129,000.

3. Follow-up to the research on public services/human services for the Commission on the Future of the South, one and one-half year's -- $66,000.

4. Support of the Southern Governmental Monitoring Project, which is monitoring the impact of various state and federal programs in the South, two years -- $75,000.

If there are any further questions, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

GHE:pyw

File
Rockefeller Foundation

BUDGET SUMMARY

II.	A.	Analysis of Poverty in the South	$ 29,700
	B.	Regional Health Profile to Supplement Poverty Analysis	8,200
	C.	State and Local Tax Structure in the South	5,000
	D.	Impact of Large Scale Land Ownership on Southern Rural Poverty	28,300
	E.	Analysis of Self-Help and Community Based Development Organizations	28,700
			99,9
III.	A:		
	1.	Senior Staff member in economic development, and support	30,600
	2.	One additional staff member for Monitoring Program, and support	22,300
	3.	Conferences in individual states, and staff support	19,700
	B:		
	1.	Writer, and support	15,660
	2.	Secretary for Research and Information Staff, and equip.	9,246
		Total Budget	$197,406

42,900
8,000
50,900
8,000
58,900

93,500
28,700
122,200

150,000

PROJECT PROPOSALS TO THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

A. ANALYSIS OF POVERTY IN THE SOUTH

The eleven Southern states in which the Southern Regional Council operates have 10,180,437 poor people, 38% of the nation's total. Yet they contain only 25% of the nation's population. And while 14% of the nation's citizens live in poverty, 20% of those in these eleven states do.

Who are our poor, and where do they live? What other problems are associated with their condition or result from it? In what way can states deal logically and practically with the differing needs in differing regions within their borders? In what way and where are problems common between states, and how can they begin to work together toward solutions? How can the Southern Regional Council's task forces concentrate their resources in an informed way to lead toward solutions?

Such questions require a base of knowledge about the poor in the South and the interrelationship of their problems. We would emphasize that our approach deals secondarily with the characteristics of the poor -- and those not necessarily as causes of poverty -- using them to concentrate primarily on how the statistics define the problems, and how they define the areas in which those problems exist and are concentrated.

The South is best defined as a region statistically, culturally, and economically by a number of measures that lump certain

of the states together as similar. Those measures include lower education levels, a lower proportion of foreign born, a higher proportion of blacks, a higher proportion of agricultural employment, higher fertility rates, higher infant mortality rates, a higher proportion of Protestants, lower capital investment in manufacturing, smaller average acreage per farm, etc. But observation tells us that the region is by no means homogenous, and that distinct subregions may be similarly defined. A few have been defined historically by the obvious geographic barriers or by an economic development enhanced by geographic advantages. A more subtle economic definition of subregions results from patterns of metropolitan development, marketing, and transportation. Obviously, such subregions may lie within a single state's borders, or they may take in parts of two or more states, and may share more commonality than the regional sections within any one state.

Our first thrust in the analysis of poverty in the South is designed to give us an idea of subregions based on the characteristics of its poor people and their problems. It is our conviction that the nature of the problems and their intensity will tend visually and statistically to define rural poverty areas more accurately. Thus, while we intend to examine more detailed data within each state during the second stage of our analysis because many of the problems must be solved at a state level, and while we expect to look at regional figures in comparison with the rest of the country, our initial interest is in the pattern of poor rural subregions that appears to exist. The analysis will also give us a picture of urban poverty problems. It is for this reason that, in the initial phase, we have chosen to look at some of the data by counties and some of it by resi-

dential distribution of the population between several categories of urban residence and farm and nonfarm residence. With a baseline of the distribution of the South's white and black population and changes in that distribution since 1960, we will examine the distribution of the white and black poor population, the incidence of poverty in both races, by such characteristics as age, sex of family head, employment status, occupation, income, the extent of public assistance and social security income, levels of formal education, and housing.

In the second phase of our analysis, and with the added objective information on the population groupings and intensity of problems, we plan to examine the problems within the defined areas of existing or proposed multi-county regions within states. Several aggregations of counties suggest themselves as appropriate, including Economic Development Administration districts and the newer planning districts into which most states have now been divided by their administrations. Or it may be that some larger aggregation of counties is suggested by the economy and political realities within a given state. Our purpose will be to provide information within a practical and realistic framework, which will be usable to the individual states and their administrative subregions in seeking solutions to the problems of poverty within their borders. The choice of districts will be made at a conference of consultants, staff, and Rockefeller Foundation representatives in late July; and participants will also be invited to suggest additional variables for the second phase of the study.

The first analysis, which will also cite apparent relationships among problems, will be published by October 1st, in a form

designed for general use, illustrated by maps, graphs, charts, and some tables. An appendix, perhaps bound separately, will contain basic data tables from which the analysis is drawn. Such an analysis should provide states of the region a more objective description of their mutual concerns in rural areas and enhance their ability to plan together to solve problems. It is essential as baseline data for the program development of the Southern Regional Council's task forces.

The second phase of the analysis will require additional computer runs in August, aggregating county data by the boundaries of the districts chosen. Compilation and analysis will run concurrently with the latter stages of the first analysis, with publication of reports on individual states scheduled for mid to late December. It is tentatively planned to present the appropriate data in readable tabular form, grouped by district, with a brief commentary on district comparisons and the state as a whole. The eleven reports will be duplicated in an inexpensive format and made available to a more limited mailing list than the earlier, more general, publication. Such analyses should prove their benefit not only to the individual states, but also to the multi-county districts within states where, ultimately, much of the planning will take place. (See Appendix for substantive detail on initial analysis. Substantive detail for the second phase will reflect many of the same variables, along with those added by conference participants, but data will be aggregated by states and by districts chosen rather than by individual counties, categories of urban and rural residence, state, and region.)

B U D G E T

Personnel	
Contractual and part-time assistance	
Tabulation	$ 5,000
(Initial study - 2 full-time 2 mos. @ $625 - $2,500. 2nd study - 2 half-time, 4 mos. same base ($7,500), $2,500)	
Research Analysts	2,000
(1 fourth-time, 4 mos. or equiv. in consulting time to work with us and writer)	
Writer	3,000
(2-3 mos. - Aug.-November)	
Computer Time	4,000
(1st study - $1,000) (2nd study - $3,000)	
Telephone & Supplies	550
Graphics and art work	2,000
*Printing	13,150
(1st study - 10,000 copies @ $1.00 $10,000; Appendix - 3000 copies @ 50¢, $1,500) (2nd study - 300 of each individual state report @ 50¢ per copy - $1,650)	
TOTAL	$29,700

Copies of these studies will be distributed without charge to a selected mailing list of policy-makers and influential private citizens in the region.

APPENDIX A. Analysis of Poverty in the South - Substantive Detail

The poverty report will use the data in the 1970 Census of Population and in some cases data from the 1960 Census. The basic variable, poverty, has been developed by the Social Security Administration and consists of a series of poverty income thresholds. The poverty threshold depends on the size of a family, the sex of the family head, number of children under 18 years, and farm and nonfarm residence. A poor family or individual is one whose income falls below his relevant threshold. This survey relies entirely on this income concept of poverty though other measures have been proposed.

Two dimensions, with respect to poverty, will be emphasized in the analysis: the incidence of poverty and the distribution of the poverty population. Incidence measures the probability of a sub-population being poor. The distribution of the poverty population describes a sub-population's share of the poverty population. For instance, incidence of poverty is high among Southern aged rural blacks, but their share of the poverty population is low.

The report will compare the 11 southern states with each other and with the regional total. Comparisons with U.S. totals will be used as a baseline, but the analysis will focus on differences and similarities within the region.

For most of the items discussed below tables will use a residential variable that has these six categories: Urban-central cities, urban fringe, cities 10,000 to 50,000, cities 2,500 to 10,000; Rural - farm and nonfarm. In some cases only three residential categories will be used - Urban, Rural Farm, and Rural Nonfarm.

For the substantive issues discussed below tables will usually present the U.S. total, the 11 state southern region, the 11 southern states separately by either the 6 or 3 category residence variable. County data will be presented for some items and maps will be prepared containing the county data. The substantive areas of the survey follow.

All tables and analyses will include racial distributions. The black versus white comparisons are a principal focus of the report.

I. Population Distributions

A. Population Changes Since 1960

The emphasis will be on the changing distribution by the residential categories, especially on movement of blacks out of the South, or out of rural areas into central cities. Equally important is the flight of whites to suburbs. A county analysis of the proportion black populations will also be prepared.

B. Rural Population

Since rural residence is highly associated with poverty the rural population will be computed for each county and presented on a county map of the South. Comparisons with the black population by county can readily be made.

C. Poverty Population

What is the poverty rate by county? This will be presented on a county map. The poverty rate for selected cities will also be presented on the same map, if feasible. In conjunction with the map data on black populations and rural populations areas with critical needs can be identified.

What is the distribution of the poverty population compared to the population as a whole? Is it isolated in pockets or is it present everywhere? Is the incidence of poverty related to residence? Where is it higher/lower?

What is the difference between the poor black and the poor white? Is their residential distribution the same as or different from their racial distribution or is it the same for the poor of both races? Is the incidence of poverty by race different according to residential area?

II. Demographic Characteristics

A. Age and Family Characteristics

Who are the poor by age and family characteristic? Our categories of concern are: the aged (65 and over), families headed by a male under 65, families headed by a female under 65, and unrelated male and female individuals. What is the incidence of poverty among these various groups?

For the total population (nonpoor and poor) what is the age profile using these categories: under 16, 16-24, 25-54, 55-64,65 and over. What change has taken place in this distribution since 1960? What is the distribution of the 1970 poor population by age categories? Without getting into a detailed analysis of age distributions or projections we want to point out the trend toward growing numbers of the aged and the increase in the working age population since the coming of age of the baby boom population and the effect these trends may have on the poverty population.

B. Education Levels

For the population 25-64 by levels of schooling completed (up to 8 years, some high school, high school graduate, some college, and college graduate), what is the incidence

of poverty and what is the distribution of the poor by educational level? Education is commonly attributed as a major cause of poverty, but the relationship is not pervasive as can be shown when the population is divided by race and sex categories.

III. Labor Market Activity

Since earnings are the major source of income for the population any situation which reduces labor market activity or curtails it altogether will be a major determinant of poverty. For the working age poor population by sex what is the distribution by labor force participation, employment and unemployment, full-time versus part-time employment, full-year versus part-year employment? For these same characteristics what is the incidence of poverty?

What is the incidence of poverty among various occupations and industries, by sex? What are the incidence rates of poverty among families with male heads with a working wife compared to those families without a working wife?

IV. Severity of Poverty and Use of Transfer Payments

A. Severity of Poverty

What is the distribution of those families receiving 50% or less of the poverty level income by sex of

family head? These represent the most destitute group and those who need the most aid.

What is the mean income deficit of poverty families by sex of head and individuals? This is the average amount necessary to bring the family/individual up to the poverty level. Aggragate costs of alleviating poverty by area can be estimated.

B. Transfer Payments

Is public assistance meeting the needs of the poor? Of those in poverty, what proportion are receiving public assistance? What is the mean grant? Of all families receiving assistance, what proportion are above the poverty level?

For the aged poor what percent are receiving social security benefits? What is the mean benefit? What is the incidence of poverty for the aged by income source?

V. Income Trends Since 1960

Since the methodology for defining poverty was developed after the 1960 Census, direct comparison on poverty trends cannot be made. Using income distributions for both 1960 and 1970, as well as median income, it will be possible to

identify the segments of the southern population that have or have not improved their economic position since that time.

VI. Some Consequences of Poverty

A. Housing

The poor have fewer resources to devote to their housing; hence they tend to live in the poorest housing stock. What is the distribution of the poor by housing characteristics? To what extent are they dependent on substandard or deficient housing. What is the incidence of poverty among all those living in substandard or deficient housing?

B. Health

The single best measure of inadequate health care is infant mortality. For counties and selected urban areas what is the infant mortality rate and the postneonatal mortality rate? These data in conjunction with the county data on black, poor, and rural populations will present another dimension in defining the rural poverty areas. (These data do not come from the Census of Population but are part of the poverty report nevertheless).

VII. Defining Rural Subregions of the South

Two aspects of the poverty report data and graphic material

will be useful in defining sub-regions. The various county maps which show black population concentration, rural population, poverty population, and perhaps infant mortality statistics will aid in identifying the counties and sets of counties which have the most extreme characteristics of rural poverty.

Secondarily, the various tables which contain categories for rural farm and rural nonfarm will delineate the characteristics of rural areas in the 11 states. Used in conjunction with the map detail these will be suggestive of aggregation across state boundaries.

Once sub-regions are defined the tables of the poverty report will be run for the sub-regions for those items that have relevance.

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
GEORGE H. ESSER, JR., EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
527-8764

June 28, 1973

Dear Ralph:

I apologize for not being here to meet you personally, but an emergency has come up that necessitates my meeting with Congresswoman Barbara Jordan this morning at 9:30 a.m. in Washington. Let me add that it is not a problem in terms of creating difficulties, but rather an opportunity that had to be taken advantage of today. I will return by 2:30 p.m.

I have scheduled the following staff members to talk with you.

1. Lucy Watkins and Gretchan Maclachlan will explain their progress on the analysis of poverty in the South, progress which I believe will assure the information we are seeking even earlier than we had anticipated.

2. George Harris is prepared to talk about the Land Ownership Project and the project on self-help organizations, and he will also arrange for you to talk with Dr. Galambos about the study of state and local tax structure in the South.

I am suggesting that Lucy and Gretchan meet with you first this morning, and that they deliver you to George Harris at about 11:00 a.m. George will work in the meeting with Dr. Galambos.

After my return, I will be at your disposal, for I have nothing further scheduled this afternoon.

If you would like to modify this schedule in any way, Mrs. Brothers will be glad to make the arrangements.

Sincerely,

George

B. Regional Health Profile to Supplement Poverty Analysis

Information on the region's health is essential to an understanding of the region's primary problems, particularly of those Southerners in poverty. Census data can supply only limited kinds of information, so other information is being gathered from all available sources to complement the poverty analysis and provide the "Southern Health Status and Resources Profile," with attention to the following:

1. Level of health in the South. This will include some brief demographic material, but of much greater importance, the health status indices (mortality and morbidity rates) to compare the region's health level with the national level. Particular emphasis will be placed here--as elsewhere in the report--on rural health problems. The section will also deal with the relationship between poverty and health with statistics illustrating that areas of concentrated poverty (rural and inner city) have the poorest health status based on mortality and chronic condition rates. The adverse effect of malnutrition and hostile environmental conditions on health will also be examined.
2. Examination of Health Resources. This will be a look at manpower, facilities, programs and services. Particular attention will be paid to the maldistribution of health personnel (physicians, nurses, dentists). The

lack of primary care manpower will be documented. Along with this we will also look at some innovative use of health personnel, such as the student program at Vanderbilt. We will also try to show some examples of innovative use of facilities, particularly in rural areas.

3. Financial barriers to Health Care. This will include a look at costs in the South, as well as insurance coverage with attention to lack of coverage by the poor and a more complete examination of the inadequacies of Medicaid and Medicare.

4. The information will be in a form so that it can be used to define health problems in the districts and subregions identified for analysis in Project A.

To follow up this publication, we are exploring ways of analyzing this data with the more sophisticated tools provided by the computer so as to be able to interpret, with more confidence, the extent to which specific groups in the South receive less than an equal share of the health benefits of the society, and to draw solid inferences as to causal relationships between social class, health services and facilities, and health status which would not otherwise be warranted. Additional funds will be required, and they are being sought.

BUDGET:

Professional Consultant	$ 1,500
Research Associates	3,000
Printing	2,500
Telephone	200
Travel	1,000
	$ 8,200

C. State and Local Tax Structure in the South

At a time when additional pressure is being placed on state and local government to assume additional responsibilities for critical public services, it is important to have accurate information available throughout the South on the sources of state and local taxation, with an analysis that indicates the relative impact in each state of state and local tax policy. This effort is particularly important because Southern states have historically relied more upon regressive forms of taxation than states in other regions of the country.

The Southern Regional Council has made arrangements with Dr. Eva Galambos to revise, expand and bring up to date her 1969 study for SRC entitled "The Tax Structure of the Southern States," with publication scheduled for the fall.

BUDGET:

Research	$ 3,000
Printing & Distribution of final report	2,000
	$ 5,000

D. Impact of Large Scale Land Ownership on Southern Rural Poverty

One of the critical problems in the South is the extent to which many corporations now own very large areas of land in Southern counties. These include paper, agri-business, and mineral extraction enterprises. The result is domination of many rural counties by one or two major corporate concerns.

These same counties generally have a higher proportion of poverty, inadequate public services, and limited opportunities for new economic development and job creation.

The Southern Regional Council, through a senior staff member, proposes to initiate a thorough analysis of this growing trend with attention to the following issues:

1. To what extent do state and local tax policies encourage the aggregation of large tracts of land, and how does the taxation of this land and/or minerals compare with the taxation of other income producing properties in the Southern states?
2. What is the quality of public services in counties with a higher proportion of land ownership concentrated in a few persons or corporations, and what appears to be the impact, if any, of this pattern of land ownership and economic control on the quality of those public services?
3. What is the need and potential for other economic development in such counties, and what is the impact of this pattern of land ownership and control on this potential?

4. What has been the impact of this pattern of land ownership and economic control on opportunity for black citizens in these counties as compared with that for whites?

5. What role has state government played in helping to assure other kinds of economic development in counties with this pattern of land ownership and economic control?

The research director will select a sample of counties in which land-intensive industries are dominant, using a profile of land ownership, distribution and use; tenancy patterns; population and racial composition; other income and demographic characteristics; and economic analysis.

This research will require a fourteen-month effort, including one-half the time of Mr. George Harris as staff member in charge, until the report is ready for final writing. At that time he will take a four-month leave of absence to prepare the report which will also constitute his Ph.D. dissertation. A complete research design is being prepared, but a fuller description of his thinking is attached as Appendix B.

BUDGET:

Two research assistants	$ 10,000
Travel for staff director and research assistants	5,000
Computer Programing	2,000
Telephone	1,800
Report Printing & Distribution	2,500
Consultants	1,000
Four-months leave of absence for preparation of final report as dissertation	6,000
	$ 28,300

E. Monitoring of Governmental Programs affecting Poor Southerners

With assistance from two relatively small grants, the Southern Regional Council has established a Monitoring Project which in September will begin evaluating the performance of selected federal, state and local programs, particularly those designed to provide substantial assistance to poor and black Southerners. Funding already available provides for the employment of two professionally-trained staff members, one of whom, Professor Joe Tom Easley, most recently a professor of law at the University of Georgia, will be director of the project.

In order to insure that early priority can be given to analysis of programs which are capable of providing support for community economic development and manpower development for poor and black Southerners, the project requires a third professional staff member. The work of the three full-time staff members will be supplemented by the efforts of young graduates and students from Southern law and graduate schools who will be recruited for part-time service.

BUDGET:

Salary	$ 18,000
Fringe Benefits (10%)	1,800
Travel, Telephone & Supplies	2,500
	22,300

POVERTY IN THE SOUTH

Research undertaken by the Center for the Study of Human Resources at the University of Texas and by the Southern Regional Council has established the following:

A. Poverty in this nation is heavily concentrated in the South: 44% of America's poor people live in the South. Eighteen percent of the South's population are impoverished.

1. Poverty in the old South is more a rural phenomenon, than in the rest of the country; 27% of all American families live in rural areas, but 38% of the country's poor families live in rural areas. In the South, 36% of all families live in rural areas, but 48% of the South's poor families live in rural areas.

B. Most of the rural poor are white, but the incidence of poverty is heaviest among blacks: for the rural old South in 1969 the incidence of poverty for families was 17% for whites, and 52% for blacks.

C. Nationally, the rural population hasn't decreased since 1910; the national rural population remains about 50 million. However, in this time there has been a rapid displacement of people from agriculture; many of those displaced persons are unprepared by experience or by training for non-farm work. The reasons for this displacement of persons from agriculture are related to the following considerations:

1. Public policies have favored mechanized and large farms.
2. Mechanization of farming has eliminated the need for many jobs on farms.
3. Greater amounts of capital are required for farming today.
4. Technical assistance from public and private sources has generally been given to large farmers, rather than to small farmers. It should be noted there is still no evidence that large farms per se are more efficient than small farms, despite U. S. agricultural and public policies.

D. Conditions in agricultural areas in the South are worse for blacks than for whites. For example, black farmers have less land, fewer resources, and less capital than white farmers.

1. In 1950, the income of black farmers in the South was less than 1/2 that of white farmers; from 1960 to 1970, the income of white farmers in the South increased 39% while that of black farmers only increased 6%. Underemployment in agriculture contributes to the small farmers' plight: While in 1950 there was the equivalent of seven full-time jobs in agriculture for every ten persons in the agricultural labor force, by 1970 this figure had decreased to the equivalent of five full-time jobs for every ten

persons in the agricultural labor force. Blacks have been displaced from agriculture at a much faster rate than whites have been displaced.

2. Only blacks who have moved to the North have gained relatively more than have whites from their movement out of the agricultural labor force.

   a) In the short run, black migrants have higher incomes and more stable employment in the North than do blacks with the same characteristics who were born in Northern urban areas or moved between Northern urban places. However, in the long run, black migrants do not advance out of poverty as fast as do white migrants.

   b) The Southern blacks migrating to the North are the best educated and the most productive part of the Southern rural work force; this creates serious leadership problems for the region.

3. Blacks have suffered from discrimination in USDA and in other public policies and programs; blacks have benefited less than have whites in terms of employment in state and federal agencies and in terms of program benefits.

4. Agriculture still is a major source of black employment in the South: More blacks are employed in Southern agriculture than in the total of any four non-agricultural industries.

5. The trend in many parts of the South is for persons to combine non-farm with farm employment, but blacks in the South have fewer and less productive non-farm jobs than do whites.

6. Historically, whites in this country have risen out of poverty by sharing the rewards of the nation's industrial growth. In the South, blacks have not benefited from the South's rapid growth in manufacturing employment.

   a) An examination of 244 counties in the South with 5,000 or more black citizens shows that manufacturing growth was greatest in heavily white counties. The non-metropolitan Southern counties that grew during the 1960's after having declined in the 1950's were predominantly white.

      (1) Why does industry avoid locating in predominantly black counties? Discrimination and underdeveloped human resources in these counties may be two reasons for this trend.

   b) The main characteristic of "turn-around counties" in the South was that, collectively, their percentage of black population was below the national average.

   c) In the same study of 244 counties, for industries which were located in heavily black counties, blacks tended to gain manufacturing jobs which were not in the higher skill levels.

d) Among the 244 counties studied, the incidence of black poverty decreased from 81% in 1959 to 56% in 1969; for whites in the same 244 counties, the incidence of poverty decreased from 32% in 1959 to 20% in 1969.

E. The leadership and organization problem

1. Agri-business is the only well-organized economic interest group in the rural areas. As a consequence, public policy formulation and administration have reflected agri-business interests and not the interests of the rural poor and minorities.

2. The advocates of the rural poor and minorities, such as coops, CDC's, and black elected officials, are struggling to voice their interests in the rural development of the South.

APPROACHES TO RURAL POVERTY IN THE SOUTH

Despite the heavy incidence of poverty in the rural South, and continual references to its persistence, there have been few concentrated efforts to deal with the problem. The President's Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty treated it as part of a national problem in its 1967 report, The People Left Behind. A variety of OEO and foundation projects have focussed on specific service programs and demonstration projects. Scattered research has dealt with aspects of the problem, but only the recent efforts of the Center for the Study of Human Resources at the University

of Texas has attempted to look at the entire regional system. The land grant colleges have devoted few of their efforts to people problems in rural areas.

National policy has been curiously blind to a situation for which national policy deserves responsibility. Although U. S. Department of Agriculture policies, favoring the large farmer against the small and encouraging the movement from labor intensive to mechanized agriculture, have resulted in making the labor of tens of thousands obsolete, there has been no matching effort by USDA to help poor Southerners automated off the land to find new opportunities. The prevailing sentiment, rather, has been to encourage migration away from the rural South. Likewise, the policies of the Economic Development Administration, and other national agencies founded to encourage economic growth in depressed areas, have been to concentrate on "growth centers" and to encourage migration to those centers. The emphasis has been on industrial growth, not on linking the poor to job opportunities.

There has been very little effort to link state development policy with the specific needs of the poor, black or white, and there has been almost no effort to coordinate all human resource development programs in an effort to deal with the factors making it difficult for the rural poor to compete in an industrial market.

It is clear that the nation systematically disregards the welfare of the millions of the rural poor. Consequently, the problem of rural poverty in this country must be approached systematically. The system must be analyzed and changed so that

it responds to the problem. Equally significant, the human resources of rural areas must be strengthened in order to benefit from the opportunities which already exist. Too little research and action has gone into the defining of how human resources can be strengthened in the South. Too little has been done in order that all of the citizens of this region may realize their human potential. Special attention needs to be focused on the concentration of rural poor in the South, not only from the point of view of research, but of actions which can develop access to opportunity for these people.

To be sure, there are a number of very important demonstration programs underway in the region at the present time. Several community development corporations are receiving substantial federal and foundation aid to prove that community-based economic development ventures can be valuable and successful. More than 100 cooperatives of various kinds are active in the region and receiving help from foundations and some federal programs. A few manpower development projects in the region have experimented with such approaches as outreach, start-up training for potential employees of industrial plants, and intra-state mobility to jobs.

None of these demonstration projects, however, are aimed specifically at the general problem of developing human resources, and none are calculated to test the capacity of the total system of economic development, education and social support services to move the rural poor into the arena of opportunity.

GOALS FOR ACTION

The major question is what can be done to affect this heavy incidence of poverty in the rural South, particularly among black Southerners.

As noted above, several discrete experimental demonstration projects are underway. They have significance for the long run for helping establish that viable economic enterprises can be created and made feasible. Without substantial change in national and state policies in support of community development, however, no major progress can result in the short-range from these projects.

A second major approach which has been suggested is a thorough and comprehensive review of all national, state and local public policies influencing economic development in rural areas in the South. Such a re-examination, and a major change in policies aimed at expanding opportunities for poor Southerners, is long overdue, particularly in view of the rapid forced migration of labor from the agricultural work force.

The purpose of the proposed Task Force for Southern Rural Development is to carefully review all policies affecting economic development in the rural areas, and existing research bearing on such policies, and to come up with recommendations for new policies which will expand economic opportunities in Southern rural ares and reach more of the people who are suffering in poverty.

These efforts leave one major aspect of poverty in the South untouched. If the Southern poor are marked by poor education, lack of modern sector work experience, poor health,

and lack of access to opportunity, these facts speak loudly about the inability of current human resource development systems to have an impact on the poor Southerners. These human resource development systems include public education, vocational education and other manpower development programs, job creation programs, health delivery systems, housing delivery systems, and other programs deemed at helping individuals prepare themselves and find opportunity within the current economic system.

What is needed is a human resources and community development strategy, consisting of both research and action projects. It would have the objective of proving that a combination of research into problems, demonstration projects to establish that many problems are capable of solution, and publicity on solutions that are practical can provide the catalyst for better public policies and implementation of policies in the region, policies that can have a measurable impact on the incidence of Southern rural poverty. The strategy should have four major components: job creation and income improvement; strengthening of human resource development delivery systems; a new approach to small community development, and leadership development.

Implicit in this concept is a determination of goals for development of rural areas for the future. If, rather than continuing to encourage migration to the city and leaving the region's land to conglomerate ownership, there can be a process which insures a variety of economic opportunities in rural areas, permits the development of strong and balanced communities

throughout the rural South (or rural America), and permits strong public service delivery system in rural areas, then this country can provide options for population distribution, land use, style of living and conservation of resources that seem desirable but very distant today.

The proposed Task Force and this research-action strategy are complementary but separate proposals. The proposed task force will focus on a more comprehensive list of national and state policies which help to generate economic development, and suggested changes in those policies can have a significant impact on the complex of economic opportunities available in the rural South over the next decade. In the meantime, however, there are problems which face the poor Southerner, black and white, in his efforts to make the best of what is available and to become competitive for both present and future economic opportunities.

In our judgment, if the results of the task force deliberations are implemented within a reasonable period after it finishes its work, the benefits of that project will be multiplied if, simultaneously, we have evolved successful processes for strengthening the individual and organizational capacities of the rural poor in the region to compete for new opportunities, and have evolved human resource development and job development systems to the point that they are responding to the needs of the rural poor.

OBJECTIVES OF THE HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

This project would have multiple and inter-related components.

1. Equity of Access to Resources

One of the major problems in the Rural South is that resources needed for human development are not equitably allocated between rural and urban areas, and no substantial change is forecast so long as the major political and economic strength in rural areas is concentrated in the agri-business complex. If the rural poor's short-coming in education, job training and development, access to employment, and access to other service delivery systems such as health are to be remedied, public resources from every level of government must be more clearly allocated to programs in rural areas.

Specific suggestions for meeting specific problems will be covered in other objectives, but under the general heading of Equity of Access, several things need to be done.

(a) There must be a careful monitoring of all those programs designed to encourage economic development in rural areas and to allocate resources to meet the needs of rural people. This means monitoring selected decision making processes in federal agencies, state agencies, and local and multi-county agencies.

(b) At the same time it will be necessary to develop, train and strengthen leadership in rural areas, and to strengthen rural institutions, so that leadership for problem solving and for rural human resource development can come from the

ranks of the rural poor themselves. This objectives must include support for concerned public officials, particularly black elected officials.

(c) Because there are no strong organizations to represent the interest of the rural poor, even the limited protective social legislation applicable to these areas is regularly violated because of inadequate monitoring. This is true of civil rights, the minimum wage, child labor, social security, workmen's compensation, water rights and acreage limitations, farm labor competition, health and safety, and other fields. Strong and consistent monitoring and analysis is needed.

2. Job Creation and Economic Development

It will be essential to sponsor projects to create new jobs, to expand the effectiveness of current income producing efforts, and to encourage new types of economic development, as well as to improve matching of the rural poor with existing and new job opportunities.

One major goal should be assistance in a variety of ways to small farmers, to enable small farmers who still own their land to compete or to become more viable economic units. Projects implementing this objective may include experimental forms of financial support (including assistance for confirming land titles of, and land acquisition by, poor blacks), monitoring systems of aid from state and federal agencies to insure that resources are allocated fairly, support for locating and taking advantage of

new marketing outlets, and research on the availability of machinery adapted particularly to the use of small farmers. Special attention would have to be given to the use of cooperative institutions in support of small farmers.

Special attention needs to be given to development of nonfarm work opportunities for members of families which continue to own and operate small farms. Combinations of agriculture and nonfarm work have been traditional in parts of the South, and efforts to encourage this process should be launched in areas where it is not now a practice. It will necessitate careful evaluation of labor market systems, the training of members of farm families for off-the-farm jobs, and experimental programs to link the two kinds of income production.

Consideration also needs to be given to support of small economic ventures now owned and operated by the rural poor, including small manufacturing plants as well as retail and service establishments. Consideration should also be given to the help that public programs can provide to the support of economic development.

A major effort should be concentrated on determining ways in which the rural poor can benefit from the opportunities arising from new development projects, such as the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Project.

Finally, because so many of the South's rural poor are too old or too young to work, there must be continuing concern for reforming the welfare system to assure that an adequate income

is provided for those who cannot work, and to protect and encourage children to receive the kind of education and environment that will make them productive adults.

3. Improvement of Manpower Development Programs

Recent studies by the Center for the Study of Human Resources at the University of Texas, and in other places, have established that the black rural poor in particular are not getting a fair share of new industrial jobs in the rural South. While new industrial jobs are being created rapidly in Southern rural counties, most of those new locations and plant expansions are taking place in predominantly white counties, which are also distinguished by the fact that skills and education are higher than in the more heavily black counties. Whether location choices are attributable to discrimination or not, specific action must be taken to improve the skills of the rural poor, particularly the black rural poor, in those counties where economic development is not yet on the increase. Several steps will be required, all of them coordinated.

(a) It will be important to initiate a careful evaluation of current manpower development programs in the Southern states.

(b) It will be necessary to improve the quality of vocational education and job training in rural and depressed counties, and to introduce effective start-up training projects for those persons who have the potential for new jobs.

(c) Improvements in the manpower development system should be related to industrial location policy, so that new plants will have knowledge of the potential in these counties.

(d) More effective labor market information systems must be developed.

(e) Efforts should be made to experiment further with mobility projects to insure that the rural Southern poor have access to jobs which require either commuting or short distance move.

(f) As pointed out below under the objective of Anti-Discrimination, more effective use should be made of outreach programs to link potential employees with job vacancies.

4. Education

Because of the past history of public education in rural counties, and because of the unequal allocation of educational resources to rural counties, public education systems in rural counties have traditionally not offered a quality of education that matches the need of the poor Southerner for knowledge and skills to enable him to compete for employment, either in urban centers or in the new modern sector industries being established throughout the rural South. It will be important to monitor rural school systems to insure that the quality of education is improved to match current needs and to eradicate lingering vestiges of segregated rural education. As problems are identified, action to upgrade school curriculum and policies can be initiated. Emphasis should be placed on vocational and technical education as well as a curriculum which encourages higher education and good citizenship.

5. Anti-Discrimination Procedures

Despite the impact of court decisions and national legislation in removing the barriers of segregation, discrimination in employment, education and the provision of services continues to be a critical barrier to the poor and black Southerner. Special projects need to be designed to help eliminate the impact of discrimination in these systems in the rural South. These should include the monitoring of employment in public and private institutions (including the efforts of EEOC and OFCC) and the provision of critical services such as education, health and manpower development. They should include outreach programs to demonstrate that there are black Southerners qualified for and motivated for employment in public and private institutions. And it will be important to provide special legal services to insure prompt litigation in support of rural Southerners suffering discrimination.

6. Research and Experimentation in Critical Services Delivery Systems

We know that poor health, poor housing, and inadequate diet, and other similar problems make it much more difficult for rural Southerners to compete for employment and provide for their families. It is also in the rural South where health, housing, and aid to the aged, the young, and the handicapped are the least sufficient. There should be additional research on ways in which these critical delivery systems can be improved to provide more effective services to the rural poor, and experimental projects devised on the basis of that research.

7. Community Development

The goals we are discussing relate not only to new opportunities for the poor but to balanced development for communities throughout the rural South. Whether policy is developed through the institutions of county government, or of multi-county development districts, that policy must include not only economic development and human resource development, but also community development. There must be more than lip service to rational land use control, the availability of effective public services (water and sewer as well as education and health and welfare), sound housing, and those amenities which are now a part of our national style. Further research accompanied by action needs to be undertaken to strengthen local government, the financing of public services (including tax reform), the relationship of public services to economic development, the regulation of land use, and the production and availability of housing, and the provision of recreational opportunities.

THE PROPOSED PROJECT

During the next two years the proposed Task Force on Southern Rural Development will be examining the effectiveness of a wide range of existing public policies on opportunities for economic development in the rural South and the access of economic opportunity to poor Southerners. Once this process is completed, the process of securing policy change will take an indeterminant time at all levels of government.

This process of policy re-examination is essential for development of rural South. But while it is going on, and in the absence of any initiative from state or federal governments, the plight of the rural poor will not be significantly improved. Furthermore, the proposed Task Force cannot administer experimental programs designed to improve the productivity of those systems which support human resource development.

The Center for the Study of Human Resources of the University of Texas and the Southern Regional Council propose that a special project to strengthen human resource and community development systems in the rural South be established to demonstrate that improvement in these systems can have a measurable impact on the ability of rural Southerners, particular poor black Southerners, to compete effectively in a growing economy, can assure the human resource development services rural Southerners need, and can build the kinds of communities that offer an alternative to sprawling and impersonal urban and metropolitan living.

This project would, as we view it, have the following components:

I. Research

It would be essential to put together a research consortium composed of representatives from institutions across the region, both black and white, with participants from the nation at large who have something to offer. The consortium would need to be disciplinary, involving lawyers, economists (both agricultural and general), sociologists, demographers, and specialists in education. The research consortium would work closely with

representatives of the foundation and of SRC, and with representatives of action agencies (federal,state and local) in the particular areas under study -- including local and state government officials, education and training institutions, planning agencies, community organizations, cooperatives and community development corporations. The objectives of the research effort would include:

A. Definition and refinement of target areas suitable for experimental action. A useful reservoir from which to select these counties exists in the 244 counties with more than 5,000 black population which have been carefully analyzed by the Center for the Study of Human Resources of the University of Texas and for which full statistical information is already available for further analysis on tape.

B. Rigorous analysis of the problems related to human resource and community development in that area or areas, with attention to regional incidence of those problems.

C. The training of more competent, professionally-trained research personnel concerned with rural and community development.

D. The involvement of local institutions in problem definition and optional solutions to those problems.

E. A more relevant education for college students who represent the future leadership of the region.

F. Redirection of the research priorities of institutions such as land grant colleges.

II. Monitoring

Throughout the explanation of the components which need to be considered in this strategy is the emphasis on the monitoring of current public and private performance in planning, economic development, the provision of human resource development services, and in community development. The Southern Regional Council has developed a monitoring program which can respond to this objective, utilizing students and young faculty members from institutions across the region, and depending for advice on representatives of the foundation, the research consortium, and the Council membership.

III. Training

If this strategy is to succeed, it will be essential to establish a small training center to work with potential leaders drawn from organizations of the rural poor, professionally-trained persons concerned with better utilization of resources in rural areas, and elected officials who represent essentially poor constituencies. This center could be established in one or more educational institutions in the region, but should rely on advice and participation from foundation officials, SRC officials, and other institutions in the region.

IV. Demonstration Projects

As a result of the research and monitoring efforts of the project, a variety of demonstration projects in a limited geographical area will be identified which should be tested. All these will be interlocking and interdependent, and will aim to achieve complementary goals in the target area, in cooperation

with governmental and educational institutions in the target area. These projects can be organized on an independent basis, with direct financing from and supervision by foundation officials, with advice from persons in the region involved in the entire project.

V. Interpretation

The success of this strategy will depend not only on the success of the demonstration projects but on prompt and effective interpretation of research and demonstration project results throughout the region. A conscious strategy should be developed, using programs for the media carefully-designed publications, selected seminars and workshops, television documentaries, and other methods for interpreting and publicizing the project. In support of this effort, the foundation may use its own resources as well as the publications and constituency of the Southern Regional Council, and other organizations in the region.

Timing

If this strategy should receive foundation support, the timing of action to implement the strategy might take this form.

January - July 1974

1. Refine and further identify target areas, geographically and programatically, utilizing foundation officials, research personnel, and regional organizations. The process would include:

   a. Analysis of demographic and programmatic data.

   b. Identification of research and program priorities.

   c. Seminars around the issue of what is presently happening in a variety of rural areas.

d. Identification of interested organizations and individuals in potential target areas.

e. Communications with individuals and organizations in potential target areas.

2. On the basis of information available, choose target area(s) for major emphasis. The final decision would be for foundation officials.

July 1974 - January 1975

1. Commission research and monitoring of specific programs in identified target area.

2. Contract with educational institution for training programs in support of both target area and regional programs.

3. Identify a group of potential demonstration projects which would satisfy the goals of the strategy and negotiate with institutions in target area for implementation of projects.

January 1975 - December 1977

1. Continue supportive research and monitoring projects.

2. Fund, implement and provide for continuing evaluation of demonstration projects forming the heart of the human resource and community development strategy.

3. Fund and implement training programs.

4. Plan and begin selective implementation of interpretation activities.

January 1978 - December 1978

1. Terminate demonstration projects.

2. Complete evaluation of demonstration projects and of overall strategy. Relate to conclusions and findings of task force.

3. Implement comprehensive interpretation of findings and conclusions at national and regional levels.

November 26, 1962

Mr. Robert C. Bates
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Room 5600
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Bates:

I wish you would express to Mr. Steven C. Rockefeller our deep gratitude for his contribution to the Southern Regional Council. It is a great satisfaction to us to have the support of friends around the country. I hope that both Mr. Rockefeller and you will call upon us if we may ever be of service to you.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

BCC: Mr. David Freeman

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

ROOM 5600

November 15, 1962

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Mr. Steven C. Rockefeller would like to express his interest in the work of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. by making a contribution toward its general program budget. Accordingly, he is having delivered to you securities with a market value of approximately $1,000 as of date of transmittal.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Bates

Robert C. Bates

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

free
Sec - Contributions

March 10, 1964

Mr. John P. Hodgkin
30 Rockefeller Plaza, Room 5600
New York 30, New York

Dear Mr. Hodgkin:

I apologize for the delay in answering your letter of March 2 which has been occasioned by my absence from the office. I regret also that we have not as yet transferred the ownership of the stock; I thought this had been done, and it was negligent of me not to make sure.

Annual Reports?

We have today delivered to the local office of Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith for sale the nine (9) shares of Eastman Kodak stock given to us by Mr. Steven C. Rockefeller. For your further information, we delivered at the same time the fourteen (14) shares of Standard Oil of New Jersey stock given to us by Mr. and Mrs. William J. Strawbridge, Jr. These latter were transferred to us on December 18 through Mr. Raymond H. Wilkins.

Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith requests that the enclosed forms be signed, dated, and returned to us. I recall that this same problem arose last year, and somehow the broker, at our urging, managed

to consummate the sale without these forms. This year the broker insists that he must have them, and I send them off to you in compliance with his request. As to the assignment form, I gather that the problem is that on the one which came to us with the certificates our name was included, which the broker does not want.

I am sorry to put you to this inconvenience.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N.Y.

Room 5600

VJ please use

March 2, 1964

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

On December 20, 1963, Mr. Steven C. Rockefeller made a gift to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. of 9 shares of Eastman Kodak Company.

In connection with this gift, could you please advise the writer, the date on which this stock was either sold or transferred from Mr. Rockefeller's name.

Sincerely yours,

John P. Hodgkin

John P. Hodgkin

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File
Gen: Miscellaneous Contributors

April 27, 1964

Mr. John P. Hodgkin
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Hodgkin:

Our official receipt is enclosed for the check from Mr. Stephen C. Rockefeller in the amount of $62.62.

I do regret the confusion which has attended at our end in this very simple transaction. We are very grateful for the generosity of Mr. Rockefeller, and are, therefore, doubly sorry for the inconvenience caused you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

ROOM 5600

April 22, 1964

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Enclosed is check of Steven C. Rockefeller in the amount of $62.62, representing the current market value of $57.67 for 45/100 share of Eastman Kodak Company received by him as a stock dividend on 9 shares of Eastman Kodak given by him to Southern Regional Council, Inc. on December 20, 1963, and $4.95 cash dividend received on these 9 shares.

CR 62.62
RHA
4/25/64

Sincerely yours,

John P. Hodgkin

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

October 14, 1964

Mr. Dana S. Creel
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Creel:

The securities referred to in your letter of October 2 have been received and acknowledged. We are deeply grateful to Mr. Steven Rockefeller for his continued interest in the Council and its program.

Every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 10/12/64

File

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N.Y.

Room 5600

October 8, 1964

Reference: Mr. Dana S. Creel's letter, 10/2/64 addressed to you

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

At the direction of Mr. Steven C. Rockefeller I am enclosing herewith the following securities registered in the name of the donor together with duly executed stock power assigning the securities to the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Common stock of Eastman Kodak Company
Eight (8) shares
Certificates No. NC0731462; NC0731481; NC0731507

It would be appreciated if you would arrange to have these securities transferred out of the donor's name at your earliest convenience.

Would you please have duly authorized officer of the donee organization personally sign, date and return directly to me, the enclosed copy of this letter which then serve as receipt for the within stated securities.

Signed + mailed 10/12/64 RHA

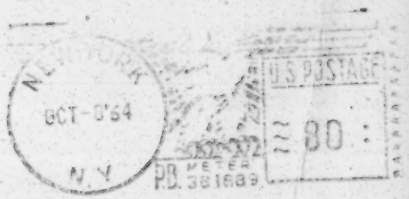
Yours very truly,

Raymond H. Wilkens

Raymond H. Wilkens

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Raymond H. Wilkens
Room 5600
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N.Y.



Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

REGISTERED

526803

REGISTERED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

ROOM 5600

October 2, 1964

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Mr. Steven C. Rockefeller is glad to continue his support toward the general program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. He is therefore having delivered to you securities with a market value of approximately $1,000 as of date of transmittal.

Sincerely yours,

Dana S. Creel

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

February 3, 1966

Mr. John P. Hodgkin
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Room 5600
New York, New York 10020

Dear Mr. Hodgkin:

Mr. Dunbar is now in New York as Director of The Field Foundation. Therefore, I am answering your inquiry of January 27. The gifts of Standard Oil Company Shares from Mr. Stephen C. Rockefeller were sold in May. Enclosed you will find a copy of the statement of this transaction from our broker.

See Rbx file

We are remiss in not having informed you of this and offer our sincere apologies for the inconvenience it has caused you.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

Air Mail

Rec'd 1/31/66

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10020

Room 5600

January 27, 1966

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Early in 1965 Mr. Steven C. Rockefeller made several gifts each consisting of 13 shares of Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey) stock, including one to your organization.

One such gift has apparently not been transferred from Mr. Rockefeller's name and to avoid further confusion I am anxious that this be done without delay. Will you please check and see whether you are still holding shares in his name and if so, will you kindly transfer them out of his name as soon as possible.

If the shares have been transferred I should appreciate your advising me.

Yours very truly,

John P. Hodgkin

John P. Hodgkin

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

February 25, 1965

Mr. Robert C. Bates
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Room 5600
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Bates:

On behalf of the Council, I acknowledge with great appreciation your letter of February 23 informing us that Mr. Steven C. Rockefeller has contributed to us securities with a market worth of approximately $1,000.

Mr. Steven Rockefeller's continued support of and confidence in the Council is valued by us most highly.

With coridal best wishes to you,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

Room 5600

Recd 2/25/65

February 23, 1965

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Mr. Steven C. Rockefeller is glad to renew his support of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. Accordingly, he is having delivered to you securities with a market value of approximately $1,000 as of date of transmittal, as a contribution to the Council's general program budget.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Bates

Robert C. Bates

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Make folder
Rockefeller, Stephen C.
& place other corresp.

March 23, 1966

Mr. Stephen Benedict
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Benedict:

This will acknowledge receipt of the 14 shares of Capital Stock of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey). These securities have been sold for $1,046.50, with a net amount to the Southern Regional Council of $1,030.29. The requested receipt and a statement of this transaction have been sent to Mr. Raymond H. Wilkens.

Passed on to E.L. 3/23/66

Please express to Mr. Stephen C. Rockefeller our most sincere appreciation for his continued interest and support.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N.Y.

Room 5600

March 10, 1966

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Mr. Steven C. Rockefeller is glad to renew his support of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. Accordingly, he is having delivered to you securities with a market value of approximately $1,000 as of date of transmittal, as a contribution to the Council's general program needs.

Sincerely,

Stephen Benedict

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

EL-VEP-mgn
Salary analysis

April 27, 1967

Mr. Stephen Benedict
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Room 5600
New York, New York 10020

Dear Mr. Benedict:

Please express our sincere gratitude to Mr. Steven C. Rockefeller for his continued support.

Shortly after the receipt of the securities they will be sold and we will send to you a record of the transaction.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N.Y.

Room 5600

April 19, 1967

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Mr. Steven C. Rockefeller is glad to continue his support of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. Accordingly, within the next few weeks there will be delivered to you securities with a market value of approximately $1,000 as of date of transmittal.

Sincerely,

Stephen Benedict

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File
Stephen C. Rockefeller
Posted in Money book

May 11, 1967

Mr. Raymond H. Wilkens
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York 10020

Dear Mr. Wilkens:

We wish to once again thank Mr. Stephen C. Rockefeller for his gift to the Southern Regional Council.

For your records we are enclosing a copy of Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith's confirmation to us covering the sale of these securities.

Sincerely yours,

James N. Wood
Executive Assistant

JNW/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

WE CONFIRM THE FOLLOWING TRANSACTION SUBJECT TO THE AGREEMENT ON THE REVERSE SIDE HEREOF

TRADE DATE: MAY 10 1967

270 PEACHTREE ST. N. E.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303
404 - TELEPHONE 522-1313

MERRILL LYNCH, PIERCE, FENNER & SMITH INC

DATE DUE: MAY 16 1967

YOUR ACCOUNT NUMBER ON OUR BOOKS	QUANTITY: WE BOUGHT OR YOU SOLD	QUANTITY: WE SOLD OR YOU BOUGHT	DESCRIPTION	SYMBOL	PRICE	AMOUNT	INTEREST OR STATE TAX	FEDERAL TAX	POSTAGE AND/OR REG. FEE	COMMISSION	NET AMOUNT
704 07158	SLD	17	STANDARD OIL N J	11	64 5/8	1099 63	85		18	15 99	1081 61

3126 704-07158
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET N.E.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303

PAYMENT FOR SECURITIES PURCHASED AND DELIVERY OF SECURITIES SOLD ARE DUE ON SETTLEMENT DATE. (DATE DUE" AS INDICATED ABOVE.) FOR SYMBOL EXPLANATION REFER TO REVERSE SIDE HEREOF. DELIVERY ON OR BEFORE SETTLEMENT DATE WILL AVOID PREMIUM CHARGES. PLEASE PRESERVE THIS CONFIRMATION FOR INCOME TAX PURPOSES.

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10020

Room 5600

May 3, 1967

Reference: Mr. Stephen Benedict's letter, 4/19/67 addressed to you

Dear Mr. Anthony:

At the direction of Mr. Steven C. Rockefeller I am enclosing herewith the following securities registered in the name of the donor together with duly executed stock power assigning the securities to the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Capital stock Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)
Seventeen (17) shares
Certificates No. 3F941862; 3F941844; 3F941826/7

Net proceeds at sale: 1,081.61

It would be appreciated if you would arrange to have these securities transferred out of the name of the donor at your earliest convenience.

Would you please have duly authorized officer of the donee organization personally sign, date and return directly to me, the enclosed copy of this letter which will then serve as receipt for the within stated securities.

Yours very truly,

Raymond H. Wilkens

Raymond H. Wilkens

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File Miscell 1968 Contributors

File ~~1968 Contr~~

Steven C. Rockefeller - file in RO "Section"

THE CHASE MANHATTAN BANK
National Association

1 Chase Manhattan Plaza, New York, New York 10015

IN REPLYING PLEASE REFER TO

February 19, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

Donor: Mr. Steven C. Rockefeller

We are pleased to confirm our telephone notification advising you of the following gift of securities which we have set aside in an account for you.

Amount	Description
5 shares	Polaroid Corp.
2 shares	Chase Manhattan Bank

In compliance with your authorization we will sell the stock at the prevailing market price, and the proceeds will be remitted to you by check. Please confirm our action by signing and returning the enclosed copy of this letter.

Very truly yours,

Cornelius J. Griffin
Custody Officer

1108.67
Rec'd 3/7/68
KM

Note: This came today 3/7/68

See Steven C. Rockefeller in "Ro" section

February 20, 1968

Mr. Stephen Benedict
30 Rockefeller Plaza, Room 5600
New York, New York 10020

Dear Mr. Benedict:

Again, with gratitude, this is to request that you express to Mr. Steven C. Rockefeller our sincere appreciation for his continued interest in and support of our work.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N. Y. 10020

ROOM 5600

February 13, 1968

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Mr. Steven C. Rockefeller is glad at this time to make a further contribution in support of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. Accordingly, you will be notified in the near future by The Chase Manhattan Bank that it is holding for the Council, and awaiting your instructions, securities with a market value of approximately $1,000 on the date of gift.

Sincerely,

Stephen Benedict

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Posted
5/6/69

THE CHASE MANHATTAN BANK
National Association

1 Chase Manhattan Plaza, New York, New York 10015

IN REPLYING PLEASE REFER TO

April 17, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Gentlemen:

Donor: Steven C. Rockefeller

We are pleased to confirm our telephone notification advising you of the following gift of securities which we have set aside in an account for you.

Amount	Description
13 shares	Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey)

In compliance with your authorization we will sell the stock at the prevailing market price, and the proceeds will be remitted to you by check. Please confirm our action by signing and returning the enclosed copy of this letter.

Very truly yours,

Cornelius J. Griffin
Custody Officer

Copy
signed & returned
4/21/69
mj

$1,041.17
5/2/69

April 16, 1969

Mr. Stephen Benedict
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Room 5600
New York, New York 10020

Dear Mr. Benedict:

We continue to be very grateful to Mr. Steven C. Rockefeller. Please express our deep appreciation to him.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N. Y. 10020

ROOM 5600

April 14, 1969

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Mr. Steven C. Rockefeller would again like to contribute to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. Accordingly, you will be notified in the near future by The Chase Manhattan Bank that it is holding for the Council, and awaiting your instructions, securities with a market value of approximately $1,000 on the date of gift.

Sincerely,

Stephen Benedict

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

July 10, 1950

Dr. George W. Gale
Atlanta Biltmore Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Gale:

Dr. Payne from New York very kindly wrote me of your visit.

Do give me a call, and we can talk. I am as much interested in your work as you are in ours.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

July 10, 1950

Dr. George C. Payne
International Health Division
The Rockefeller Foundation
49 West 49th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Dr. Payne:

I am most grateful for your letter of July 6 about Dr. Gale from South Africa.

I will be in the city during his visit and will look forward to the opportunity to talk with him and help him in any way we can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION
INTERNATIONAL HEALTH DIVISION
GEORGE K. STRODE, M.D., DIRECTOR
49 WEST 49th STREET, NEW YORK 20
CABLE ADDRESS: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK

FELLOWSHIP ADVISER
GEORGE C. PAYNE, M.D.

July 6, 1950

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Dr. George W. Gale, Secretary for Health and Chief Health Officer of the Union of South Africa, holds a travel grant from this Division for the purpose of studying problems connected with medical education and public health work in mixed populations. His interest in race relations caused us to consult Mr. J. Harris Purks in the General Education Board and he recommended that Dr. Gale should have an opportunity to meet you in order to discuss the purposes and methods of the Southern Regional Council.

Dr. Gale will be in Atlanta July 17 to 22 and we have made a reservation for him and Mrs. Gale at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel. I shall ask him to make contact with you after his arrival. We shall be very grateful to you and your organization for any help which you can give him.

Others whom Dr. Gale will be visiting in Atlanta are Miss Florence M. Read of Spelman College and Dr. T. F. Sellers of the State Department of Health.

Sincerely,

Geo. C. Payne

George C. Payne, M.D.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

GCP:ELH

cc: Dr. George W. Gale

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

49 WEST 49th STREET, NEW YORK 20

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

August 21, 1950

Dear Mr. McGill:

Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., maintains no office at the Foundation, and I am therefore passing along to his staff your letter of August 20.

As you know, both this Foundation and the General Education Board have been very conscious of the strategic importance of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

L F Kimball

Vice-President

Mr. Ralph McGill
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
AUG 24 1950
Southern Regional Council

FILE COPY

June 12, 1956

Mr. Lindsley F. Kimball
The Rockefeller Foundation
49 West 49th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Kimball:

The Southern Regional Council asks for some help on a program of working in the South through and with Church women.

There is an old habit in the South among the Church women to come together at times of pressing social change and agree on the things that religion tells them to do. The origins of the habit are lost in the history of many decades ago. The first we know of it was a movement that grew up out of the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and which called itself the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, led by a Mrs. Jesse Daniel Ames, Director of Women's Work for the Commission. Impressed with the interrelationship between the missionary effort abroad and lynchings in the South, she began to draw Church women together locally and by State meetings. Before long the idea had grown to this. She said to herself, "Lynchings are supposed to be undertaken to protect the honor of Southern white women. I will go to the counties where lynchings have occured, or may occur, and call together the Southern white women and ask them to sign a petition addressed to the sheriff, saying that they don't want anybody in the county looking after their honor except the sheriff." The ladies did it, and they took the petition to the sheriff. It was just a polite way of saying to the sheriff, "If you do not protect your next Negro prisoner, we are going to get a new sheriff." In the ten years in which Mrs. Ames was most active, the annual total of lynchings tumbled from thirty and forty to five and six. Many other people worked at it too. But probably this thoroughly local effort of the Church women had the most to do with it.

Mrs. Ames in due time retired, and her interest was taken up by Mrs. M. E. Tilly of Atlanta. Mrs. Tilly has held the most honorable offices among the Methodist women in the South. Under her guidance, the concern of the Church women has been kept alive and brought to bear.

In the late 'thirties, the women put themselves behind the movement for rural health. Toward the end of World War II, the women met in a Demobilization Conference, just after the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights (of which Committee Mrs. Tilly was a member), the women met again to build this renewed idea into the life of the South. Still later some, organizing themselves as the Fellowship of the Concerned, began to sit in the courts. No small number of Southern courtrooms diminished the spit-tobacco juice, and took the lawyers' feet down from the tables after the ladies began to come to court. And of course they increased justice. Incidentally, in some hundreds of counties, local committees of Church women carried to the sheriff the Southern Regional Council's blue-backed pamphlet on how the police should behave, and discussed it with him.

On public school integration, the women have had two big meetings. In 1953, they met in preparation for the expected decision of the Supreme Court. In 1955, those from the lower South met again. As a followup of the 1955 meeting, special gatherings of the women have been held, State by State, in Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Texas. The 1955 meeting and its followups have involved about 2,000 women.

Mrs. Tilly writes:

> "These conferences have been great by every measure. One is impressed by the deep spiritual nature of them. This is well, for spiritual power is needed. These women are finding the spiritual strength and power to be:
>
> Firm in conviction, never afraid to speak,
> Persuasive in conversation,
> Patient and understanding with those who do not agree.
> 'Fervent in spirit, serving the Lord.'"

In September of this year, another South-wide meeting is planned — mostly on the matter of schools.

The influence of Church women on the changing life in the South is hard to describe and hard to appraise, but it is obviously very great. Some are timid, some are fluttery, some are halting in public appearance. But some are brave and deeply possessed of religion and purpose to make their religion bring consequences.

One of the teasing problems in the South today is how to get the ringing pronouncements of denominational bodies translated into local Church acceptance and action. A lot of people say that if this could be done the victory would be won, because if the Church people of the South want integration, it will occur.

The Southern Regional Council has always been quite clear in its position that a lay body should not attempt interference with Church decisions.

The Church women, however, offer a special case. Denomination by denomination, they are organized in some sort of auxiliary group. The Southern Baptists have the Woman's Missionary Union; the Southern Presbyterians have the Board of Women's Work; the Methodist Church has the Woman's Society for Christian Service; the Lutherans have the Woman's Missionary Society; the Episcopal Church has the Woman's Auxiliary; and so have nearly all the denominations. The Catholic Church has its women organized, and the various meetings that have occured of Church women in and across the South have a good record of getting attendance from individual Catholic

ladies. Jewish women are similarly organized and have been good about coming to meetings.

The Negro ladies are organized in the same way. The National Baptist Convention has a Woman's Auxiliary Convention; the A. M. E. Church has the Woman's Foreign and Home Mission Department; the A. M. E. Zion has the Women's Missionary Society; the C. M. E. Church has the Woman's Connectional Council.

All of the South-wide and State meetings of Church women have been interracial. It did not occur to the women to come together on grounds of religion unless they were together across the lines of race.

In addition to this habit of unity within the denominations, the women, by virtue of a common sisterhood, feel a unity in religious motivation. And they are willing and anxious to get the women to explore the meaning in their lives of religious purpose.

This whole structure has a more formal side in the work, State by State, city by city, of the United Church Women of the National Council of Churches. The United Church Women have been most closely associated with all of these indigenous Southern Church women's activities.

A parenthesis on the Fellowship of the Concerned. No dues, no officers. It is simply a network of friends. Mrs. Tilly knows Mrs. So-and-so, who knows Mrs. So-and-so. And this last Mrs. So-and-so knows exactly who in her town is concerned about these matters. And if Mrs. Tilly asks the first Mrs. So-and-so to convene her friends, pretty much the right people come together. It is a habit as well as a network.

The oddity about working through and with the Church women's groups is that while within each denomination the women have a considerable autonomy, they have the most inconsiderable treasuries. Some of the women would say that their organizations are insufficiently supported by local treasuries. Be that as it may, they have almost no free money. They can't pay travel expenses to a meeting (even a meeting of State women); they can't pay for rent; they haven't possibility of writing organizational checks for the funds to employ staff. They remain exceedingly influential, but circumscribed as to formal action. And they are deeply interested in learning the truth.

The Southern Regional Council and the Interracial Commission before it have these many years had a friendly standing with this whole interconnected interest of the Church women. For decades of sincerity and truthfulness we have had warm respect and ready cooperation.

We have never had anything but driblets of money for working with the Church women. For ten years the Southern Regional Council paid Mrs. Tilly on a half-time basis, $2,500 a year. More recently, on very special appeal, this or that small foundation has put in $1,000 or $1500 a year to enable the Fellowship of the Concerned to call some meetings. The budgets have permitted the munificent sum of $200 per State meeting. A South-wide meeting costs a thousand. The women will come and are glad to come, but there is no way for the local organizations to foot the bill. And it takes modest subsidy to cover these minimum expenses.

Another thing ought to be done. In the most difficult of Southern States (which we count as Louisiana, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee and the Carolinas), Mrs. Tilly would like to be able to commission someone selected Church woman to get things done. The lady would need to be paid a salary of a hundred dollars a month and she would need enough travel money — at least twenty-five dollars. This is not an ambitious request. But it means a device for getting letters answered, and telephone calls made, and, to quote Kipling, a way "to cause things to be accomplished."

The Southern States made it clear that compliance with the Supreme Court's decision is going to be difficult. The strongest force for compliance is religion, and the strongest religious influence is among the Church women. They are in the habit of concerning themselves about these matters. They have carried these many years the interracial effort of the South. And they are anxious now to be better informed and more active.

It costs a little money; enough to fetch the women together; enough to provide a little part-time staff, and the rest is ideas and integrity.

We would think the modest help ought to run for three years.

Here is the budget of what it will cost.

Our Council, for the Fellowship of the Concerned, appeals for this much aid for this purpose.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Enclosure.

BUDGET FOR WORK WITH

WOMEN IN THE SOUTH IN THE PRESENT CRISIS

For a two-day South-wide Conference bringing together the State leaders of the Jewish, Catholic and Protestant faiths (both races, each denomination)	2000.00
For State meetings @ $200.00 in Louisiana, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia and Kentucky ($300 for Texas)	2500.00
For a State worker @ $100.00 per month in each of the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina	4800.00
Travel for State worker @ $300.00 each	1200.00
Salary of Secretary	3000.00
Assistant Director	4000.00
TOTAL	$ 17,500.00
~~Amount needed for three years~~	~~$ 52,500.00~~

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION
49 WEST 49th STREET, NEW YORK 20

Sent on R.C. Aug 2 '56 ccm.

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

June 21, 1956

RECEIVED JUN 23 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I would acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 12th and would have done so much sooner except that we wished to give the matter the fullest and most sympathetic consideration. Now I must give you a disappointing reply, and I do so with great regret.

We are all deeply concerned and the Trustees of the General Education Board spent a very considerable time in a careful discussion of the present difficulties posed in the South by the Supreme Court decision. We are conscious too of the role which must be played by the churches and of the strategic importance of church women. We just do not believe, however, that at this particular time we could recommend your proposal to our Trustees.

Better luck next time and every best personal wish!

Sincerely yours,

L F Kimball

Lindsley F. Kimball

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

February 22, 1957

C17-8135

Mr. Dana Creel
Executive Secretary
Rockefeller Foundation
49 West 49th Street
New York 20, New York

30 Rock Plaza

Dear Dana:

For about ten years I have been fairly closely associated with the Southern Regional Council, as a board member and as a member of the executive committee. I am sure that you are familiar with the Council, for as I recall it there was once a gift to the Council which came through your hands.

The Council's long-time financial prospects are pretty good, but during a transitional period just now the Council is seeking some additional sources of support. I am wondering if you would let Harold Fleming, the new Executive Director of the Council, call you for a possible appointment to talk about the Council. He will be in New York next week and I have given him your name with the suggestion that he call you for an appointment.

Fleming succeeded Dr. George Mitchell, who retired a few weeks ago. Fleming is an excellent person; in my judgment one of the most able people working in the complicated area of race relations.

I hear about you from time to time through barious Emory folks that see you, Brad Ansley, Cullen Gosnell and others, and I hope it will not be so long before there will be a chance to sit down and visit with you again. I remember very pleasantly an evening spent in your apartment about five or six years ago--some of the questions you raised have been on my conscience ever since.

Sincerely,

John A. Griffin
Director

Andy Fontaine

NW 6 - 4600
Bob Stein
Ass. edit Redbook

via air mail

October 15, 1959

Mr. Lindsley F. Kimball
The Rockefeller Foundation
49 West 49th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Kimball:

Week-after-next I will be in New York briefly, and would be grateful for a chance to talk with you. If you will be free for thirty minutes or so on Wednesday, October 28, that would be most convenient for me. Otherwise, I would be glad to try to fit into your schedule on the 27th or 29th.

I have wanted for some time to discuss with you the South and the work of the Southern Regional Council. Should the dates I have suggested be out of the question, I will try again on a later visit.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION CO 5-8100
49 WEST 49th STREET, NEW YORK 20

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

October 21, 1959

RECEIVED OCT 22 1959

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Mr. Kimball has just returned from Italy and asks that I write on his behalf in reply to your letter of October 15th advising that you plan to be in New York in the near future.

October 28th (Wednesday) we believe is the best day on Mr. Kimball's calendar - so we are putting you down to see him at 11:00 A.M., Wednesday, October 28th.

He will be looking forward to seeing you at that time.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Marie Power

Secretary to
Lindsley F. Kimball

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

BC: Joe Wilkins

June 15, 1960

Dr. Dean Rusk, President
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
42nd Floor
New York 20, New York

Dear Dr. Rusk:

Josephine Wilkins has told me of your recent conversation about the work of the Southern Regional Council.

On behalf of the Council, I should like to say a word of appreciation to you for giving Miss Wilkins this opportunity to acquaint you more fully with our program and needs.

If we can furnish any further information that will aid the Foundation's assessment of the Council, of course you have only to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Via Air Mail

September 26, 1960

Dr. Dean Rusk, President
Rockefeller Foundation
111 W. 50th Street
42nd Floor
New York 20, New York

Dear Dr. Rusk:

It was very kind of you to see me last week and to give me so generous an opportunity to discuss with you and Miss Rhind the work of the Southern Regional Council.

I hope I did justice to the opportunity. But there may well be aspects of the Council's work, structure, or finances that call for further explanation. If so, I hope you will give me an opportunity to provide it.

As Miss Wilkins has explained, our current financial objective is to secure from new sources $100,000 a year for five years toward the Council's total budget of approximately $250,000. This would make the remaining fund-raising task a manageable, although by no means a negligible one.

We are asking several foundations to provide a part of this projected five-year assistance. Our hope, of course, is that the Rockefeller Foundation will consider the Council's work today worthy of its support within such a framework. A favorable decision

by the Rockefeller Foundation would be heartening to the Council's leadership in more than a purely financial sense.

When you have had an opportunity to consider our verbal proposal further, I shall look forward to hearing from Miss Rhind with regard to appropriate next steps on our part. Meanwhile, with every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Miss Flora Rhind

THE Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
Flora M. Rhind, Secretary
Janet M. Paine, Assistant Secretary

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

RECEIVED
OCT 7 1960

October 5, 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Mr. Rusk and I have received your letters of September 26. We much appreciated your visit here and the opportunity to learn about recent developments in the work of the Southern Regional Council.

Your letter to Mr. Rusk expresses the hope that the Foundation might be able to make a contribution to the additional funds needed by the Council for general support during the next five years. We shall be very glad to give thoughtful consideration to this proposal. It may be some weeks, however, before we can let you know whether or not it will be possible for us to make a recommendation to our Trustees. Meanwhile I shall be getting in touch with you regarding any further information that we may need.

Very sincerely yours,

Flora M. Rhind
Secretary

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

via air mail

September 26, 1960

Miss Flora M. Rhind, Secretary
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 W. 50th Street
42nd Floor
New York 20, New York

Dear Miss Rhind:

This is to say a warm word of thanks for the patient and gracious hearing you gave me last week. I had a pang of conscience for taking so much time out of your undoubtedly busy day, but it was a most welcome opportunity to acquaint you more fully with the role of the Southern Regional Council in the South today, and our hopes for its work.

I have written Dr. Rusk as enclosed. Do call on me for such further information as will assist the Foundation in considering the Council's effectiveness and needs.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

P. S. I am enclosing a copy of the Council's 1951 policy statement, in which you expressed interest. See particularly the last two paragraphs.

HCF

THE Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

Office of the President

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

November 17, 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In the absence of Mr. Rusk who is at present on the west coast, I should like to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 16th enclosing a copy of your annual report. I know Mr. Rusk will be interested to see this when he returns to the office.

Sincerely yours,

Catherine Tolles

Secretary to
Mr. Dean Rusk

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Return to HCF

The Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

December 30, 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Since returning to New York, I have had an opportunity to see the file of your recent correspondence with Mr. Rusk and Miss Rhind and also to discuss with colleagues here my interesting conversation with you in Atlanta. As I told you, participation in support of the Southern Regional Council's budget would involve a substantial departure from present program in The Rockefeller Foundation. Nevertheless, in view of the importance of the problems with which the Council is concerned, the officers are disposed to give careful consideration to the possibility of a special recommendation to our Trustees.

If you wish to submit informally the request you would like the Foundation to consider and your supporting statement, these would provide a useful basis for preliminary discussion here following which we will be in a position to tell you whether we can invite a formal application.

I shall look forward to hearing from you at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LCD:esa

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

January 17, 1961

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letters of January 9 and 13 and for the copy of the Council's report on "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights." I look forward to reading this as soon as possible and to sharing it with interested colleagues. We will respect your request that it be treated confidentially.

I do not know at present whether any of us will be in a position to discuss your forthcoming request with you on January 31 but will let you know if it appears that another conversation would be useful at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LCD:esa

via air mail

January 9, 1961

Mr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. DeVinney:

Returning to the office after a few days' absence, I was delighted to find your letter of December 30. We are gratified that the officers of the Foundation are willing to consider the possibility of a special recommendation to the Trustees.

You will be receiving from us very shortly the request which we should like to submit to the Rockefeller Foundation, with the understanding that this is an informal, preliminary step.

As it happens, I shall be in New York on January 31 to speak to the Institute for Religious and Social Studies. If it would be helpful and convenience, I should be very happy to talk further then with you and any of the other officers you feel appropriate.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rockefeller Request - January 18, 1961

Enclosures:

3 copies of the request

Origin and Aims of SRC

List of Board Members

Director's Report - Nov. 1960

Financial Analysis for 1961 <>

~~*Proposed~~

Copy of Letter of Tax Exemption

"The Changing South"

HCF's New York Times Reprint

File Rockefeller Foundation 1961

January 18, 1961

Mr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. DeVinney:

Along with many others here, we have been engrossed in the recent developments at the University of Georgia. As a result, we are somewhat later than I had expected in submitting to you informally our proposed request to the Rockefeller Foundation.

I hope the enclosed proposal and supporting material will give you and your colleagues an adequate basis for considering the Council's needs. The proposal is a longer one than we ordinarily like to impose on a potential donor, but in this instance we felt a reasonably full presentation might best serve the purpose.

I was happy to receive today your letter of January 17. If additional information would be useful, I shall be glad to provide it in further discussion or correspondence.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

A PROPOSAL TO THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

January 18, 1961

This is to request that the Rockefeller Foundation consider a grant of $50,000, renewable annually for five years, in support of the work of the Southern Regional Council. In order that this proposal not be unreasonably long, materials presenting the Council's history, aims, and activities are attached. The object here is to describe briefly the Council's central program and set forth our reasons for hoping the Foundation will feel this request is justified.

The Situation in the South

So much has been written about race relations in the South that a lengthy essay here would be unsalled-for. We should like to make it clear, however, that the Council takes no despairing view of the prospects in the South. Tremendous historical forces - moral, economic, social and political - are pressing toward equal opportunity and full participation for all citizens in our society. Resistance in parts of the region is powerful and can have catastrophic consequences. But the basic direction of the transition is irreversible. The important questions for any part of the region are: When? How? At what cost to the human beings involved and to the local, state, and national welfare?

It is especially important to recognize that, beneath an artificially imposed orthodoxy, there is great diversity of conditions from one state to another, from area to area within a given state, and among white Southerners in any given area. Far from being the region of static, unyielding

values pictured by the segregationist leadership, the South is undergoing kaleidoscopic changes in its economy, its population, and its way of life. The rapid spread of new industries, the explosive growth of cities, the mechanization of agriculture, the influx of people and ideas from other sections of the country, and a host of other economic and cultural changes are remaking the face of the South with breathtaking speed. All of these changes basically affect, and are affected by, the region's race relations.

The Role of the Southern Regional Council

This situation imposes a tremendous responsibility on the Southern Regional Council. As the only wholly Southern interracial group with long experience, professional skills, and reputation in the field of race relations, it has had to operate on a broader scale than ever before, recognizing that it is dealing with causes and effects that are nationwide in scope. The Council's task has included but gone far beyond the stimulation of purely local action. We have felt it essential to assume more leadership in educating and rallying those regional - and often national - forces whose action or inaction at this time is critical.

Lest this sound presumptuous, we hasten to add that we have no illusions that the Council is a causative force, or even in itself a powerful one in this vast transition. Its effectiveness must be judged in terms of the strategic importance of its activities in contested situations where the right program at the right time can make a decisive difference. Examples would be the timely release of the Council's findings on Negro suffrage, its special reports on the student protest movement, the support of consultant

services to officials and other community leaders where critical decisions were impending, and other activities described in the attached material.

The main functions of the Council may be summed up as follows:

(1) Research. -- Perhaps the greatest need in the region's current difficulties is for reliable facts and interpretation, presented in timely and persuasive fashion. The Council's reference files serve as a nucleus of the fact-finding and research operation carried on by an able and experienced staff. The files consist of some 300,000 clippings, pamphlets and other pertinent materials. Each month some 1,500 items are added from 40 Southern and national newspapers, magazines, professional journals, field reports, and like sources. These resources enable the Council to issue a number of pertinent "Special Reports" each year.

In addition, major studies are conducted in areas of concern or long-time need. For instance, the Council's study on private schools has been in heavy demand from school officials and others throughout the South. In the area of Negro registration and voting, the Council has long been considered the major source of information.

A recent analysis of racial violence and law enforcement has proved useful to police and other officials in various Southern cities; it is prescribed reading for all of Atlanta's 800 policemen. The Council's periodic "L-Reports" on educational and economic aspects of desegregation are distributed to appropriate mailing lists of school superintendents, chambers of

commerce, and other leadership groups. The volume of requests for additional copies affords some evidence of their popularity and usefulness.

Greatly enlarged two years ago, the research operation has been financed as a separate project. It is now being incorporated into the general program and budget as an integral and essential function of the Council.

(2) Interpretation through the Press. -- One of the main assets of the Council has always been its reputation with the press, Southern and national, as a dependable and authoritative source of information about all aspects of race relations in the South. The Council and its parent organization have served as a repository of such information since 1919. Many Southern editors and newspapers whose policies on racial matters are directly opposed to those of the Council are accustomed to relying without question on the Council's information services. This function too has greatly increased. It is no exaggeration to say that the Council now serves virtually all of the major national publications and a great many Southern ones. To the newspapers must be added a growing list of radio and television programs.

(3) State Councils on Human Relations. -- The Southern Regional Council has devoted a large part of its resources in the past five years to the creation of staffed interracial organizations in the Southern states. The state councils and their local affiliates are completely autonomous, all with their own policy

boards and with programs which recognize the realities of the areas in which they operate. Working against great odds, these state groups have provided instruments through which white and Negro Southerners can express their common belief in a democratic society and work for its achievement at the local and state levels. The Council continues to give both program assistance and financial aid to the state councils.

(4) Interagency Cooperation. -- The Council has, of necessity, assumed a greatly increased responsibility for coordination and clearing house work with other agencies. This has been in response to the expressed wishes and requests of a number of organizations, including the social action departments of the major religious denominations active in the South, the several Jewish agencies concerned with human relations, and such groups as the American Friends Service Committee, the Urban League, NAACP, YMCA, and YWCA. Four times each year the Council serves as convener of thirty of these agencies for off-the-record sharing of ideas and joint program planning. At their request, the Council has also coordinated their concerted field efforts.

In another category are the services rendered to Federal agencies charged with responsibilities in the civil rights field, notably the Department of Justice, and the Commission on Civil Rights and its Southern advisory committees. The requests for advice and assistance from these agencies, already frequent, are likely to be even more so in the period just ahead. The Council's suggestions for executive action on civil rights

were recently submitted to President Kennedy and his advisers.

(5) Consultant Services. -- Within the limit of its resources, the Council undertakes to make special consultants available to public and private leadership in Southern communities with urgent problems or opportunities. These have included business leaders experienced in the adverse economic effects of racial turmoil, school administrators knowledgeable about Southern problems of desegregation, community relations specialists, and the Council's own staff members and officers. A special project financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund enables the Council to offer on a regular basis the counsel of two able Virginians -- Colonel Benjamin Muse of Manassas and the past superintendent of Norfolk schools, John J. Brewbaker -- to public officials, business men, editors, and school authorities throughout the South.

(6) Overseas Visitors. -- During these recent years of crisis, an increasing number of foreign visitors have wanted to observe Southern race relations at first hand. As an agency that bridges the communications gulf between the races, the Southern Regional Council is called upon to serve as host and guide to a formidable array of such visitors, traveling under the auspices of the State Department, the Labor Department, and various other official and private sponsors. This function demands both staff time and care, for many of these visitors are influential persons from non-white as well as white countries. In 1960, the Council received over 250 overseas visitors. Although this "incidental" function severely

taxes our resources, its importance in terms of international understanding makes it inescapable.

(7) Other Functions. -- All of the activities that the Council has regularly carried on are being expanded and intensified to the limit of resources as demands multiply. In this category are the work with church women and other women's groups, aid to ministers, teachers and other victims of pressure and reprisal, and the handling of information requests from a host of individuals and groups.

We do not wish to imply that the Council feels that it has achieved any fixed or final formula for its efforts. As recent experience has made all too clear, the situation is volatile in the extreme. Any realistic approach in this area must be firmly grounded in recognition of the need for constant reassessment and flexibility. We do feel that we have achieved an orientation, a structure, and a range of staff skills sufficiently versatile to render a major service in this critical period.

Finances

The enclosed financial analysis shows the dimensions of the Council's fund-raising task for 1961. Toward a total budget of $270,475, for both general operations and projects, a balance of $103,775 has yet to be raised; of this balance, $78,275 is needed to meet the general operating budget of $152,975. This is the rate of expenditure maintained by the Council for the past several years.

It should be pointed out that the income forecast shows only income on hand or firmly committed. If the Rockefeller Foundation approves the grant requested, we are confident that the remaining balance can be secured during 1961, and that comparable support from other sources can be maintained during the succeeding years.

We need hardly explain that raising funds for the kind of work carried on by the Council is difficult in the South. Yet it should be pointed out that more is now raised from Southern sources than ever before. The state councils on human relations, which the Southern Regional Council created and still assists, are largely dependent on funds secured within their respective states. Therefore, the Council avoids competitive efforts within the region that would not, in any case, increase the total funds available to the movement. The point is that, within this framework, a total of some $50,000 a year is currently raised from wholly Southern sources in support of interracial work fostered by the Council.

We make this request for assistance to the central budget, since it is through the general operations of the Council that its basic and most effective work is done. Unlike many organizations, the Council has no endowment; nor does it have a building program or other purely institutional needs to drain off funds from the general budget. Thus general support is translated almost entirely into meaningful program activity of the sort described above.

We request multiple-year assistance for similar reasons. The Council's main reliance must necessarily be on the quality of its staff and the soundness of its planning. Both require a reasonable assurance of stable support for a period ahead. This can only be achieved by

multiple-year commitments from the Council's contributors -- a pattern which we believe preferable to one-time infusions of larger sums.

An audited financial statement for 1960 will be forwarded upon its completion within a few weeks. Meanwhile, if further information on finances, organization, or program will assist the Foundation in considering this request, we shall supply it promptly.

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

RECEIVED FEB 20 1961

RECEIVED FEB 1961

February 17, 1961

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of February 13 and the enclosed memorandum. I have read this with much interest and am most appreciative. It provides just the sort of background information I had in mind.

As soon as a number of officers who are now abroad return to New York, we will move ahead with our discussions respecting support for the Council and I will write to you again when I have further information to report.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LCD:esa

Return to MF

via air mail

February 13, 1961

Mr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. DeVinney:

Our talk week before last was very helpful to me. I am most appreciative.

I must confess to some difficulty in trying to comply with your request for informal examples of our "behind-the-scenes" activities. The enclosed memorandum, after some delay, is the nat result. It is neither very anecdotal nor very spectacular, but perhaps it will help round out the picture of the Council's usefulness as we see it. I appreciate your assurance that the material will be used discreetly.

The more I have thought about it, the more I have concluded that the New York Times summed up best what the Council has tried to do -- to influence public opinion and policy by "making it impossible to ignore the facts. The Council's effectiveness probably must be measured in these terms.

At any rate, I hope the enclosure is of some use and that you will call on me for any supplementary information that might be needed.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

February 13, 1961

To: Mr. Leland DeVinney
Rockefeller Foundation

From: Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director - SRC

Re: Illustrations of the Southern Regional Council's Quiet Activities.

- : -

The Southern Regional Council's unpublicized activities are of three sorts: work with state or community leaders, work with Federal agencies, and special uses of Council materials. The following examples are drawn from all three categories.

(1) Under the Council's auspices, Col. Benjamin Muse has conferred with the Governors of four states -- Faubus of Arkansas, Almond of Virginia, Hodges and Sanford of North Carolina, and Collins of Florida. Even in the case of Faubus, Col. Muse's counsel (to the effect that desegregation is both inevitable and workable) was cordially received. He was especially helpful in Florida, where he consulted over a period of months with Governor Collins and his advisers. He made a major contribution to the official race relations commission established by Governor Collins -- the definition of its task, its staffing, structure, and procedures. So far as possible, Col. Muse will establish similar communication with the other Southern governors. To the best of our knowledge, no other human relations group performs this continuing function.

(2) Muse and other Council staff members and consultants have occasion to advise and counsel privately with mayors, city managers, police chiefs, and other officials. Two of

our consultants advised the Mayor of Raleigh on the appointment of a bi-racial committee to resolve sit-in disputes. Our local cooperating group in Nashville induced Mayor West to set up such a committee there, and furnished two of its members.

(3) For obvious reasons, the Council has worked most closely with local officials and other leaders in Atlanta. When golf course desegregation was at issue, we supplied Mayor Hartsfield with information on other Southern cities that had uneventfully taken this step; the Mayor used this information publicly to support his decision to desegregate. The same process took place in connection with bus desegregation.

More recently, the Council's staff has worked closely with the Mayor and Police Chief on problems arising from the sit-in situation. This has included steady advice to the Mayor in his mediating efforts, backgrounding him in the experience of other communities, and liaison with local Negro leadership. Although no final solution has been achieved, we were instrumental in securing a 30-day truce for negotiation, and in the release from jail of Martin Luther King, Jr., and a number of the student demonstrators.

(4) Atlanta's Police Chief made the Council's study Law Enforcement and Racial Violence required reading for all of the city's 800 policemen, and instructed each of them to prepare a written report on it. We supplied enough copies to the Police Training Division to make this possible.

(5) The Council's executive director was asked on Thanksgiving eve, by both Negro student and white adult leaders, to try to effect a last-minute meeting of the principal merchants and the protest group. Sit-ins were scheduled to resume, following the 30-day truce, on the day after Thanksgiving. Despite the best efforts of the Mayor, no face-to-face discussion by the principals on

both sides had previously been managed. After a Thanksgiving day of telephone calls and maneuvering too complicated to detail here, the effort was successful. Department store representatives and Negro students and adults met at 10:30 P.M. that night for a three-hour session. The meeting proved too little and too late. The department store president himself lamented that if such candid discussion had started at an earlier date, he felt sure a settlement could have been effected. At any rate, ground work was laid for the negotiations which are still bound to come.

(6) At a time of tension in Tallahassee, Florida, we received a confidential call from Governor Collins' executive assistant. The trial of four white youths accused of raping a Negro coed was in progress, the Governor was hopeful of a fair and unbiased verdict, but he and his advisers feared an imminent public appearance by Martin Luther King, Jr., would inflame public opinion and adversely influence the trial. Could we help guard against this? We discussed the matter frankly with Dr. King, who was in Atlanta, and proposed that he use the Tallahassee occasion to restate his opposition to capital punishment, applying the principle to the local case, in which the offenders were white and the victim Negro. Dr. King accepted the suggestion, and the magnanimity of his speech averted any negative public reaction in Tallahassee. The accused white men were subsequently found guilty by the all-white jury.

(7) The Council's educational consultant, John J. Brewbaker, former superintendent of Norfolk schools, has counselled privately with scores of superintendents and school board members throughout the South. There is little doubt in our minds that his practical advice has had measurable effects. Among the school authorities he has counselled are those in Virginia who voluntarily initiated desegregation at the beginning of the 1960-61 term. Several of them have acknowledged gratefully the sound guidance they received

from Mr. Brewbaker. This, too, is a continuing function.

(8) The Council has, without public credit, arranged for business leaders of Norfolk and Little Rock, (e.g., the Chamber of Commerce head in Little Rock) to meet with their counterparts in Atlanta and New Orleans. Obviously, their interpretations of the economic dangers of school closing and violence registered more strongly in Atlanta than in New Orleans. Making such consultations possible under "respectable" local auspices seems to us one of the Council's more useful quiet functions.

(9) A private session of Southern Episcopal Bishops was convened in Washington by the Presiding Bishop to deal with differences over race relations. The Council's Research Director was invited to present an analysis of the situation in the South as background for the conference.

(10) Negro leaders sought the Council's help in exposing and correcting a particularly brutal situation in Terrell County, Ga. Within a matter of weeks, a number of Negroes had been beaten or shot by local police; one of them had died after a vicious beating in the presence of his wife and children. These excesses occurred in an overall climate of severe discrimination; for example, not a single Negro in the County was registered to vote.

The Council telephoned the editor of the Washington Post, who agreed to send down one of his top reporters. Meanwhile, in cooperation with local Negro leaders, we arranged for the reporter to meet outside the County (for reasons of security) with witnesses to the brutalities. A member of the Council's staff served as "guide" and adviser on the fact-finding mission to South Georgia. The result was a full-page article in the Washington Post, describing the brutalities and discriminatory conditions in Terrell County. The Department of Justice was thus stimulated to launch a full-scale investigation. The overt terrorism ceased (though there have been sporadic and less

flagrant incidents since), and the first voting case under the 1957 Civil Rights Act was filed against Terrell County registrars.

(11) In August 1958, the Council's executive committee instructed the director to seek an interview at the White House and convey to the President our view of the need for a strong statement upholding law and order in the South. A new school year was about to open in an atmosphere of tension over impending desegregation. The director conferred at length with Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams and Attorney General William P. Rogers. The following day, President Eisenhower read at his news conference a statement of the sort proposed by the Council. This was the first, and virtually only, clear expression of moral leadership made by President Eisenhower.

(12) Since its inception in 1957, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has turned frequently to the Council for confidential information and services. It would be pointless and tedious to summarize each instance, but here are a few illustrations:

(a) The Commission faced the formidable task of appointing advisory committees in all of the States. On request, the Council worked closely with the Commission on the make-up of the Southern state bodies; this was not merely a matter of identifying "liberals" in those states, but of helping the Commission find amenable persons of both races and a wide range of racial attitudes.

(b) The county-by-county voter registration figures in the Commission's first report were largely gathered and supplied by the Council. The figures for Texas, for example, were derived from a special survey commissioned by the Council.

(c) The Council has briefed the Commission's investigators on many of their Southern assignments, has advised them on the selection of counties for special-purpose studies, and has supplied them with the names of knowledgeable local persons in the areas under study or investigation.

(13) The Council has maintained a similar relationship with the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. Among the services requested and rendered have been the supplying of background information and contacts in troubled situations, conferences with the Division staff in Washington, and liaison between the Division and local Negro leadership in difficult areas of the South. On occasion, the Division has asked the Council to survey a specific situation, in order that the Department of Justice might be able to determine whether an official investigation was warranted. On the basis of such a field study by the Council, conducted in McCormick County, S.C., the Department of Justice ordered a review of registration records there. Shortly afterward, the first Negroes in years were permitted to register and vote in the county.

(14) The Council has more than once been asked to assist the State Department and other government agencies in the handling of delicate foreign-visitor problems. One such instance concerned a visit to the South by a high-ranking Nigerian official who had expressed a determination to "test" segregation in Atlanta. Careful advance planning averted the international incident feared by State Department officials. The Council has also supplied special information to the USIA and its overseas offices, or to overseas embassies. The latest request of this kind came from Rhodesia, where U. S. representatives had been asked for case material on interracial efforts in this country.

* * * * *

Day in and day out, the Council achieves its greatest effectiveness through the influence of its materials and staff

services in a host of problem areas. There is no adequate way to document this, but with apologies for the essentially "testimonial" approach, we append some of the comments and excerpts from letters that have bolstered our own belief in the Council's effectiveness:

"The Council in my judgment serves two important functions that no other agency in the region is capable of. It remains a rallying point for moderate white Southern opinion, and keeps open essential channels of communication between the races... It also provides an indispensable source of factual information on every aspect of the race problem; the Council's resouces have prevented many a distortion in the local and national press, helped correct many that did find their way into print."-- Letter by Harry S. Ashmore, editor, Arkansas Gazette.- (

"I can't begin to thank you for the kindnesses and help you gave me ten days ago. Thanks to you, a bunch of then inchoate impressions I had fell into place and continued to stay that way for the rest of the trip.... There and elsewhere through the South your name was an open sesame." -- Letter by Alfred W. Friendly, managing editor, Washington Post and Times-Herald.

"(The Council" fills a unique place... I think you can well understand that in a region where there is so much sound and fury it is necessary to have some organization which, year in and year out, can assemble the facts and keep them before the public." -- Letter by Ralph McGill, editor, Atlanta Constitution.

"Your organization has been of great service throughout this civil rights debate. It is true that you, as a private organization, have provided more information and more facts concerning the voting situation than has the Department of Justice." -- Letter by Senator Paul H. Douglas.

"Thank you so much for the copies of 'The Negro Voter in the South' which you recently sent us. As you probably know... It has created considerable interest on the Hill, and our copies are all now in heavy use." -- Letter by Charles A. Goodrum, Legislative Reference Librarian, The Library of Congress.

"We find this report (The Student Protest Movement) very interesting and the Commission has requested that we order an additional twelve copies [so supplement order for 200] for distribution throughout the state." -- William N. Rose, Staff Assistant for Governor's Commission on Race Relations. State of Florida.

"You deserve hearty congratulations for your study 'If The Schools Are Closed' from what I read of it in Time Magazine. As a member of an education committee in Savannah, I have had much difficulty attempting to persuade people that private schools are not the answer..." -- Lowell Goodhue, Goodhue Companies, Savannah, Georgia.

"The information presented in this bulletin ('If The Schools Are Closed') needs the attention of Superintendents and Boards of Education throughout the South. I need seven additional copies to meet our needs in Mobile -- five for the Board, one for our Assistant Superintendent in Charge of Pupil Personnel and one for our attorney." -- Cranford H. Burns, Superintendent, Mobile, Alabama, Public Schools.

"Your study ('If The Schools Are Closed') will make it possible to implant, among the thinking men of our community, many new thoughts on this question of private schools." -- Stewart Carlton, Dean of Boys, Vero Beach, Florida, High School.

"Please send us ten (10) copies of your recent publication, 'If The Schools Are Closed'..." -- Thomas A. Carrere, Acting Superintendent, Charleston, S.C., Public Schools.

"I seem to have in my file Reports #L- 6,8,9, and 10, but am short on the first 5 and report #7. If you have these copies available, I would appreciate it if you will forward same to me." -- R. L. Lacy, Division Superintendent, Halifax, Virginia, County Public Schools.

"It would be appreciated if you would send.... "Racial Violence and Law Enforcement;'..." -- E. Wilson Purdy, Chief of Police, St. Petersburg, Florida.

"I should very much like to remain on your mailing list." -- James L. Hanry, Executive Vice-President, Wichita Falls, Texas, Chamber of Commerce.

"You are to be commended for the very splendid services you are performing for the South and for our schools." -- J. Lyle Hill, Superintendent, McAllen, Texas, Public Schools.

"Please send us 30 copies of the report, 'To Florida Leaders in Civic, Religious and Business Affairs,'..." Albert R. Gibson, Executive Manager, Statesboro and Bulloch County, Georgia, Chamber of Commerce.

"...the Associated Press Broadcasters asked us for suggestions with regard to press coverage in race relations. We forwarded to them the material in our files which we

received from you. They found this of enormous help and plan to draw up their own statement using that material as the principal source... Further, your information on desegregation of variety stores was of real value in the negotiations in Miami. We continue to be in debt for the excellent cooperation of your organization." -- Saul A. Silverman, Staff Assistant, State of Florida, Fowler Commission on Race Relations.

"I Wish to distribute a copy of this report (L-14, 'A Report From Virginia') to each member of our School Board." -- Fendall R. Ellis, Superintendent, Charlottesville, Virginia, Public Schools.

"The purpose of this letter is to let you know of the existance of our group and also to see if we might seek your valuable advice and counsel from time to time." -- Glenn F. Webb, Manager, Laurinburg (N.C.), Chamber of Commerce.

"PLEASE SEND ONE DOZEN COPIES 'SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: THE FIRST SIX YEARS' IMMEDIATELY.""-- James F. Redmond, Superintendent Orleans Parish School Board. New Orleans, La.

"Please send me copies of your reports on the recent lunch counter "sit-in" demonstrations." -- Jack Elam, City Attorney, Greensboro, N.C.

"I would like to have copies of your Special Reports on the student sit-in demonstrations." -- J. Delmas Escoe, Assistant Counsel, United States Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights.

"I would like to send a copy of this article (on Biracial convention facilities) ... to each of the thirteen members of the Executive Council of the Southern Historical Association, since it is the executive counsil which decides on a site for the annual convention." -- August Meier, Department of History, Morgan State College, Baltimore, Md.

"After reading ('Racial Violence and Law Enforcement') carefully, I believe we should quietly provide a copy to each member of City Council, the City Manager, the Chief of Police, to members of the School Board in this area, the Sheriff, the Chiefs of Police in several smaller cities in the area, and a couple of other concerned officials." -- Talbot Patrick, Editor and Publisher, the Evening Herald, Rock Hill, S. C.

"We owe you another vote of thanks for an excellent research job." -- Mrs. Gretchen Conduitte, Community Relations Librarian, Jacksonville (Florida), Free Public Library.

"I wish to obtain a copy of your pamphlet, 'Racial Violence and Law Enforcement,'" -- C. B. Crutchfield, Field Commander, Department of Public Safety, Division of Kentucky State Police, Frankfort, Ky.

"Thanks to the Tampa Police Department, I have recently... read...'Racial Violence and Law Enforcement.' This is truly a most timely and well presented piece... I would like to request two copies... One for my own library and one which I should like to present to the Chief of Police here in St. Petersburg." -- R. A. LaCouture, Chairman, Department of Police Administration and Public Safety, St. Petersburg (Florida), Junior College.

"May I congratulate you very sincerely on your very excellent report, 'The Federal Executive and Civil Rights.' This is precisely the type of document I have been attempting to have our Commission prepare for the new President. I am sure it will be most useful to the new administration." -- (Rev.) Theodore M. Hesburgh, Commission on Civil Rights, President, University of Notre Dame.

"(The SRC report on school desegregation for 1960-61) is, indeed, an interesting and informative report and I am most grateful to you for sending me a copy." -- W. Henry Oliver, Superintendent of City Schools, Nashville 3, Tennessee.

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1961

March 13, 1961

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for the copies of your 1960 Financial Statement which I am adding to the file.

You will be interested to know that the officers have agreed to discuss the Southern Regional Council with the Trustees at their meeting in April. We will be in touch with you when we can report the outcome of that discussion.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LCD:esa

March 10, 1961

Mr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. LeVinney:

Our 1960 Financial Statement has at last been completed, and I am enclosing two copies to supplement our request of January 18, 1961.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2.

via air mail

March 30, 1961

Miss Flora Rhind
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Miss Rhind:

Mr. DeVinney has been kind enough to inform me that our request may soon be considered by the trustees of the Foundation. Finding that he is out of the country, I felt I should let you know, in advance of publicity and more than routinely, of an impending change here at the Council.

The Council will shortly be announcing my resignation as executive director to accept a new post and the appointment as staff head of Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, presently our director of research. Enclosed are copies of the announcements that will be mailed to members and friends of the Council in the next day or so.

Although there is no reason why this development should in any way influence consideration of the Council's request, I do want to speak a word of personal assurance. One factor in my own decision is my complete confidence that the Council will have superb staff leadership under Dr. Dunbar and that its growing effectiveness in the years just ahead is a certainty. Dr. Dunbar's creativeness and sureness of judgement have been more than amply demonstrated, and he will have the enthusiastic support of the policy leadership and an able staff.

These assurances may be wholly superfluous. But sometimes changes of this sort are viewed as tokens of uncertainty in an organization's life. I want to make sure that you and your colleagues understand that, in this instance, the exact opposite is true.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures
Bcc David Freeman

May 4, 1961

Miss Flora M. Rhind
Secretary
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Miss Rhind:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council, I acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 27, with notification that the Rockefeller Foundation has granted us, for general expenses during 1961, the sum of $50,000, or as much thereof as may be necessary.

Enclosed is a copy of our budget for 1961 as approved by our Executive Committee on February 2, 1961. Should you wish more detailed facts or analysis, we shall be happy to supply them.

If satisfactory to you, we would like to receive the entire grant now. At the end of the year we shall, as requested, submit a statement of receipts and expenditures, and any balance there may be from the funds.

It is not our practice to make public announcement of grants. We do not, on the other hand, withhold

financial information when queried by persons with a legitimate interest. If the occasion should ever arise, we shall be guided by the Foundation's policies regarding announcement of grants. We understand that the Foundation's readiness to consider renewals for subsequent years is no part of the grant.

I think you must know how gratified we are by this action. It brings us not only much needed financial aid, but is also an expression of confidence in our work that we value as highly as the money. To have in our endeavors the support of the staff, officers, and Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation is reassuring to all of us.

As I told Mr. DeVinney yesterday, I plan to be in New York sometime in June. Before I come, I shall drop you a line, in the hope that there may be an opportunity for me to convey my personal thanks for the consideration you have given us, and to keep you advised regarding our programs.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf

Enclosure - 1. (Operating Budgets and Income...1961)

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

Please quote: RF 61058

April 27, 1961

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

At a recent meeting of our Trustees consideration was given to the request of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. for a grant toward its general expenses. Under authority given to them at that meeting the officers of the Foundation have now taken action to make available to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. the sum of $50,000, or as much thereof as may be necessary, for use toward the general expenses of the Council during the calendar year 1961.

Payment on this grant will be made upon request from you accompanied by a copy of the budget adopted by the Council for the year 1961. At the end of the calendar year please send us a statement of receipts and expenditures. Any balance of the grant unexpended on December 31, 1961, will revert to the Foundation.

only officers

While the action reported above is limited to assistance during a one-year period, the officers of the Foundation are prepared to consider renewal of this support on an annual basis for an additional four-year period. Recommendation for such renewal would be based on a review of the Council's program toward the end of each calendar year.

A brief public announcement of our grant will be made in the next quarterly report of the Foundation. There is, however, no objection on our part to your announcement of the grant prior to the Foundation's report if for any reason it appears to you desirable. In this connection I am enclosing, for your information, a printed statement of the Rockefeller Foundation policy regarding the announcement of grants.

It is a pleasure to report this action to you.

Sincerely yours,

Flora M. Rhind

Flora M. Rhind

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

May 24, 1961

Mr. John H. Greenfieldt
Assistant Comptroller
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Greenfieldt:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 17 and your check in the amount of $50,000, as payment in full of the Foundation's grant to us for 1961. We shall, as indicated in our letter of May 4, report to you soon after December 31, 1961, receipts and expenditures under the grant.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:a
Enclosure: official receipt

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

OFFICE OF THE COMPTROLLER

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

May 17, 1961

Re: RF 61058

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In accordance with your request of May 4, we are pleased to enclose our check in the amount of $50,000 as payment in full for the year 1961 under the appropriation noted above. We have noted the operating budgets and income forecast submitted with your letter.

CR
RHA
5/25/61

As soon after December 31, 1961 as convenient, we shall appreciate receiving a statement of receipts and expenditures. Any unexpended balance is to revert to the Foundation

Sincerely yours,

John H. Greenfieldt

John H. Greenfieldt
Assistant Comptroller

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, GEORGIA

Enclosure

FW:jwm

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

June 1, 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Would you by any chance be free to have lunch with me here at the Foundation at 12:30 or 1:00 o'clock on Thursday, June 8? If so, I will ask one or two of my immediate colleagues to join us. If this is not convenient, I will be glad to see you at 3:00 p.m. on Wednesday, June 7.

Some of the Foundation officers who I am sure will be interested in meeting you are not here at present so I hope we will be able to get together again sometime during the autumn.

I shall look forward to hearing from you about next week.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LCD:esa

May 26, 1961

Mr. Leland DeVinney
President
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street - 42nd Floor
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

I shall be in New York early in June and would hope very much that I could have an opportunity to visit for a while with you and any others at the Rockefeller Foundation whom you would suggest. I shall be coming into New York probably on a dinner flight June 6 and leaving about noon on June 9th. I wonder if 3:00 on Wednesday, June 7th would be convenient for you? If not, I could come up earlier on Tuesday, or perhaps arrange some other time.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:A

July 24, 1961

Mr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DeVinney:

This is a much belated word of appreciation for the pleasant lunch with you and your associates last month. It was a pleasure to meet with all of you.

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed letter to members of our Board, and especially the last few paragraphs, which announce that our staffing problems have been solved.

You asked me to let you know when in the fall I would be in New York. I have an appointment there on September 22 from 11:00 - 2:30; the rest of the day is free. About noon on September 20, I'll be delivering my freshman daughter to Swarthmore, and could come on up to New York late that afternoon or any time on the 21st.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
Enclosure

August 9, 1961

Mr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. DeVinney:

I shall be very happy to come to a luncheon at the Foundation on Thursday, September 21.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

August 4, 1961

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of July 24, which was awaiting me after my return following a few days absence from the office.

If you could come to the Foundation for luncheon on Thursday, September 21, I would like to invite a number of the principal officers to meet you and hear something about the Council's program and plans at that time. I am initiating tentative arrangements before departing for vacation and am leaving instructions with my secretary to make them firm in case your affirmative reply comes before my return.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LCD:bh

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

August 10, 1961

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

As Mr. DeVinney is away from the office this month, may I acknowledge and thank you for your affirmation to attend a luncheon at the Foundation on Thursday, September 21. I am sure Mr. DeVinney will be pleased to know you will be able to come, and the officers of the Foundation are looking forward to meeting you and to hearing about the program of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Betty Heitman

Betty Heitman
Secretary to
Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

bh

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

September 6, 1961

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I am glad to know that you can come to luncheon at the Foundation on Thursday, September 21. We will look forward to seeing you here at 12:30 and to learning more about the current program of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LCD:bah

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

air Mail

September 18, 1961

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of September 14 and the enclosed materials which I shall read and share with others here. Most of the principal officers are planning to join us for lunch. I have told them that you will offer some observations about developments in race relations in the South and discuss the present program of the Southern Regional Council in relation to them.

We are looking forward to your visit.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LCD:bah

file
R.F.

September 14, 1961

Mr. Leland DeVinney, Associate Director
The Rockefeller Foundation — file
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. DeVinney:

I look forward to seeing you and your associates on September 21 at 12:30.

For your information I am enclosing copies of two memoranda and a letter relating to a matter which has occupied a large part of our thought this summer. As you will learn from the enclosures, SRC has been asked to play a central role in an effort to register more voters in the South; we have sometimes felt that we would have preferred to have this cup pass us. The apparent fact is, however, that we are the only agency acceptable to the other groups involved.

What may finally be the result of this summer's planning time alone will tell. It presents a great challenge to SRC and one which we are prepared to do our best to meet.

I am also enclosing a column by Ralph McGill which may interest you. The "factual report on law enforcement' was our publication, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, by George McMillian.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. 3
Memo, 7/31/61 to Exec. Committee
9/13/61 Letter to Associates

McGill column

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

October 10, 1961

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of October 5 and the copy of your address at the annual meeting of the Department of Higher Education of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association. I am passing these along to Dr. Hardin and Miss Rhind, who I know will appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending them.

All of us here very much enjoyed our interesting luncheon discussion with you and appreciate the time and thought you gave us.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LCD:bah

October 5, 1961

Mr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DeVinney:

It was a real pleasure to meet with you and your associates on September 21. The food was good and the questions were even better.

I wonder if you would convey my apologies to Dr Hardin for some misinformation. I recall saying that Alabama's Representatives had voted in the majority against federal aid to education; they did not, their delegation having voted four in favor and three against. It was especially inexcusable for me to have been wrong inasmuch as I had just written something about this for our next issue of New South (which is why I had it in mind, but not securely). The fact is that of the southern states only the Georgia and Alabama delegations came anywhere close to supporting aid, on the crucial vote.

I am also enclosing an old speech of mine which perhaps you will be kind enough to send on to Miss Rhind. Because of some questions she asked during my visit it occurred to me that this may possibly be of interest to her.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

OFFICE OF THE COMPTROLLER

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

October 31, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, GEORGIA

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In connection with the annual examination of our accounts, will you kindly confirm, direct to Messrs. Lybrand, Ross Brothers and Montgomery, 2 Broadway, New York 4, New York, the following information concerning disbursements made by The Rockefeller Foundation on your account during the nine months ended September 30, 1961:

RF 61058 toward the Council's general expenses $50,000.00

If the amount shown above is in agreement with your records, please so indicate by signing the copy of this letter and returning it directly to our auditors in the enclosed envelope. If not, please inform them what amounts are shown on your records.

Very truly yours,

John H. Swinfield
Assistant Comptroller

The above statement is correct.

_____
Signature

_____
Date

RSS:dm

AFTER 5 DAYS RETURN TO
LYBRAND, ROSS BROS. & MONTGOMERY
2 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

NEW YORK 1, N.Y.
1200 M
31 OCT
1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, GEORGIA

PA - Signed
Copy returned

March 2, 1962

Mr. Leland DeVinney
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50 th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. DeVinney:

Enclosed is a copy of my Annual Report for 1961 which was left out of my letter of February 20. These things happen. What you did receive was a research outline done for planning purposes.

I shall call you when I am in New York.

We greatly enjoyed Miss Rhind's visit this week. I am hoping that you can sometime find the occasion to travel this way.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:bp
enc.

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

March 1, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This will acknowledge and thank you for your two letters of February 20 and their respective enclosures. I am passing the latter along to appropriate officers here and will initiate discussion of your request for a renewed grant for the present calendar year as soon as possible after Miss Flora M. Rhind's return from her present trip, which, I understand, will include a visit to the Council offices.

Blooper
Will Send

You say that you are enclosing a copy of your Annual Report for 1961, but apparently there was an error because the enclosure is "A Status Study of Negro Employment and Training Opportunities in Four Southern Cities." We are glad to see this but would appreciate having a copy of your Annual Report.

I shall be glad to see you when you are in New York on March 21 and suggest that you call the office after you reach the city to arrange a mutually convenient time for an appointment.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LCD:bah

February 20, 1962

Mr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 W st 50th Street
42nd Floor
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DeVinney:

Under separate cover I have forwarded our application for a renewal of the Foundation's grant to us. I hope it will merit your support, and that you will let me know of any questions you may have or additional materials you may wish.

The submission is in the form of a fairly general letter. This accords with my recollection of our conversation in your office last September. I shall be very glad, of course, to supplement the request in any way you may suggest.

I am enclosing with this letter a copy of our application to the Treasury for an advance ruling that the proposed voter project is consistent with our tax exemption. I thought you might like these letters for your files. Mr. DeWind seems to believe that we shall soon receive a favorable decision. You will be interested to know that Mr. Wiley A. Branton of Arkansas has agreed to come on our staff to direct the project. Branton has a very high reputation among lawyers,

handled the Little Rock case with Thurgood Marshall from the beginning, and has the confidence of all the groups with which we are cooperating. He was very decidedly our first choice.

I expect to be in New York on March 21; if you have a few minutes that day I would like to call. Ittwould also be convenient for me to be in New York earlier that same week.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
enclosure
BC: Dave Freeman - Rock. Bros. Hd.

February 20, 1962

Mr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
42nd Floor
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DeVinney:

We wish to put before the Officers and the Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation a request for renewal of your grant to the Southern Regional Council's general support, in the amount of $50,000 for the year 1962.

The grant made by the Foundation to us in 1961 contributed indispensably to the financing of our work. We are hopeful that you may feel our program continues to merit your assistance.

There is enclosed a copy of our Financial Statement, taken from the 1961 audit. You will note on the second page of it that income exceeded expenditures, for general operations, by slightly less than $14,000. This corresponds to our experience of the last several years, and is a highly desirable margin for meeting unexpected program demands. You will note also, on the same page, that the surplus is approximately equal to our gain from sale of securities. We trust, therefore, that, within the terms of the 1961 award, you will regard the grant as having been fully required.

Also, enclosed is a copy of the budget for 1962, approved by the Council at its Annual Meeting in November 1961.

The third enclosure is my Annual Report for 1961. There is every reason to believe that the present year will be quite as eventful for the South and even more demanding of the Council. As soon as a favorable ruling is received f om the Internal Revenue Service, we shall move ahead rapidly with the Voter Education Project, perhaps the largest single endeavor ever undertaken by the Council. This will be an endeavor in which the Council will enlist the cooperation of the other principal civil rights groups. At the same time, we must maintain the strength and the momentum of our other programs.

To mention the voter project suggests one of the increasingly important functions of the Council. As we move into 1962, faced as we always are in a rapidly changing South with the need to adapt to new problems and needs, we have to construct programs which reflect new priorities and opportunities. Among these is the special obligation which rests on the Council, as a bi-racial body, to be a balance-wheel for the civil rights movement, and the several directions which it is now taking. To a degree not previously approached, the Council has become a resource of information and interpretation for the Negro communities of the South and their leadership.

The greatly increased activity of the federal government presents new responsibilities and opportunities to us. In numerous informal ways we are and presumably shall continue to be cooperating with federal officials and agencies.

We have given thought, moreover, to how our program planning could be geared to this new and vitally important federal initiative. Our conclusion is that through our research we can best contribute to its strengthening.

Consequently, our research and publication plans are being largely directed toward two ends. We intend from time to time to serve the function of objective outside observer and critic of the government's performance. We shall, for example, soon publish a

descriptive, analysis and evaluation of the Administration's record of executive action to date, which will be a sequel to our Federal Executive and Civil Rights of last year. Secondly, we shall attempt to give depth and interpretation to problems which are of interest to the federal government. Examples of these are the short profiles of employment conditions in Houston and Chattanooga which were recently brought out; a third one, covering Atlanta, is in preparation, and a forthcoming issue of New South will be devoted entirely to a broad survey of manpower issues. We have, to cite two other examples, an analysis of pupil placement laws and administration in preparation, and are contemplating a pilot study (in South Carolina) of federal agriculture programs, from the standpoint of benefits to and participation in by Negro farmers.

Our own field programs will continue to emphasize chiefly the quiet, unpublisized consultations of the Southern Leadership Project, now largely concentrated in the Deep South states, and cooperation with the state and local Councils on Human R lations. These groups have shown during the last year or so a healthy growth and maturing. Their opportunities to be of influence have increased to the point where we think the time now ripe to add a second person to our staff to service and help direct their activities.

We sought, in this submission, to indicate only some changing program trends. Other of our accustomed functions go on, in particular our constant servicing of the working press. Should you desire further information, or additional supporting documents, please let me know.

On behalf of the Council, I would like to convey to you, the other Officers, and the Trustees of the Foundation our high regard and our grateful acknowledgment of your past generous assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

Rec'd 3/7/62

The Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

March 6, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for what I now gather is an extra copy of your Annual Report. Apparently Miss Rhind had taken with her the copy you sent, but neither her secretary nor I was aware of this fact. Since Miss Rhind is not yet back, the second copy is useful, however.

I, too, hope that I may visit you some day. In the meantime, I shall look forward to hearing from you when you are in New York.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LCD:bah

AIR MAIL

March 14, 1962

Miss Flora M. Rhind
Secretary
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Miss Rhind:

I am glad that you were able to visit us. We enjoyed your call a great deal, and hope that you may find an occasion to return.

Enclosed is the list of desegregated colleges and universities which you requested.

I look forward to seeing you when in New York next week.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm
Enclosure

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

March 12, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

First I want to thank you for the very pleasant luncheon which I had with you last week and for the opportunity of discussing some of the recent developments in education in the South.

When I was in your office you spoke of a list of desegregated institutions of higher education in the South which has been prepared by the Council. I would like very much to have a copy of this and wonder if you could send it to me so that I might have it within the next few days.

Mr. DeVinney tells me that you will be in the office later this month and I shall hope to see you at that time.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Flora M. Rhind

Flora M. Rhind

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

SPECIAL DELIVERY

March 19, 1962

Mrs. Vivian D. Hewitt
Librarian
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Mrs. Hewitt:

Since Mr. Dunbar is out of the city for several days, I am replying to your letter addressed to him of March 16.

The report which you requested was not published by us but instead by the Southern Regional Education Board. In checking our files, however, we found an extra copy and are pleased to send the extra to you, enclosed.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

THE Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

REFERENCE SERVICE
Doris B. Foster, Head
Vivian D. Hewitt, Librarian

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

March 16, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

We are in urgent need of the Report of the Commission on Goals for Higher Education in the South which we understand was published by the Council in December, 1961. If a copy is available, we would appreciate having it sent to us by the quickest means possible.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian D. Hewitt

(Mrs.) Vivian D. Hewitt

VDH:b

April 6, 1962

Miss Flora M. Rhind
Secretary
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Miss Rhind:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council I wish to acknowledge your letter of March 20, 1962 and the conditions noted therein, reporting that the Officers of the Foundation have granted $50,000 toward our general expenses during the calendar year 1962.

I am sure I need not tell you how much this support means to us. We value not only the funds, without which our operations would be severely reduced, but also, and as greatly, the good will and confidence of the Foundation.

If agreeable with you we should like to have the entire amount released to us at this time.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Leland DeVinney

bc: Miss Josephine Wilkins

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

In reply please quote: RF 61058

March 20, 1962

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I am glad to be able to inform you that, under authority given to them by our Trustees, the officers of The Rockefeller Foundation have taken action to make available to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., the sum of $50,000, or as much thereof as may be necessary, for use toward the general expenses of the Council during the calendar year 1962. Payment on this grant will be made upon request from you. At the end of the calendar year, please send us a statement of receipts and expenditures. Any balance of the grant unexpended on December 31, 1962, will revert to the Foundation.

While the action reported above is limited to assistance during a one-year period, the officers of the Foundation are prepared to consider renewal of this support on an annual basis for an additional three-year period. Recommendation for such renewal would be based on a review of the Council's program toward the end of each calendar year. We should appreciate being notified in the event of any change in the tax-exempt status of the Council during the period of this grant.

A brief public announcement of our grant will be made in the next quarterly report of the Foundation. There is, however, no objection on our part to your announcement of the grant prior to the Foundation's report if for any reason it appears to you desirable. In this connection I am enclosing as a matter of routine a printed statement of the Rockefeller Foundation policy regarding the announcement of grants.

It is a pleasure to report this action to you.

Sincerely yours,

Flora M. Rhind

Flora M. Rhind

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

Policy with Respect to Announcement of Grants

The Rockefeller Foundation records its grants in an *Annual Report*, and in *Rockefeller Foundation Grants*, issued quarterly, in which brief reports of grants are published soon after they have been made.

The Foundation is always glad to have its reports supplemented through announcements issued locally by recipients at the time the award is made. Only if the announcement involves an interpretation of the Foundation's purpose in making the grant, do the officers of the Foundation request that they be given the opportunity of seeing the statement before it is released.

Acknowledgment of Foundation aid in the support of research may also be made when the research results are published.

The Foundation requests, however, that in making public references to grants, recipients avoid any implication that the Foundation has any control over the project or any responsibility for its results.

The name of the Foundation should not be used in advertising, especially of books, nor in designating projects, fellowships, laboratories, or buildings toward which it has contributed.

May 9, 1962

Mr. John H. Greenfieldt
Assistant Comptroller
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Greenfieldt:

Our official receipt is enclosed for your check in the amount of $50,000 representing payment in full of the Foundation's 1962 grant to us. We shall, as requested, submit an accounting of expenditures for the year early in 1963.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

OFFICE OF THE COMPTROLLER

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

April 30, 1962

Re: RF 61058

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

In accordance with your request of April 6, we are pleased to enclose our check in the amount of $50,000 representing payment in full for 1962 under the appropriation noted above.

CR
5/2/62
RHA

Sometime after the first of 1963, we shall expect to receive a statement of expenditures for 1962.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Greenfieldt

John H. Greenfieldt
Assistant Comptroller

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FW/rh
Enclosure

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

111 WEST 50TH STREET, NEW YORK 20

6203840

TO

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

VOUCHER No.

DATE April 10, 1962

THE CHECK ENCLOSED IS TENDERED IN FULL PAYMENT OF THE FOLLOWING:

Payment in full for the year 1962 under RF 61058 $50,000.00

Based on Mr. Dunbar's request of April 6, 1962.

FORM 168

NO ACKNOWLEDGMENT REQUIRED. THE CANCELLED CHECK WILL BE REGARDED AS A RECEIPT

June 11, 1962

Miss Flora Rhind
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Miss Rhind:

I thought the enclosed clipping might be of interest to you.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. Wash. Post article of June 10, 1962
"Ala. Negro Colleges Plead: 'Rescue Us'"
by Bob Baker

THE Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

October 9, 1962

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for the copy of the first status report of the Voters Education Project and also for the information about the Southern Regional Council's new research director.

I have read the report with much interest and know that others here will be glad to see it before it goes into the file.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Deputy Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LCD:bah

October 4, 1962

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DeVinney:

I am enclosing a copy of the first status report of the Voters Education Project. I thought you might like to have this for your files.

I think you may be interested to know that we have at last filled our research position. As you may recall, Dr. James Moss helped us during last year on a leave of absence from Union College. We have now made a permanent appointment: Mr. Staige Blackford. Blackford is a graduate of the University of Virginia, a former Rhodes Scholar (Modern History at Queens) and most recently, after some years of writing and editorial work with the CIA, Time-Life, and a couple of encyclopedias, assistant director of the Louisiana State University Press.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

December 12, 1962

Mr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DeVinney:

At our annual meeting, November 19-20, our budget for 1963 was approved. I believe that you indicated in conversation earlier this year that the approved budget would be a suitable supporting submission in applying for renewal of the Foundation's grant. We shall, therefore, be writing to you shortly regarding this; you will, of course, receive a copy of our annual audit early next year when it is completed.

I would like, informally, to raise with you at this time another matter. I don't wish to presume on either your's or the Foundation's time or interest, but, knowing of your already considerable interest in social and political research in this field, particularly at the Universities of North Carolina and Florida, I thought it not amiss to put before you some ideas which we and certain academic social scientists believe might give new dimensions to the study of Negro political behavior. I am writing in a preliminary way, therefore, about a matter we are presently considering.

As you know, the Voter Education Project commits us to a close study of the external and personal causes of low voter registration in the South, and of the success of various organized efforts and methods for curing these.

Although not a direct research commitment, we believe that the Project gives us also an unequalled opportunity to study Negro (and other) organizations, their leadership and their effectiveness.

In gathering our data, we have to date relied on (1) field reports from the participating agencies done--with varying faithfulness--according to prescribed forms; and (2) our own field checks. We are also engaged here in a sizeable effort at precinct analysis and statistical collection. We intend soon to add another person to the Project staff, which will enable us to do much more field observation and independent data gathering, and are thinking seriously of adding still another.

social?

We would like, however, if possible to draw on academic resources, and also to open to academic political scientists the opportunity to study our programs, the situations they are creating, and the motivations they are unearthing.

One of the first things we did last Spring, after the Project was announced, was to convene a group of men from the universities for a two day discussion of the aims and methods of the Project. We wanted them to be informed, and we wanted to have their continuing interest and advice. We had in attendance Professors Cothran (Atlanta), Gomillion (Tuskegee), Holloway (Texas), Matthews and Prothro (North Carolina), Pierce (Alabama State), Spraggins (Virginia Union), Steamer (then of Louisiana State), Strong (Alabama), Thompson (then of Dillard), Vines (Tulane), Henderson (Fisk), and Brazeal (Morehouse).

Last month, during the meeting of the Southern Political Science Association at Gatlinburg, we had an opportunity to renew discussions with Professors Strong, Vines, Holloway, Matthews, Prothro, and also with Alex Heard.

From these discussions has come the thought that our work would be improved, and work going on with the universities enriched, if graduate students could be assigned dissertation topics on aspects of the voter drives. Particular localities or particular problems could be selected in consultation among us, the professor, and his student. We would consult also on the research design, with final decisions here made between professor and student, <u>although</u> individual tailoring of research plans would need to embrace our research needs.

We would assure the student full access to all data pertinent to his study and a vantage point for direct and close observation. The work would be fully under academic direction, but we would have the advantage of drawing on its findings in the development of our own research.

While the last sentence above states our primary interest, there are at least two others. One is that the study of a locality or problem by a qualified student under scholarly direction would relieve our own staff. A second is that the findings quite possibly could benefit us as we make program decisions in the late and vital months of the Project.

We have assumed in the above that the work would be in the form of doctoral dissertations. This seems the safest premise, though we would certainly be agreeable, on recommendation of a professor, to master theses or even, conceivably, seminar term papers on very restricted topics.

Our motive in writing to you stems from the fact that the present V.E.P. budget will not permit the cost that this would entail. I am not, let me add, clear at this point what that cost might be. One might roughly approximate that, at a maximum, a student would need living expenses for three or four months in the locality being studied, funds for perhaps a few trips from his school to the area, and something for materials, data processing, and stenographic services. How many studies could be undertaken is problematical, but I would think we would be lucky if we could get a half-dozen good ones.

The V.E.P. programs seem to us, and evidently to the political and other social scientists with whom we have talked, a rare and fleeting opportunity to deepen political behavior research now going on at several campuses, including, of course, the work at Chapel Hill. In addition to the uniquely organized and heavy activity which they represent, they focus on an aspect of organized political activity which, curiously, has been little studied; i.e. registration, not electoral campaigns. In the South, registration is not a mere ministerial function, but an institutionalized barrier separating the political behavior of those who are already participants in the political process from those who want to be or who others want to be. These programs of V.E.P. would,

we believe, offer to researchers the infrequent opportunity for study of "natural" experiment; a chance of beginning study of an event and its workings before it happens, knowing that it will happen.

I realise full well that you cannot on the basis of a letter as non-specific as this arrive at any judgment as to whether the Foundation would assist. We thought, though, that we would put these ideas before you in their present unclothed shape, and ask that you give us whatever advice you can at this time as to whether they might be something the Foundation could consider. We do, of course, need to do a great deal more consulting with the academic social scientists. (Let me add that we would not care whether funds granted were paid to us or the universities.)

Finally, we would want you to know that we are engaged now in staff discussions leading to a restatement of the research aims and methods of the Voter Education Project; we'll send it to you when complete. I personally don't believe in overmastering research designs, that inhibit you from re-tooling your plans as the material grows. But you have to set your course clearly.

With best wishes for the Season,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
BCC:
Wiley Branton
Donald Matthews

WB
JM
MA-file

THE Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

December 18, 1962

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Your letter of December 12 has arrived while Dr. DeVinney is traveling in Latin America. May I simply acknowledge it in his behalf, therefore, and assure you that it will be brought to his attention upon his return to the office next month.

Sincerely yours,

Betty Heitman

Miss Betty Heitman
Secretary to Dr. DeVinney

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

bah

January 11, 1963

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Deputy Director
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

Belatedly, I have noticed your changed title. I am most happy to extend my congratulations and good wishes.

Sincerely,

LWD/mmj

MA ✓
MJ - file
Rec'd
1/16/63

THE Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

January 15, 1963

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of January 11 and the accompanying good wishes.

We will be expecting your request for renewal toward the end of February when the supporting documents are available and will seek a decision promptly thereafter.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Deputy Director
Humanities and Social Sciences

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LCD:bah

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

file - C.O.

January 11, 1963

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Deputy Director
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

Thank you for the information contained in your letter of January 8. Our annual audit will begin in a week or so, and should be done and processed by February 15. I have taken this date also as a deadline for our annual program report. We shall, therefore, be submitting our request for renewal in late February, when it can be accompanied by the above two documents, as well as our approved budget. Quite truthfully, we prefer doing it this way; I am afraid that I misunderstood you last year, and thought that you preferred receiving the application sooner.

As to the suggestion made in our December 12 letter about voting research, I suppose I should have known that the Foundation did not give direct support to predoctoral studies, and we can well understand your reluctance to consider a second and simultaneous grant to the Council.

I think our voting research would benefit by the kind of academic cooperation outlined

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

in my letter, but the complexity of organizing it is such that I think now we shall not pursue the matter further. The number and variety of programs now going on and to be started afford, I should think, opportunities of considerable interest for social scientists. But I think we shall have to leave it up to them.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

January 8, 1963

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Since returning from Latin America, I have seen your letter of December 12 and discussed it a bit with colleagues here.

With respect to your request for renewal of the Foundation's grant to the Southern Regional Council, it would be useful if we could have in addition to the approved budget for next year at least a summary draft of the report on activities during 1962 and program plans for 1963. As I recall you were able to let us have this last year.

With respect to the question you raise informally concerning the possible interest of the Foundation in assisting the program of studies which the Council hopes to stimulate and assist in connection with the Voter Education Project, I am afraid that I am not able to offer encouragement. The Foundation does not offer direct research support in the social sciences at the predoctoral level and does not feel in a position to consider two simultaneous grants to the Southern Regional Council.

I feel sure, however, that if the Foundation renews its general support grant, it would have no objection to the Council at its own discretion allocating funds to support the research program as you have outlined it. Indeed, there might be some wisdom in the Council's giving serious thought to this possibility since, as you know, the Foundation's grants to the Council are not expected to continue indefinitely, and the Council faces the necessity of building up its continuing budgetary support from other sources.

One source of indirect assistance for the proposed research projects has doubtless already occurred to you; namely, the Social Science Research Council, whose predoctoral and postdoctoral research training fellowships and grants in aid of faculty research might well be drawn on in appropriate instances.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Deputy Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LCD:bah

Free
Foundations
v. Rockefeller Foundation

February 22, 1963

Mr. Leland DeVinney
Deputy Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
42nd Floor
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DeVinney:

This is to place before the officers and Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation a request for renewal of the Foundation's grant to the Southern Regional Council, in the amount of $50,000 for the calendar year 1963.

There is enclosed a copy of our approved budget for 1963. You will note that income and expenditures are forecast at nearly the same levels as for 1962, except for the inclusion of the Voter Education Project. The Foundation's assistance has been indispensable to us in meeting our budget the past two years, and we are hopeful that you will think our program continues to justify your confidence.

Also enclosed is a copy of our auditor's Financial Statement, taken from the complete year-end audit for 1962. As you will see from examination of it, income and expenditures were in balance, and both were in keeping with 1962 budgeted amounts.

A third enclosure is my Annual Report of program activities. As you are aware, during the past year we were heavily engaged in establishing the Voter Education Project. There was no diminution of other activities and demands, however, which, if anything, increased. The Annual Report will give you, we trust, a sense of the complexity and the pace of our work during 1962.

Developments in our region and our field of interest have never before moved as rapidly as they now do. We believe that it is only prudent to anticipate that, as desegregation enters the Black Belt areas, there are ahead days of severe tenseness. At the same time, in the urban middle and upper South, the pattern is one of change, consolidation of gains, and more change, in an almost incessant sequence. The South is no longer solid in any sense.

The consequence for an organization such as ours is that program needs and opportunities multiply, diversify, and become always more exacting. To suggest by examples something of this complexity, we have already in 1962 invested considerable staff time in helping as yet unpublicized save-our-schools groups in Birmingham, Jackson, and Mobile; have spent much time planning with the American Civil Liberties Union efforts to alert the bar of the Deep South to its responsibilities in cases against unpopular defendants; and have in hand a lengthy and detailed manuscript on the economic status and prospects of Negro Southerners.

We believe you will be interested to know that we shall undertake this year a thorough review of our programs. Any organization needs from time to time to re-examine itself systematically, and one working in our fluid field especially needs to do so. The review and evaluation we plan will lay down lines of work and development for the next two to four years. The study is to be submitted for approval to the next Annual Meeting, in November 1963.

We hope that you will ask from us any additional information or supporting data you may require, as regards either our program or our finances.

On behalf of the Council, I wish to convey our gratitude to you and the other Officers, and to the Trustees, for the generous support given us in the past.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures: 1963 Approved Budget
Financial Statement
1962 Annual Report
Also ICMA Report

February 22, 1963

Mr. Leland DeVinney
Deputy Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
42nd Floor
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DeVinney:

We are sending you, under separate cover, our request for renewal of the Foundation's grant to the Council. I hope that you will let me know if any additional documentation would aid you in its consideration.

I believe that I do not need to tell you how satisfying to us has been the support and confidence of the Foundation. I hope that you will call on us whenever we may be of service, and that we may look forward to a visit from you some time. We would be happy to have you

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

bc: Mr. David F. Freeman

February 22, 1963

Mr. Leland DeVinney
Deputy Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
42nd Floor
New York, New York

Dear Mr. DeVinney:

This is to place before the officers and Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation a request for renewal of the Foundation's grant to the Southern Regional Council, in the amount of $50,000 for the calendar year 1963.

There is enclosed a copy of our approved budget for 1963. You will note that income and expenditures are forecast at nearly the same levels as for 1962, except for the inclusion of the Voter Education Project. The Foundation's assistance has been indispensable to us in meeting our budget the past two years, and we are hopeful that you will think our program continues to justify your confidence.

Also enclosed is a copy of our auditor's Financial Statement, taken from the complete year-end audit for 1962. As you will see from examination of it, income and expenditures were in balance, and both were in keeping with 1962 budgeted amounts.

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Developments in our region and our field of interest have never before moved as rapidly as they now do. We believe that it is only prudent to anticipate that, as desegregation enters the Black Belt areas, there are ahead days of severe tenseness. At the same time, in the urban middle and upper South, the pattern is one of change, consolidation of gains, and more change, in an almost incessant sequence. The South is no longer solid in any sense.

The consequence for an organization such as ours is that program needs and opportunities multiply, diversify, and become always more exacting. To suggest by examples something of this complexity, we have already in 1963 invested considerable staff time in helping as yet unpublicized save-our-schools groups in Birmingham, Jackson, and Mobile; have spent much time planning with the American Civil Liberties Union efforts to alert the bar of the Deep South to its responsibilities in cases against unpopular defendants; and have in hand a lengthy and detailed manuscript on the economic status and prospects of Negro Southerners.

We believe you will be interested to know that we shall undertake this year a thorough review of our programs. Any organization needs from time to time to re-examine itself systematically, and one working in our fluid field especially needs to do so. The review and evaluation we plan will lay down lines of work and development for the next two to four years. The study is to be submitted for approval to the next Annual Meeting, in November 1963.

We hope that you will ask from us any additional information or supporting data you may require, as regards either our program or our finances.

On behalf of the Council, I wish to convey our gratitude to you and the other Officers, and to the Trustees, for the generous support given us in the past.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures: 1963 Approved Budget
Financial Statement
1962 Annual Report
also ICMA Report

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

February 26, 1963

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 22 and for the thoughtful appended note concerning Howard Zinn, about whom we had inquired with you. We have also just received reprints of his Albany studies.

Your comments are very helpful, and I know that my colleagues and I will keep Professor Zinn in mind when we hear of positions abroad for which he might qualify.

Yours sincerely,

Gerald Freund

Gerald Freund
Assistant Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

GF/df

February 22, 1963

Mr. Gerald Freund
Assistant Director
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Freund:

I have your inquiry about Howard Zinn, for whom I have admiration and respect.

I honestly think Zinn would be extremely good for such an assignment as you mention. I have seen him in association with his students at Spelman, and have been struck by the clear manifestations of mutual regard. He has, as you probably know, a strong interest in non-western culture. His training was in American history chiefly, and he still considers this his field. But he has given a number of years of study, in summers and on leave, to developing a mastery of Russian, Chinese materials, and is deeply engrossed in these studies. I might add that his conversation almost always reveals an underlying and basic curiosity about the philosophy of history.

Zinn has worked for us, as perhaps you know, and I am sending under separate cover his two reports about Albany, the second of which caused a good bit of stir. He has a gift for polemical

writing, and a pretty passionate -- though controlled -- commitment to certain humane values. I think that essentially he is -- or has become -- almost radically a political.

He is quiet, always courteous, and always sensitive to individual feelings and needs. He has a very charming wife, I think, and two interesting and attractive children: a daughter who is about 14 or so (a most talented actress: she starred a couple months ago in the "Diary of Anne Frank" when produced by Atlanta's largest amateur theatre) and a son of 13. They are a closely knit and strong family.

I am, in short, very happy to recommend Howard to you.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

RECEIVED
FEB 12 1963

February 11, 1963

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I am writing to inquire about Professor Howard Zinn, Chairman of the Department of History at Spelman College in Atlanta.

We have had several recent applications for assistance from Professor Zinn, but his projects have not been of a kind that permit us to help him. Nevertheless, my colleagues and I would like to learn more about Professor Zinn and are therefore turning to you for a judgment. In particular, would you consider Professor Zinn to be suitable, by dint of his background, training, and personality, for a teaching post at a university in a developing country?

Your judgments concerning his character and abilities would be very highly valued by the Foundation officers.

2/12/62

I hope that in making this inquiry I am not imposing on your time. Your reply would, of course, be treated in strictest confidence.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Gerald Freund df

Gerald Freund
Assistant Director

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

GF/df

March 11, 1963

Miss Flora M. Rhind
Secretary
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Miss Rhind:

On behalf of the Council I acknowledge your letter of March 4, 1963 informing us that the Officers of The Rockefeller Foundation have granted $50,000.00 for use toward our general expenses during 1963.

We are deeply grateful to you, the other Officers, and the Trustees of the Foundation for this renewal of your support.

If convenient, we request that payment of the grant be made now.

I would like to add a personal note of appreciation for this renewed assistance. It means a great deal to us, and to me, to have the goodwill of the Foundation, and to have had the pleasure of working with you, Dr. DeVinney, and others.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Dr. Leland DeVinney
BC: Joe Wilkins

THE Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
Flora M. Rhind, Secretary
Janet M. Paine, Assistant Secretary

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

March 4, 1963

In reply please quote: RF 61058

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I am glad to be able to inform you that, under authority given to them by our Trustees, the officers of The Rockefeller Foundation have taken action to make available to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., the sum of $50,000, or as much thereof as may be necessary, for use toward the general expenses of the Council during the calendar year 1963. Payment on this grant will be made upon request from you. At the end of the calendar year, please send us a statement of receipts and expenditures. Any balance of the grant unexpended on December 31, 1963, will revert to the Foundation.

While the action reported above is limited to assistance during a one-year period, the officers of the Foundation are prepared to consider renewal of this support on an annual basis for an additional two-year period. Recommendation for such renewal would be based on a review of the Council's program toward the end of each calendar year. We should appreciate being notified in the event of any change in the tax-exempt status of the Council during the period of this grant.

A brief public announcement of our grant will be made in the next quarterly report of the Foundation. There is, however, no objection on our part to your announcement of the grant prior to the Foundation's report if for any reason it appears to you desirable. In this connection I am enclosing, as a matter of routine, a printed statement of the Rockefeller Foundation policy regarding the announcement of grants.

It is a pleasure to report this action to you.

Sincerely yours,

Flora M. Rhind

Secretary

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

Policy with Respect to Announcement of Grants

The Rockefeller Foundation records its grants in an *Annual Report*, and in *Rockefeller Foundation Grants*, issued quarterly, in which brief reports of grants are published soon after they have been made.

The Foundation is always glad to have its reports supplemented through announcements issued locally by recipients at the time the award is made. Only if the announcement involves an interpretation of the Foundation's purpose in making the grant, do the officers of the Foundation request that they be given the opportunity of seeing the statement before it is released.

Acknowledgment of Foundation aid in the support of research may also be made when the research results are published.

The Foundation requests, however, that in making public references to grants, recipients avoid any implication that the Foundation has any control over the project or any responsibility for its results.

The name of the Foundation should not be used in advertising, especially of books, nor in designating projects, fellowships, laboratories, or buildings toward which it has contributed.

April 16, 1963

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Gentlemen:

This will acknowledge receipt of the $50,000. check from the Rockefeller Foundation on March 22, 1963, toward the general expenses of the Council for the calendar year 1963.

The Council's official receipt is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs
Enclosure

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

111 WEST 50TH STREET NEW YORK 20

TO

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

VOUCHER No. 6302887

DATE March 18, 1963

THE CHECK ENCLOSED IS TENDERED IN FULL PAYMENT OF THE FOLLOWING:

For use toward the general expenses of the Council during the calendar year 1963 under RF 61058 per your request of March 11, 1963. . . . . .$50,000.00

CR
3/25/63
RHA

FORM 168

NO ACKNOWLEDGMENT REQUIRED. THE CANCELLED CHECK WILL BE REGARDED AS A RECEIPT.

THE Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

Humanities and
Social Sciences

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

August 8, 1963

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for sending me the piece by Ralph McGill about the Southern Regional Council. It is an excellent statement which I am glad to be able to bring to the attention of my colleagues and to add to our file on the Council.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Deputy Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LCD:bah

See p. 35: B. G. Thurston

N. Y. Times file

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1963. 45 L+

ROCKEFELLER FUND REVISES PROGRAM

Problems of Population Rise and Racial Adjustment to Be Emphasized

CHANGING NEEDS CITED

Foundation Trustees Decide to Alter Long Policy of Aiding Science

Problems arising out of the growth of population and the demands for racial equality have led the Rockefeller Foundation to adopt a new emphasis in making its multimillion-dollar grants.

The foundation's trustees announced yesterday that the foundation would concentrate its efforts "during the foreseeable future in five areas of pressing need."

They said that these areas would be toward the conquest of hunger, population control, equal educational opportunities for America's "disadvantaged citizens," strengthening the emerging centers of learning abroad, and broadening America's cultural life.

In the 50 years of the foundation's existence, it has concentrated for the most part on furthering medical and scientific research and public health. The trustees said they had decided on the new program after a yearlong review of the foundation's accomplishments and policies since its establishment by John D. Rockefeller.

Improve Racial Relations

The trustees' statement indicated that an important goal would be the improvement of relations "between Negro and white citizens."

Since its initial endowment of $35,000,000, the Rockefeller Foundation has spent more than $763,000,000. The trustees said that the funds had been spent "to support the inspired and dedicated efforts of talented and learned men and women in their determined endeavor to improve the lot of their fellow men."

A spokesman said last night

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A spokesman said last night that the foundation now had a capital fund of some $500,000,000. He said that on the basis of past experience not less than $30,000,000 a year would be spent on the new program.

Commenting on the scope of the program, the trustees said that while it was impossible "to lay out a detailed blueprint," it was possible "to establish priorities among current human requirements."

The trustees pointed out that "about half of the human beings on earth have an inadequate diet, and millions live constantly on the edge of starvation."

Population Problem

On the population problem, the trustees observed that "within 40 years there may be twice as many human beings living on the earth as there are today." They continued:

"In the belief that an urgent need exists to stabilize world population and thus prevent the eventual condemnation of millions of citizens to lives of underprivilege, misery and hopelessness, the foundation expects to expand its support of critical research and of action programs in population dynamics and population stabilization."

On the subject of "equal opportunity for all," the trustees said:

"Today our country is in a new phase of adjustment between Negro and white citizens in our population. In our judgment, the best contribution this foundation can make is to carry forward efforts to give increasing numbers of our disadvantaged citizens better educational opportunities to enable them to develop their full potential and to take their rightful place in society."

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

Les —
F.Y.I.
file

Vernon

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

ROCKEFELLER FUND REVISES PROGRAM

Problems of Population Rise and Racial Adjustment to Be Emphasized

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Peace Foundations - Rockefeller Foundation

February 25, 1964

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Deputy Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

I am enclosing a copy of a manual we have prepared which I thought you might like to have for your files. This has not been given a general circulation; indeed, we are being rather careful as to who receives it. It was intended solely as a manual for ad hoc and other lay groups.

Our audit and my annual report are both in final stages. As soon as they are completed, I would like to put before you our request for renewal of the Foundation's grant to us. This should be within the next two to three weeks.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Transition Without Tragedy)

TAV
MJ file

THE Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

Humanities and
Social Sciences

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

March 9, 1964

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for the copy of the Southern Regional Council's manual, "Transition Without Tragedy." I was interested to see this and am glad to have it for our files.

We will be looking forward to seeing your annual report and request for renewal of the Foundation's grant.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Deputy Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

LCD:bah

Rec'd 3/31/64

The Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

Foundations
Rockefeller Fd.

File

March 30, 1964

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

This is a belated acknowledgment of your letter of March 17 and the enclosed book of materials about the Council and its work. Since returning to New York last week I have examined these with much interest and shall bring them to the attention of colleagues.

We are initiating action on the renewal of the grant for 1964 and will be in touch with you as soon as final decision has been reached.

At present I am tentatively scheduled to be traveling outside New York during the week of April 13. However, if you find yourself with any uncommitted time, you might call the office to learn if there has been a change in my plans. If I am here I would be glad to see you. In any case, I hope sometime to have an opportunity to visit you again in Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Deputy Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
30303

LCD:bah

File: Foundations

March 17, 1964

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Deputy Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
42nd Floor
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

This is to place before the Officers and Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation a request for renewal of their grant to the Council's general support, in the amount of $50,000 for the year 1964.

The enclosed book of materials is submitted in support of this request. I believe that you will recognize that it has been prepared primarily for the purpose of acquainting possible new grantors with the work of the Council. We decided, however, to submit it to you also for two reasons. The first is that it does emphasize the institutional core of the Council, which the Rockefeller Foundation has done so much to sustain. Secondly, it is our surmise that you would be interested to have this knowledge of our fund-raising efforts.

The book does also, of course, include the pertinent documents, such as budget, financial statement, and annual report, that you would wish in considering our request.

The emphasis on the Council as an institution making possible versatile programs becomes increasingly apt. At the present and for the next three to six months, for example, we are giving our highest program priority to a project which originated in an urgent plea from a high federal government source. The probable passage of the civil rights bill, especially its public accommodations title, will confront the South with another massive challenge to obey federal law. It is most desirable, indeed necessary, that every possible influence be brought to bear in behalf of orderly, even good spirited, compliance. We have been asked not only to do our own part here, but to coordinate the field work and the publications of other private agencies carrying on human relations programs in the South, and to effect liaison with local ad hoc groups throughout the region, where they exist and where they may be organized, with similar purposes.

We think it fair to say that only because of the Council's resources of staff, consultants, and experience, and because of the confidence the other agencies have in us, would we be acceptable to them in this role. The same reasons, basically, make it possible for federal offices to work closely with us.

With enclosures so bulky, I think it would be inappropriate for us to expand further in this letter of request. I do, however, call to your attention a separate enclosure -- "A Program Review and Evaluation" -- which represents the self-examination we underwent last year. We thought you would like to know that this was done.

I am planning to be in New York for much of the week of April 13. If you would like to discuss this submission or other matters, I would be more than glad to come by your office.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Fund Raising Notebook describing Src activities et al.
"Program Review..."

File: Foreign Relations: Rockefeller Foundation, 1964

April 21, 1964

Miss Flora Rhind
Secretary
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Miss Rhind:

On behalf of the Council I would like to acknowledge our deep gratitude to the Trustees and Officers of the Foundation for renewal of its grant to us in the amount of $50,000 for the year 1964.

You know without words that could only be redundant at this time how important to us is this assistance from the Rockefeller Foundation.

If convenient, we would appreciate receiving payment now.

I do hope that you are well, and that we may see you this way again in the near future.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 4/10/64

THE Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
Flora M. Rhind, Secretary
Janet M. Paine, Assistant Secretary
J. Kellum Smith, Jr., Assistant Secretary

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

LD

In reply please quote: RF 61058

April 7, 1964

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I am glad to be able to inform you that, under authority given to them by our Trustees, the officers of The Rockefeller Foundation have taken action to make available to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., the sum of $50,000, or as much thereof as may be necessary, for use toward the general expenses of the Council during the calendar year 1964. Payment on this grant will be made upon request from you. At the end of the calendar year, please send us a statement of receipts and expenditures. Any balance of the grant unexpended on December 31, 1964, will revert to the Foundation.

While the action reported above is limited to assistance during a one-year period, the officers of the Foundation are prepared to consider renewal of this support on an annual basis for an additional one-year period. Recommendation for such renewal would be based on a review of the Council's program toward the end of each calendar year. We should appreciate being notified in the event of any change in the tax-exempt status of the Council during the period of this grant.

A brief public announcement of our grant will be made in the next quarterly report of the Foundation. There is, however, no objection on our part to your announcement of the grant prior to the Foundation's report if for any reason it appears to you desirable. In this connection I am enclosing, as a matter of routine, a printed statement of the Rockefeller Foundation policy regarding the announcement of grants.

It is a pleasure to report this action to you.

Sincerely yours,

Flora M. Rhind

Secretary

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Enclosure

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

Policy with Respect to Announcement of Grants

The Rockefeller Foundation records its grants in an *Annual Report*, and in *Rockefeller Foundation Grants*, issued quarterly, in which brief reports of grants are published soon after they have been made.

The Foundation is always glad to have its reports supplemented through announcements issued locally by recipients at the time the award is made. Only if the announcement involves an interpretation of the Foundation's purpose in making the grant, do the officers of the Foundation request that they be given the opportunity of seeing the statement before it is released.

Acknowledgment of Foundation aid in the support of research may also be made when the research results are published.

The Foundation requests, however, that in making public references to grants, recipients avoid any implication that the Foundation has any control over the project or any responsibility for its results.

The name of the Foundation should not be used in advertising, especially of books, nor in designating projects, fellowships, laboratories, or buildings toward which it has contributed.

File: Foundations: Rockefeller Foundation 1964

April 21, 1964

Mr. John H. Greenfieldt
Assistant Comptroller
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Greenfieldt:

I have your letter of April 13. The explanation is that the two schedules include different elements.

The schedule of contributions received comprises all grants actually received for general operations during 1963. Two of them -- those from Field and Chace -- were advance payments of 1964 grants. Subtracting these from the $141,500 total would leave a sum of $111,500 received during 1963 for 1963 use.

The schedule of income and expenses for 1963 general operations comprises all grants available for use during that year. Included in the total are the following:

--the Field grant of $25,000 <u>for</u> 1963, but <u>received</u> in 1962;

--the remainder of the old Fund for the Republic grant, received a number of years ago, and amounting as December 1, 1963 to $3,472.72 (this sum, incidentally, represents our operating cushion).

These two items of 1963 income, added to the $111,500 noted above, give the reported income figure of $139,972.72.

I hope this clarifies the matter. But if not, please let me know.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

OFFICE OF THE COMPTROLLER

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

April 13, 1964

RF 61058

Rec'd 4/15

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

In reviewing the financial statements submitted for the year 1963 which accompanied your letter of March 17, we have noted a minor discrepancy.

The contributions listed under your statement of income and expenses - general operations, as received from Foundations, are $139,972.72. Under the "schedule of contributions received - general operations" the contributions from Foundations are listed as $141,500. May we have your explanation.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Greenfieldt

John H. Greenfieldt
Assistant Comptroller

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FW:lr

File
Foundations:
Rockefeller Foation

April 21, 1964

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Deputy Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
42nd Floor
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

I greatly enjoyed our conversation together last week. Some of the questions you raised with me regarding the National Urban League persuade me to send you the enclosure, for whatever interest it may be. These are notes written to myself, and as you can see are unfinished.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

THE Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

Humanities and
Social Sciences

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

April 23, 1964

File

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for the notes which have just come to my desk. I am taking them along to read on a plane and appreciate your sending them.

I enjoyed our talk the other day.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Deputy Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

LCD/bah
(Dictated by Dr. DeVinney;
signed in his absence.)

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION: HOW IT OPERATES

BY GREER WILLIAMS

Sandra: file
Be sure not to put this in Rockefeller Bros. Fund

(*Reprinted from the Atlantic Monthly, April 1964*)

With the compliments of

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

111 WEST 50TH STREET, NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

THE ATLANTIC EXTRA

The Rockefeller Foundation

How It Operates

BY GREER WILLIAMS

Now staff science writer for the Rockefeller Foundation, GREER WILLIAMS *was Assistant Director of the Children's Hospital Medical Center in Boston, and previous to that he served for five years as Director of Information for the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health. He was the editor of the Commission's report to Congress,* ACTION FOR MENTAL HEALTH, *published in book form by Basic Books, and is the author of* VIRUS HUNTERS *and numerous magazine articles on scientific and medical subjects.*

AN EVALUATION of the Rockefeller Foundation, as of any institution, must grapple with these four questions: What is the purpose? How important is it? Has the purpose been achieved? What does this experience foretell, if anything, of things to come?

In the last fifty-one years, the Rockefeller Foundation has appropriated a net total of $797,478,928.36. This amount, averaging about $15.6 million a year, is nearly equal to John D. Rockefeller's entire fortune in 1913 at the time he established the Foundation, sixteen years after his retirement as active head of the Standard Oil Company. By any philanthropic standard, it is an impressive sum for one self-made man to provide to combat disease, hunger, and ignorance, to advance basic and applied science, and to enrich the human spirit — in short, as the Foundation's charter states, "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world."

When we use the best estimates available, it appears that the dollar volume of private philanthropy in the United States has increased more than fortyfold in the last half century. In 1962, American citizens voluntarily gave $9.3 billion for charitable purposes, of which 51 percent was given for religion; of the total amount, around $700 million, or 7.5 percent, came from foundations, and three tenths of one percent ($29.4 million) from the Rockefeller Foundation. American foundations, comprising a few dozen at the time the Rockefeller began, now have multiplied to fifteen thousand. The Ford Foundation is the largest; over the last ten years, it has granted $1.78 billion, or $178 million a year. Meantime, the federal government appropriation for medical and health-related research for 1962 alone rose to $1 billion, with the annual total for all forms of government-supported research amounting to nearly $15 billion.

In the face of this comparison, it is apparent that no single foundation is in a position to raise the level of the ocean or shoot for the moon with its money. Contrary to a prevalent notion that foundations have more money than they know what to do with, they perennially find themselves trying to spend a little where it will do a lot of good. Acceptance of this last fact lends weight to a contradictory current of opinion: Since the rise of government big-spending programs in the areas of what some call public philanthropy and others lump under the term welfare state, it has become fashionable to say that anything a foundation can do, the government can do better — bigger and therefore better. Have private foundations outlived their usefulness? Have they lost the pioneer spirit or run out of frontiers?

Photograph: John D. Rockefeller III, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and Dr. J. George Harrar at the Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration.

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Do they deserve their tax exemption? What in plain fact *is* their place in society today?

The Rockefeller Foundation was one of the earliest in the field of organized philanthropy, and until the rise of the Ford a decade ago, was the largest. After half a century of giving, it should be instructive to penetrate the curtain of reticence that has guarded the older Foundation from general scrutiny.

MONEY AND MISSIONS

Historians regard Rockefeller's colossal fortune as largely an accident — the product of the discovery of petroleum, followed by the worldwide demand for kerosene for lamps, grease for machinery, and, later, gasoline for automobiles; of the man's genius for organization (or, as he explained it, "association with the right people"); and of an opportunity for monopoly in a period when it was unregulated by law. Rockefeller, from the time he became a Cleveland commission broker at the age of nineteen, had a profit-sharp eye and the typical young-American urge to do "something big"; he certainly did it when he put together the Standard Oil Company.

Rockefeller was worth around $900 million at his peak. He gave something like $550 million to charity before he died in 1937, at ninety-seven, leaving most of the remainder to his only son, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who before his death in 1960, at eighty-six, gave $400 million. This philanthropy was not motivated by tax avoidance; much of the elder Rockefeller's giving was planned and consummated while a federal income tax was still regarded as unconstitutional and family fortunes could be passed on intact.

Rockefeller put $100 million into the Foundation in its first year and ultimately increased its endowment to $242 million. These original assets, with good management and good luck, produced something in the order of $1.1 billion in increased market values and annual earnings, leaving current assets of more than $740 million.

Although this sharing of wealth had deep roots in Christian charity, the Foundation represents a splitting off of secular humanitarianism from the religious crusade of the early twentieth century. It never has interested itself in religion, except to avoid giving offense. Rockefeller, himself a close-communion Baptist, once said he derived his philosophy of life from "The Use of Money," a famous sermon by John Wesley, a founder of Methodism. Said Wesley: "Gain all you can, save all you can, give all you can." One historian speculated that Rockefeller's dual roles of taking and giving "were completely separate and completely unconscious" and "a beautiful example of the typical American split personality" in business and charity. The split seems less baffling perhaps when one recognizes that success in either must contribute to the individual's sense of power and self-esteem. Actually, Rockefeller's habit of charity began when he was sixteen with his first job as a bookkeeper — a fact generally ignored by the Ida Tarbells and other muckrakers who called his money tainted.

The Foundation's compassion for people in distant places was a logical outcome of Rockefeller's early associations with the many Baptist missionaries who came to him for money to help save the souls of the "poor heathen Chinee" and others. He gave them hundreds of thousands of dollars in scattered amounts before 1891, when he called in Frederick T. Gates, a former Baptist minister, to become "the guiding genius in all our giving."

Gates found Rockefeller suffering from a nervous stomach, losing his hair, and seemingly operating a mission for missionaries at his New York home, 4 West Fifty-fourth Street, and his office at 26 Broadway. Said Rockefeller: "The good people who wanted me to help them with their good work seemed to come in crowds. They brought their trunks and lived with me. I was glad to see them, too. . . . So they talked to me at the breakfast table and they rode downtown with me. . . . When I left my office in the evening they were waiting to ride home with me. At dinner they talked to me, and after dinner — "

"We cut off every one of these private missionary appeals," said Gates. Nevertheless, the foreign missions, with their secondary interests in clinics, hospitals, and schools — it is difficult to make a Christian of a sick man or one who cannot read the Bible — may be counted as the first of five experiments in giving culminating in the Rockefeller Foundation as a distinctive entity.

Rockefeller's second large-scale adventure in giving was the founding in 1890 of the University of Chicago, originally proposed by Gates as a Baptist university. Rockefeller began with a $600,000 gift, but by 1910 he had given the university $35 million and had enticed $7 million from others. Two of his practices are evident here — pump priming, as he called small beginnings toward large objectives, and his insistence on matching gifts. As he became more clear in this principle now described as participation and involvement, he sometimes got three dollars for his one.

The third step rose out of Gates's conclusion that medicine would produce more cures (there were not many then) if it could concentrate more on research. The Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research was founded in 1901, in the pattern of the Pasteur and Koch institutes in France and Germany. Like the University of Chicago, it became a leader in its field. In recent years its famous labora-

tories have been reorganized as a graduate university.

The fourth great experiment was the General Education Board, chartered by Congress for "the promotion of education within the United States of America, without distinction of race, sex, or creed." It was incorporated in 1903, largely on the initiative of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who had graduated from Brown in 1897 and gone to work in his father's office "to help him in any way I could." Old Gates, a fierce, heavily mustached enthusiast with a thundering voice, and the quiet, conscientious young man made an excellent team. "Gates did the heavy thinking, and my part was to sell his ideas to Father," the son recalled.

The motivating force of the General Education Board was education of the Southern Negro, following in the steps of the earlier Peabody Education Fund. However, the founders recognized that if they were to avoid resentment and gain ground, they could not discriminate against white people for whom the need was also great. At that time there were no public high schools in the South. The board decided that the best way to get at this problem was to establish professors of secondary education in Southern colleges to act as high school promoters. Within ten years, the South had more than twelve hundred tax-supported high schools. Ironically, the program gave impetus to the "separate but equal" doctrine; to obtain public schools of any kind for Negroes, it was necessary to provide them for whites, too. Nobody talked integration then.

When the General Education Board faded into the background of the Foundation many years later, it, by itself, had expended $324 million on the strengthening of American universities, colleges, and medical schools, white and Negro, as well as on public education.

The fifth venture and immediate precursor of the Foundation was the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission, organized in 1909 and reconstituted in 1914 as the International Health Commission of the Rockefeller Foundation. Under the leadership of Wickliffe Rose, a professor of philosophy, with a high collar, bow tie, and pince-nez, from Peabody College in Nashville, Tennessee, the Sanitary Commission assembled a group of health-minded physicians and conducted a dramatic demonstration campaign against hookworm disease in the South. This effort, costing only $800,000, laid the groundwork for the Foundation's earliest contribution, to be described later.

Frederick Gates, often pictured as in a state of alarm at Rockefeller's accumulation of wealth faster than methods could be devised for giving it away intelligently, is credited with having the grand inspiration. The Foundation, established in 1913, actually was conceived in 1909. The delay was not due to any indecision on the founder's part, though he always was methodical in examining proposals. He came, with Gates's encouragement, to the conclusion that he wanted a large foundation of international scope, devoted to the broad purpose of seeking out social evils and remedying their causes, either through its own efforts or through gifts to outstanding people who seemed to be on the right track. He cared little for pet charities. He did not wish to undertake more traditional philanthropies, such as feeding the poor or helping disaster victims. He wanted to start reforms that the public would take responsibility for and pursue at its own expense. He wanted to place a capital fund under the control of an independent board of trustees, eminent persons such as Charles W. Eliot, Charles Evans Hughes, Owen D. Young, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, Dr. Thomas Parran, Douglas Southall Freeman, and Karl T. Compton, to name a few among the ninety who have served in this capacity. The board could dispose of principal and income as it saw fit, for, Rockefeller said, "perpetuity is a pretty long time," and the dead hand of the donor should not attempt to write the future.

The Rockefellers, father and son, saw that proposals could not be investigated and evaluated in a businesslike manner without the help of program directors and field staff knowledgeable in the fields involved. That other great architect of broad-purpose philanthropy, Andrew Carnegie, was already on the move with five different foundations, but Carnegie held his interests close and ran them personally. The three most original aspects of the Rockefeller Foundation were its world-mindedness, its detachment, and its delegation of authority to experts, first conceived as special boards or commissions but ultimately formed into a centralized staff. This was the origin of professional management of foundations, an outcome of the elder Rockefeller's longtime devotion to detail, his desire in later life not to be bothered with it himself, and finally his son's talent for inspiring cooperative effort without dominating it. Over a fifty-year period, the Foundation has employed a total of about seven hundred on its operating staff.

Congress had chartered the General Education Board, and it was Rockefeller's intent that the Foundation, too, would exist at Congress' pleasure, as an ultimate check on any future misuse of funds. The Rockefeller group tried without success for four years to get such a federal bill passed before settling for incorporation in New York State. The antitrust suit against Standard Oil was still fresh in the public mind, and the company was then fighting the dissolution ordered by the federal courts. The old image of the robber baron came alive again, and President Taft suspected a scheme to perpetuate the

vast combination of wealth that the government had been trying to break up.

The Taft Administration declared the Foundation to be not in the public interest. Said Rockefeller: "Sometimes things are said about me that are cruel and they hurt. But I am never a pessimist. I never despair. I believe in man and the brotherhood of man and am confident that everything will come out for the good of all in the end."

It was prophetic that the New York State legislature's chartering of the Rockefeller Foundation, on May 14, 1913, passed almost without notice by the press. The Foundation has done a fair job of staying out of the public eye ever since.

MOUNTAIN PEAKS

What has private philanthropy, taking the Rockefeller Foundation as the case in point, contributed to mankind's well-being? The fifty years from 1913 to 1963 was a period distinguished by two world wars, the largest pandemic of all time (1918 influenza), a great economic depression, the Communist, Fascist, and Nazi revolutions, any number of civil and guerrilla wars, genocide, purges, race riots, brainwashing, and antihumanitarian and anti-intellectual activity probably unsurpassed in total volume in all previous history. It also has been a period of fantastic scientific and technological and of some social progress, even though few utopians now survive. Many persons today are sufficiently realistic to agree with Gerard Piel that we are subjects of a "mindless power system." In the disorganized advance of civilization, the solution of any one problem produces at least one more to be solved. It would be impossible to list the tens of thousands of bets, small and large, that the Foundation has placed on human progress. It is possible, however, to sketch in certain mountain-peak contributions looming above the clouds.

The most dramatic and tangible of the Foundation's achievements lies in the improvement of people's health. As a matter of fact, Rose, who became director of the International Health Commission (later called Division), and Gates began with the oversimple conviction that disease was at the bottom of human poverty, hunger, and ignorance. In the American South, for example, the vicious circle seemed clear enough. The General Education Board saw that it was difficult to educate backward people before increasing their capacity to earn a living and pay taxes. On the other hand, it was difficult to make good workers of the sick and the dying. And to improve health the thing most needed was public education!

Hookworm disease was a good place to start breaking the circle. It was then the most prevalent disease in the South, affecting from 30 to 90 percent of local populations surveyed. The disease, caused by a bloodsucking intestinal parasite that entered the body through the soles of the feet, left its victims stunted in growth, anemic, and too tired to work. It was a most inelegant disease, being diagnosed by examination of fecal specimens, treated with oral doses of vermifuges and Epsom salts, and prevented by inducing people to build and use sanitary privies and to wear shoes.

Beginning in the South with hookworm disease, and then extending the attack to malaria and yellow fever and increasing its field to all tropical countries, the Rockefeller Foundation concentrated the bulk of its resources in the early years on public health and medical education. The object was not merely to fight this disease or that, but to use each campaign as a means of creating permanent rural public health services. This meant persuading state and county governments to appropriate tax money for health. It was a revolutionary undertaking, inasmuch as local health departments in those days were generally confined to cities; the United States Public Health Service had only just come into being (1912) and was as yet underfinanced and undermanned; and there was no world health organization at work in disease prevention except the International Health Division itself. As it gathered momentum, the I.H.D. employed as many as seventy public health officers, sanitary engineers, entomologists, and public health nurses and dispatched them into rural America, Latin America, the Far East, Southern Europe, and Africa to conduct surveys and control programs.

The I.H.D. established its own training schools in Alabama and Georgia and its own research laboratory in New York City. It threw the weight of Rockefeller millions into the founding of the first and second schools of hygiene and public health, at Johns Hopkins and Harvard, and subsequently helped similar schools throughout the world. The Foundation then sent young doctors to these schools for modern training.

Every authoritative history of public health in the United States gives credit to the Rockefeller Foundation as an active partner in the establishment of the nation's full-time county health officer system. The Sanitary Commission was an important source of rural public health funds, and beginning in 1916, the Foundation became a major contributor to county health budgets, and remained so for many years after federal, state, and county health monies had started to flow. Statistics tell the story. From 1908 to 1933 the number of counties with full-time health officers increased from one to six hundred. During the same period, the nation's overall death rate was reduced 25 percent.

This was a classic example of what a little pump priming, private initiative, and aroused public

interest could bring about. It involved more than just a rich man's largesse or just tax money; it was also a matter of finding the right people to get things started and set a good example. Rose and the dedicated young doctors that he hired for $1800 to $2500 a year were as practical as they were inspired. He told them to preach public health but keep the Foundation in the background, to let state health departments take the lead, and to go only where they were invited and where local funds were forthcoming. If an agreement was reached, the Foundation man became the county health officer, on assignment by the state. The usual budget for a county health unit for the first year was $10,000, split fifty-fifty between Rockefeller and the local taxpayers. The Foundation grant was cut in half in each subsequent year until, in the fifth year, the county found itself operating a county health office on its own. This weaning process was a bit painful to county boards hopeful of getting something for nothing, but no community gave up its health office after witnessing the decline in hookworm disease, malaria, dysentery, typhoid fever, and undernourishment of babies. This system, defined as "helping people help themselves," proved far more effective than the type of model demonstration program done with a federal grant by an expert team from outside, at no cost to the community, because the latter approach encourages neither local responsibility nor a permanent organization.

When the Foundation brought its International Health Division to an end in 1951 after thirty-seven years' operation at a cost of $94 million, the public health gains of Foundation-government partnerships were obvious. The world had become health-minded. Death rates from infectious diseases had declined almost everywhere. Malaria had disappeared from the southern United States and from some areas of the world where the Foundation had done effective work, though it still took its toll elsewhere. Yellow fever had ceased to be a human problem, thanks ultimately to Dr. Max Theiler, an inconspicuous virologist who in 1937 developed the famous 17D vaccine in the Foundation's laboratories in New York and later won the Nobel Prize for it. Hookworm disease, a tougher adversary than Gates and Rose had imagined, had all but disappeared from the South; it remains as a lesser problem in the various tropical areas of the world. But the personal hygiene and sanitation emphasized in the hookworm fight had yielded far broader health rewards, as they had hoped it would.

Although no one has thought to record the fact before, the World Health Organization, founded by the United Nations in 1948, is a living testimonial to the old International Health Division. Overriding Russian proposals for a supergovernment agency, the WHO founders adopted the Foundation's time-tested philosophy of working through established governments by giving stimulating grants and technical assistance. A good many of the WHO founders were public health officers who had been trained under Rockefeller fellowships.

A SECOND mountain peak, heightened by general approbation for any agency which helps young men in their careers, is the Foundation's fellowship program, begun early and still continuing. All told, it has provided $64.6 million for 17,500 training grants, largely for foreign scientists and scholars coming to the United States for advanced training and pursuit of their research interests. In addition, it has financed fellowship programs of the National Research Council, for medical and natural scientists; the Social Science Research Council, for social scientists; and the American Council of Learned Societies, for scholars in the humane arts. The fellowship programs of the National Institutes of Health and the National Science Foundation are larger extensions of the kind of training support pioneered by the Rockefeller and other foundations. Such programs are central, of course, in solving professional manpower problems.

The Rockefeller Foundation for a quarter of a century set the world an example in the free support of scientific research, and this certainly ranks among its great contributions. Observing that knowledge in the sciences concerned with life lagged behind that in physics, chemistry, and mathematics, the Foundation shifted its first-priority interest to research in the medical and natural sciences, beginning in 1930. Funds were offered to outstanding institutions and individual scientists as institutional grants, endowment funds, departmental revolving funds, and grants for two, three, or more years for specific programs or projects. The Foundation and its companion boards (including the International Education Board for a time) were the largest single source of noncommercial support of medical and biological research in the United States, and an important source internationally, for some years prior to the upsurge of federally financed projects during World War II.

One of the oldest, most-quoted studies in the behavioral sciences was supported by Rockefeller medical research money: Dr. Elton Mayo's so-called Hawthorne study in Illinois on the effects of ventilation, room temperature, illumination, and fatigue on the efficiency of Western Electric Company workers. It showed, surprisingly, that these variables were not as important as the sense of self-importance the workers derived from being studied. In sum, no matter what else an employer does, his employees do better work if he takes an interest in

them. The great current emphasis in psychological and sociological research on controlling the effects of observer on observed has its roots in the Hawthorne findings.

One way of getting at the value of such research aid is to look at Nobel Prize winners in science. Of the 180 men who won the prizes in medicine and physiology, in chemistry and in physics, in the last fifty years, sixty-one, or 34 percent, received Rockefeller support before they received laureate honors, in some cases thirty years ahead of the award. Of sixty-seven prizewinners from 1914 through 1962 in medicine and physiology alone, thirty-one, or 46 percent, had prior Rockefeller aid. The Nobel Prize is not a definite index to foresight in support of scientists. It is well known in research circles that more deserve the Prize than get it. Then, too, scientists may get financial aid from several sources. Yet, what other agency can claim this kind of record?

The Nobel-honors harvest in 1962 was particularly gratifying to the Foundation in the persons of James D. Watson, Francis H. C. Crick, and Maurice H. F. Wilkins, the three molecular biologists who determined the double-spiral structure of the nucleic acid molecule. Dr. Linus Pauling, who received Rockefeller support for twenty-two years before he won the 1954 Prize in chemistry, was the first to identify a disease — sickle cell anemia — as due to a defect in the molecules of the cell — in this case, a red blood cell. Starting with him, the Foundation invested heavily in the experimental biologists who were seeking to bring mankind to the threshold of an understanding of the "secret of life." Watson, Crick, and Wilkins received Rockefeller support for periods of seven to eleven years before their joint Nobel award in medicine and physiology.

The Rockefeller Foundation, an energetic sponsor of the spirit of international cooperation through the lean years of American isolationism, has been a leader in the most scientific attempt to date to achieve worldwide human understanding. This is another mountain peak, albeit one still obscured by hostile clouds. The subject under discussion here is called international relations at its political, legal, and economic levels, and intercultural, or cross-cultural, understanding on the planes of anthropology, psychology, language, literature, history, and art. Ordinarily in the past, the approach to foreigners, whether by Christians or Communists, traders or evangelists, has been to subordinate and exploit them. The social science method, brought to its maturity as an academic discipline with Rockefeller encouragement in the 1920s under Beardsley Ruml, postulates that you cannot help other people, even in such fundamental matters as keeping them alive and well, until you understand how they think and feel. This means putting aside egocentric and ethnocentric motives and becoming a student of their style of life.

The Foundation's public health officers were good at this, at an intuitive level, but it remained for the social scientists and humanities scholars to accomplish something at an intellectual level, with the help of $187 million of Rockefeller money. Paradoxically, the most dramatic contribution falls under the heading these days of "knowing your enemy."

In 1932 the Foundation humanities program began to stress foreign-language study. Dr. David H. Stevens, an English professor from the University of Chicago, the program director then, was particularly interested in Japanese and Chinese. Stevens obtained Foundation support for the Library of Congress as a study center. Russian was added to the program. Twelve institutions had started courses in these three languages by the time of Pearl Harbor. Foundation gifts to the American Council of Learned Societies paved the way for the Council to develop the materials, methods, and personnel needed in the United States Army language-training program. Some thought this to be a form of boondoggling, but our troops had to go everywhere and talk to everybody in World War II; lack of communication could have been disastrous.

The results constituted a spectacular, though unsung, victory for the humanities people; it was they and not the government who had come prepared. "Partly as a result of the Foundation's pioneering role, virtually every foreign language of importance in every part of the world is now covered in research and training in this country, with support increasingly provided by the federal government," one Foundation official commented.

The climax of this effort to understand the stranger came when the Foundation provided $250,000 in 1945 to found the Russian Institute at Columbia University. The first of its kind, the Russian Institute set up a two-year course to train "area specialists" in various aspects of Russian life from Marx to Minsk. First requirement of the expert: a command of the language. Again with Rockefeller help, other universities established Russian centers and, as at Columbia, schools of international relations encompassing other cultures. A large portion of the Russian Institute graduates are in the State Department, the armed forces, and other government agencies.

It became apparent that the Russian Institute was a great success when Soviet observers repeatedly condemned it as "a training center for spies, imperialists, reactionaries, and pseudoscientists." This strong reaction could be interpreted as high praise.

At one time it was noted that two thirds of the American Embassy staff in Moscow were Russian Institute graduates.

Again on the thorny diplomatic front, Rockefeller financed the Institute of International Relations at Geneva from 1927 to 1948; it is now largely supported by the Swiss government. Foreign service students from the United States and many nations, including Russia, go there for training in international law, economics, and politics. What do they learn? The big idea is to teach the objective method: to encourage the young diplomat to look at the world in broad, relativistic terms, and to discourage the narrowly partisan or blindly nationalistic viewpoint.

Of course, another index of the Foundation's contribution in foreign affairs is that it has furnished secretaries of state for the last two administrations. John Foster Dulles was chairman of the Rockefeller Foundation's board before President Eisenhower summoned him to Washington. Dean Rusk was president of the Foundation for eight years before the late President Kennedy appointed him Secretary of State.

FIGHTING hunger, like fighting disease, is a tangible that everybody can understand. In a recent success, constituting the fifth mountain peak, it fell to the Rockefeller Foundation to furnish the leadership in completing Mexico's *Paz y Pan*, or "peace and bread," revolution. The Foundation's current efforts to show underfed people how to increase food production began with a casual comment in 1941 by Henry A. Wallace, then Vice President of the United States, to Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick, then Foundation president and himself a longtime internationalist who had fought by President Wilson's side in a bitter, losing battle for United States entry into the League of Nations. Mr. Wallace, just back from a trip to Mexico, said that an increase in the yield per acre of corn and beans in that country could contribute more than anything else to the welfare and happiness of the Mexican people.

In this neighborly observation, Mr. Fosdick recognized what Frederick Gates used to call a "pregnant idea." The Foundation made the customary on-the-spot expert survey, and Don Marte Gomez, then Mexican minister of agriculture, invited its assistance in an experimental crop and farm demonstration program of the kind that, under Department of Agriculture and aggie college sponsorship, has given the United States more food than it knows what to do with. In 1943 Gomez created the Oficina de Estudios Especiales and, upon Fosdick's recommendation, named Dr. J. George Harrar as its chief. Dr. Harrar had been head professor of plant pathology at Washington State College and had had experience in Latin America. He built up a staff of twenty-one American agricultural scientists and one hundred young Mexicans in training (annually), in a program centered at the National School of Agriculture at Chapingo, near Mexico City, but extending in fieldwork to various parts of Mexico.

The task was not easy. Much of Mexico's soil is poor, and the furnace-hot climate of the lowlands too dry or too wet, the mountain country too rough and windy. The average per-acre yield of corn was about one third and of wheat about one half the average in the United States. There were problems of seed and soil selection, water, chemical fertilization, and weed, insect, and disease control. Also, there was the Mexican attitude toward gringos. Fortunately, agricultural scientists are experienced in practical psychology as well as in such subjects as plant genetics. They work among some of the most reactionary of human beings — farmers. Happily, too, you can measure the results of agricultural know-how from season to season in acres planted and bushels produced.

"Our problem basically was to cultivate personnel and crops at the same time," recalls Dr. Harrar. "We brought in young men from the agricultural schools to work during vacation periods. From these we selected the best to join our office for more systematic training, and from this group we chose others to receive fellowships and scholarships for study abroad. Always we saw to it that there were jobs waiting for them."

Briefly, the overall result agriculturally has been to remove Mexico from the list of have-not nations dependent in part on imports of corn and wheat. Today it is self-sufficient and, indeed, able to export a little. In twenty years the nation's corn production tripled, wheat and bean crops more than tripled, and food production has outrun human reproduction. Where in 1943 Mexico's population of 21 million averaged 1700 calories a day, its 31 million persons now average 2700 calories a day. With feed more plentiful, chicken, egg, and cattle yields have soared; thus, the diet contains more proteins and provides better health.

All this was accomplished at a cost to the Foundation averaging only $500,000 a year, or about $10 million for the entire experiment. As usual there was a pump-priming effect, first and foremost through increased expenditures by the Mexican government. The Ford Foundation and the United States Agency for International Development (AID) have followed up with supplementary grants to expand the laboratory built by the Rockefeller Foundation at Chapingo and to add field research centers. Meanwhile the Foundation has moved on, with agricultural programs in Colombia, Chile, and India. Also, the two foundations, Rockefeller and

Ford, are financial partners in rice research in the Far East.

The Mexican effort has become a model in technical aid to an underdeveloped nation. It was a quiet-action, not a big-talk, program. It was not a crash program; that type tends to run into cultural resistance and eventually backslides into old ways. The Mexican government today has a warm feeling toward gringos for, as Dr. Julian Rodriguez Adame, present minister of agriculture, points out, thanks to American training, Mexicans are now technologically self-sufficient in agriculture.

One enthusiastic American observer compares George Harrar with Emiliano Zapata, the Mexican national hero who led the peasant revolt against agrarian feudalism a half-century ago: "As Zapata had been the warrior of agrarian reform, Harrar became the warrior of the agricultural revolution."

SOLUTIONS PRODUCE PROBLEMS

"In many ways," observes John Beaven, assistant director of the Nuffield Foundation in London, "Rockefeller has been the model foundation. Certainly, all general-purpose foundations created in the past thirty years have learned from its example." Ford Foundation officials themselves have said they were following the pattern established by the Rockefeller Foundation and Carnegie Corporation. Beaven reminds critics who belittle the current efforts of these foundations: "They were the private pioneers of much experiment and welfare which are now done by the State itself. Indeed, the test of success foundations used to apply to their missionary efforts was whether the public authorities felt compelled to take them over and run them with public money." The Rockefeller Foundation still applies this test — for example, in Mexico — as an indication of the need to be moving on to something else.

In principle, the function of a large, independent foundation is the same as it always has been: to be a catalyst. There are many things the government or some agency of it would like to do but cannot since it is responsive to public pressures and civil-servant timidity, and is not only legally but politically accountable to the public for use of tax funds. On evidence, the fundamental value of the private foundation lies in seeking out and demonstrating what needs to be done but what is overlooked, unpopular, or too controversial, and thereafter creating a public demand for its product. In this pursuit the trustees and staff have to be wise and brave enough to expect and withstand withering denunciations from time to time. They must also expect failures, setbacks, and disappointments.

These they do have.

The Rockefeller Foundation took quiet pride in providing Dr. Ernest O. Lawrence of the University of California a new $1,150,000 cyclotron for his atom-smashing before World War II, only to find after the war that this machine furnished the first uranium 235 for the atom bomb. Lamented Mr. Fosdick: "No grant had ever been made for a destructive purpose, let alone such a lethal weapon as this."

The outcome of any given grant or program is quite unpredictable. For example, it might be said that the Foundation conquered yellow fever in a thirty-year effort because it got a scientific tiger by the tail and could not find a way to let go. The original idea was that yellow fever could be rapidly controlled by eradicating the mosquitoes that carried it around urban dwellings in Latin America and Africa. Then, almost as the Foundation's president was proclaiming the disappearance of this disease from the Western world, an epidemic broke out in the jungles of Brazil. Now the Rockefeller scientists found that yellow fever was also a monkey disease; there was no hope of eradicating the mosquitoes that carried it in the jungle treetops. Meanwhile there was a hot argument about whether yellow fever was caused by a virus or a bacterium. It was a virus. The new knowledge cost the lives of six of the Foundation staff. The scientists retreated to the laboratory, where Dr. Theiler eventually produced a safe, effective vaccine.

This was not quite the end of the story. Some of the first vaccine produced by the Foundation and used in the Army became contaminated with serum hepatitis virus, infecting 28,585 vaccinated soldiers and killing sixty-two. The error in manufacture was soon corrected, but not before serum hepatitis became known as "Rockefeller disease" from General Eisenhower on down. Nevertheless, the vaccine was of strategic importance in maintaining a safe military air transport route across West Africa.

A common charge against large foundations is that they favor medical research because it is a good, safe bet! Mr. Fosdick remarks that the hepatitis incident gave him "the most anxious days I ever went through."

As refutation of another sort of complaint, that foundations stay away from controversial issues, Rockefeller money supported the report made in 1932 by the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care and also the best-selling Kinsey studies of sexual behavior in the human male and female (1948 and 1953). The first study recommended group medicine and voluntary health insurance, then opposed by the American Medical Association as socialistic threats to the private practice of medicine. Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey's surveys recommended only that we recognize that there is a greater volume and variety of sexual activity in this country than nice people might believe or consider normal. His research provoked volcanic criticism as well

as wide acclaim. Indeed, two famous adversaries, religion and psychoanalysis, found themselves in temporary agreement, against Kinsey.

The Foundation has long been aware of one of sex's more important by-products — population. Since 1921 it has spent $4.5 million on population research. In population control, it must be stated in all candor that a decade ago the Foundation did muff the opportunity to assume frontier leadership in the same bold way it had taken on the problems of disease and hunger. The population explosion is not the result of any special increase in sexual activity or any large increase in the birth rate, but mainly the consequence of a falling death rate resulting from the reduction of famines and general undernourishment, plus specific disease prevention and treatment. It is not a new problem. Mark Twain saw it coming before his death in 1910.

In 1947 the International Health Division, which except for virus research seemed to have run out of programs, proposed that it tackle population control. With the encouragement of John D. Rockefeller III, then a trustee but not yet chairman of the board, the Foundation in 1948 dispatched a team to the Far East to make a survey of the human avalanche there. It came back with a recommendation that the Foundation accept the challenge head on, in a big action research program.

But this proposal never reached the board of trustees, although there were protracted staff and trustee discussions of the problem. Opinion appeared divided: for, against, and "how do we do it?" With Kinsey and his males in the news, it looked to some as if the Foundation would be jumping from the sex "frying pan" into the birth control "fire." Two things were clear: the ideal contraceptive for mass use had not emerged; and anyone who champions birth control by artificial means must anticipate politically potent denunciations from the Catholic Church. The objective became lost in discussions of human ecology, one of those wonderful bushel-basket terms capable of holding many things but not necessarily of carrying water. It was agreed that the Foundation would make increased grants for population research, which indeed it has.

Mr. Rockefeller III, for one, was not content to let the larger opportunity get away. His grandfather and father had been interested in the Far East. He was convinced some strong organization should tackle the problem. If the solution was not clear at the outset — well, as it turned out, it hadn't been in yellow fever either. Someone should accept the mission of arousing governmental, university, scientific, clinical, and public interest in finding the solution. Here was a challenge to plunge into the middle of a vastly neglected problem characterized by one commentator as a bigger danger to mankind than the hydrogen bomb — the worldwide fallout of too many persons per square mile of inhabitable land.

Mr. Rockefeller, however, was only one trustee, and he did not run the Foundation. He was in the position of his father, who used to say: "I have only one vote on this board and I am often outvoted." In 1952 he personally contributed $1,250,000 and, with Rockefeller Foundation staff cooperation, started a new foundation, the Population Council, to carry out the program recommended by the Foundation's survey team.

The Population Council, a stepchild as it were, now spends $3 million a year in funds from the Ford Foundation, the major supporter, as well as from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Rockefeller Foundation, and others. It has become the acknowledged leader in the field of action research on population control. It operates its own laboratory at the Rockefeller Institute, makes research grants to others, trains demographers, supports United Nations regional training and research centers in Chile and India, conducts a family-planning program in Pakistan, and provides technical aid in consultation with foreign governments. Since 1952 Japan, India, Pakistan, Egypt, Korea, Chile, and China have announced government policies favoring birth control. Another encouraging sign was the late President Kennedy's modification of the Eisenhower hands-off policy. The United States now offers cooperation to other governments seeking information and assistance in population control.

In its philosophy the Population Council is a logical extension of the old International Health Division. It does not say, Here you doctors have been so busy saving lives and now look where we are. It regards the reduction of the death rate among children as the first step in population control. Families in most cultures attach great value to having children, especially sons. When there are high infant and child mortality rates, large families are necessary to assure some survivors. The second step is to show uneducated people that they do not need large families but instead birth control to assure their families of health and prosperity.

FOUNDATION MEN AT WORK

The Rockefeller Foundation has 205 employees in its New York office and a field staff of ninety-five scattered around the world. In such a philanthropic anthill, as in any large organization, no individual is indispensable, and with the passage of time everyone is replaced, the men at sixty-five and the ladies at sixty, a curious retirement rule containing an implication that organized philanthropy is mostly a man's world. The organization goes on because

the trustees have never wished to exercise the privilege, bestowed upon them by the founder, of spending it out of existence, as was done with the General Education Board. Yet this is a corporation with a soul, and, like all corporations, it depends on personal leadership for new vitality.

It was natural that George Harrar should emerge from the Mexican agricultural success as a Foundation hero. When Dean Rusk became Secretary of State in 1961, the trustees chose Dr. Harrar to succeed him. The seventh Foundation president in fifty years, he is the first to rise to this position from the staff, where since 1952 he had served as deputy director and director for agriculture and vice president.

The Harrar neck appears well adapted to being out, which it is in the Foundation's current focus of interest on selected universities and regional research institutes in the developing nations. At fifty-seven, he is a better-than-average-sized man, ruggedly handsome, with a round head, receding hair, pale-blue eyes, heavy jowls, and a stocky build. He speaks with a bass voice, in swift, overpowering sallies and deft asides, and as necessary in English, Spanish, or Portuguese, and occasionally in French and German. Combining natural serious-mindedness with an easygoing manner and gift of banter, he is given in informal conversation to such salty assertions as "We have a chance to drive home the golden spike right now," "We have a problem of leadership; we have to help the horse through the gate," and "That program was shot out of the saddle."

His facile robustness disarms the newcomer, who, knowing that Dr. Harrar is a biologist and plant pathologist (via Oberlin, Iowa State, and the University of Minnesota), only gradually becomes aware that the man combines the memory for detail of an attorney and the intact affability of a diplomat with the breezy idiom of a Midwesterner (he was born in Ohio). In formal speech his ambassadorial qualifications emerge; he is a master of high-altitude abstraction and the holeproof statement that may conceal as much as it seems to reveal. Harrar walks, as he talks, with a rush, and in total configuration can be typed as action-oriented, an interpretation supported by his remark, "I am used to working under pressure." He is not only used to it, but obviously enjoys it.

As head keeper of "all that money," George Harrar easily rates as one of the world's more sought-after men, and he also rates as an expert in the fine art of saying no. The Foundation receives an average of 6000 grant applications a year, approves 1200 (20 percent) and declines 4800 (80 percent). (It speaks softly of its "declinations" and does not *reject* anything.) These figures should dispose of any question of the Foundation's having more money than it knows what to do with. On the face of it, the demand for Rockefeller money in philanthropic form is five times greater than the supply. This reasoning could be faulty — in philanthropy, supply appears more likely to increase demand than demand to increase supply.

When I joined the Foundation staff as a science writer a year ago, I asked a well-informed friend in the fund-raising business if he thought it would be a good place to work. "What would heaven be like?" he replied, presumably succumbing to the fund-raiser's criterion that where money is, is the place to be. I soon learned, out of my own ignorance and that of my friends, that a lot of people do not know where heaven is, much less who runs it.

People often confuse the Rockefeller Foundation with the Rockefeller Institute, equally independent and famous in its own right, and with the Rockefeller Center, a fabulous chunk of real estate and skyscrapers substantially owned by the Rockefeller brothers. The Foundation offices before 1960 were in the RCA Building but were moved to solve a space problem. Mr. Fosdick and other old-timers look in faint dismay on the new quarters on the forty-first and forty-second floors of the modern Time & Life Building, a part of Rockefeller Center at Sixth Avenue and Fiftieth Street. Whereas the old offices were traditional and cramped, the new ones are contemporary, spacious, and bright with daylight, decor, and skyline views. A blackish, salt-and-pepper carpeting covers the corridors and work areas from wall to wall and even extends throughout the gentlemen's room next to a magnificent boardroom. The offices, each with ample built-in bookshelves, are individually decorated. The president's office has emerald-green carpeting, red and buff chairs, and a low, circular worktable, as well as a conventional executive desk.

Another bit of confusion involves Governor Nelson Rockefeller. Friends kept asking me, "How's Nelson?" "Nelson," I learned to say with a proper degree of restraint, "has *nothing* to do with the Rockefeller Foundation." Three other brothers, David, Laurance, and Winthrop, are equally devoid of Foundation connection. John Rockefeller III, the eldest brother, is chairman of the board but maintains his offices elsewhere in the Center.

As already indicated, the original John D. Rockefeller placed full control in the hands of a board of nationally prominent men. Family interest has been maintained through board membership based on primogeniture. The elder Rockefeller himself was a trustee for the first eight years, but never attended a meeting. He left development of the Foundation to his son, who was chairman of the board until 1939. The board in 1931 elected Mr. Rockefeller III as a trustee, when the tall, shy Princeton graduate was only twenty-five. He be-

came chairman in 1952. Now fifty-eight, he is the oldest board member in terms of service — thirty-three years.

On the present board, the oldest member is Dr. Lowell T. Coggeshall, sixty-two, vice president of the University of Chicago; the youngest is Robert F. Goheen, forty-four, president of Princeton. In between, one notes such names as Barry Bingham, editor in chief of the Louisville *Courier-Journal;* Frank Stanton, president of Columbia Broadcasting System; Thomas J. Watson, Jr., director and chairman, International Business Machines Corporation; Ralph J. Bunche, undersecretary for special political affairs, United Nations; and Lord Franks of Headington, provost of Worcester College, University of Oxford. The board, which receives no pay, is made up of four industrialists, two bankers, two economists, two medical scientists, a physicist, newspaper publisher, lawyer, political scientist, philosopher, classical scholar, and priest, plus the chairman and president. There were two vacancies at this writing.

The Foundation's only connection with the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey is that it owns 2.13 percent of that company's stock. This comprises around 45 percent of the Foundation's assets. Growth of this and other stocks has added a couple of hundred million dollars in market value to its capital fund during the last ten years. Meanwhile, through increased earnings and some dips into capital, the Foundation has doubled its spending; where it expended about $15 million in 1953, the total exceeded $35 million in 1963. The cost of doing philanthropic business has averaged 10 percent a year in recent years; this amount ($3.2 million in 1963) includes not only true administrative overhead but some supporting services to operating and grant programs. For example, the Foundation administers a $4-million-a-year purchasing program for grantees and field staff, and its travel service purchases close to $1 million a year in airline tickets for fellows, grantees, staff officers, and consultants. By any objective standard, the 10 percent figure would seem to leave little room for cynical suspicion that Foundation officers may have narrow notions of whose well-being the founder had in mind.

The Foundation does not pay its staff fantastic salaries, despite its assets. In fact, until recent years its officers felt their job was all dedication and no dough. A tradition of frugality established by Gates and Rose finally gave way before inflation and the difficulties of finding and holding staff. Neither professional nor clerical salaries are competitive with those of private industry, but officer salaries are equivalent in take-home pay and retirement benefits to those of professors in first-class universities (the source of most of the staff), and include free health, group life, and travel insurance. Officers stationed overseas get a 10 percent salary increase and a living allowance, which, together with the usual availability of servants at low cost, provide some inducement to taking assignments in the tropics.

Travel holds no charm for the typical Foundation officer, who is expected to spend three or four months a year traveling, mostly by air and mostly abroad, in accord with the Foundation's look-see policy of investigating opportunities and its diligent pursuit of people and ideas worth supporting. Remarks one veteran of India and Latin America: "A trip to Europe or the Orient may be exciting the first time or two you make it, but I fly about 50,000 to 60,000 miles a year. You get tired. The jets are a little better than the piston planes, but whenever I get a chance, I go by train or bus." The Foundation has lost only one officer in a plane crash.

Its forty New York-based officers and consultants are the Foundation's eyes and ears. They investigate applications, make recommendations, maintain liaison with public and private agencies, and supervise grant and operating programs. These activities formerly were carried on with a great diversity and independence of program interest and effort, but now have become more closely integrated within the major objective of advancing Western science, technology, and culture in underdeveloped countries. Most requests for money come from nonprofit institutions — the only kind to which the Foundation will give aid. They are weighed in the scale of broad purpose, as "in" or "out of" program, and in competition with all others.

The Foundation structures its executive management for the most part along lines familiar to industrial corporations, with strong administrative power centered in the president and with the board and its executive committee sitting in a position of review and decision on staff recommendations and, of course, of final authority on policies and appropriations. The executive committee meets six times a year, and the full board twice, in April and December. The officers themselves have the power to turn down an application. Grants in aid up to $15,000 may be made without prior board approval. Grants above that figure require approval of the executive committee, or the board if above $500,000.

The grant applicant cannot appear before the board personally. The trustees deliberate in complete anonymity and do not record their discussions. If an application comes from an institution in which a trustee has a direct interest, he absents himself from the discussion and action. Mr. Fosdick recalls one exception, a grant proposal in behalf

of the Council on Foreign Relations. The trustees present at the time, all having some official interest in the Council, rose as a group to leave the room. The chairman waved them back to their seats, and they voted the money.

The docket that the staff brings to the board is a pivotal instrument. The docket conferences of the principal officers preceding board meetings can be lively affairs. The officers seek to sharpen one another's thinking by picking friendly holes in each other's proposals (Dr. Harrar does not expect any program director to originate a proposal that he himself does not favor and cannot defend). But the discussions are more cooperative than competitive — more like a scrimmage before the big game than a shooting gallery. The final product is a gray-covered document consisting of a series of recommended proposals. It is mailed to the board and then presented orally. Each item begins with an affirmative resolution ("As if the money all were voted, before the purposes were noted," quipped a onetime trustee given to rhyme). This is followed by a comment on previous interest, if any, a general description, a financial estimate, and a section on future implications.

The effect of strong executive organization and good staff work, of course, is to leave the board under positive pressure to say yes. Dr. Harrar is not wholly content with this course. "These are tremendously busy men, but I want the benefit of their thinking," he says.

The distant observer may begin to perceive what Nietzsche was driving at: "How much harder it is to give properly than to take properly." Giving is a difficult art, more so when it is done with someone else's money. Asked if he was having any fun, one Foundation officer replied a bit acidulously, "As an administrator, it should be possible to do a good job without having fun." He referred to the fact that in making grants he does not have the opportunity of the scholar or scientist to make original observations and receive professional recognition for them. "The deepest satisfaction of my work," remarks another officer, "is not so much in having the fancy ideas but having some avuncular relationship in the interplay of persons who tangle with the ideas. It is like being a witness. You can say, 'I saw it happen.' "

Thus, with the exception of laboratory or field work staffed by the Foundation itself, where, as in the case of Harrar, the man can see the results of his own efforts, the main job of a man representing a foundation is to help others be creative. Like the father of the bride, he pays the bill for somebody else's wedding and keeps quiet about it. This sense of selflessness is taken very seriously.

In the past, the Foundation has limited its responsibility for public accounting mainly to long and detailed quarterly and annual reports. Otherwise, it has leaned over backward to avoid wide publicity. From 1913 on, the officers, debating the desirability of full publicity on the Foundation's contributions, have been sharply divided, and have settled back to the position, "The less said about us the better." "It isn't that we were hiding anything," explains Mr. Fosdick. "It is that we felt that we would be exaggerating the power of money." There was nothing holier-than-thou about this aversion to self-acclaim. As we have already seen, it was not simply modesty for modesty's sake — the poets always have regarded this as a dubious virtue — but a definite aid in getting a government to take up and carry on a Rockefeller-inspired program as its own and with full credit to it.

Another, quite selfish reason for avoiding publicity is that it leads to more requests for money and thus to more people to refuse. Nonetheless, the present trend is, at least tentatively, in the direction of recognizing an obligation not only to report to the public on disposition of funds but to educate the public on the value and uses of private philanthropy. The Rockefeller travelers observe, for instance, that many foreigners do not understand the meaning of philanthropy: Why, they ask, should anyone want to help a stranger? He is not a friend, and may turn out to be an enemy. They do not get the idea of love for mankind in the abstract.

The self-effacing stance of the individual Foundation officer is necessary but has some ambivalent aspects. Inescapably, all philanthropic foundations are self-appointed and therefore self-justifying organizations. The Rockefeller Foundation must record and reflect upon what it accomplishes with its money. Its officers can scarcely do so without feeling some pride. The effect is a curious one, a kind of restraint verging on smugness. The officers, all learned men and not unaware of such subtleties, are prone to combat complacence with self-criticism.

The one characteristic of the Foundation officer that may outweigh modesty is this soul-searching. If stomach ulcers are the psychosomatic disease of business executives, then soul-searching is the neurosis of the Foundation career man. Mr. Rusk explained why: "Officers and trustees must somehow come to terms with the haunting and elusive question as to whether funds might better be used in some other way."

If there were an official uniform, it certainly would include a hair shirt. Questions such as Are we doing the right thing? and What should we be doing? are so continuously asked that an outsider, listening in, could easily convince himself that staff members themselves think their Foundation is in the clutches of muddled thinkers and chronic missers of boats. Such worries are ruminative and not

final judgments, much less indictments, although they sometimes have fanned the flames of articles asking how solid foundations are or explaining where they fall down.

WHAT'S NEXT?

It is easier to report what a foundation has done than what it plans to do, other than more of the same but in different directions. The Rockefeller Foundation goes to all dignified lengths to maintain what it conceives to be its greatest strength, flexibility. In truth, it would like to be all things to all people, at a time and place of its own choosing. In the last few years, it has undergone a major change of direction that, inquiry shows, some of its oldest friends — grantees — seem unaware of.

The change began with the board's adoption of Mr. Rusk's recommendation in 1956 that the Foundation give increased aid to newly independent or developing nations. In 1962 the Foundation, a longtime supporter of the finest and highest institutions of learning in America and Europe, sharpened the earlier decision by electing to throw a greater weight of its resources into developmental grants to selected universities and regional research institutes in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. To be sure, the board stipulated that the shift of emphasis was to be accomplished without jeopardy to any irresistible American needs presenting themselves.

In order to protect the Foundation's domestic philanthropic interests, the board authorized some use of capital as well as income. Commitment from principal has averaged $8 million annually since 1956. Nonetheless, the effect was marked. Historically, the Foundation has given five dollars in the United States for every three overseas; in 1962 the proportions were almost reversed.

The new policy represents the Foundation's effort to grapple with a new reality. Traditionally, it has pursued the conviction that it should seek centers of excellence and build on strength. "Make the peaks higher" is the way old-timers put it — in other words, give mainly to the Harvards, Johns Hopkinses, Universities of Chicago, and so on, to train world leaders in teaching, research, and public affairs. Now, however, the Foundation is more interested in helping build some new peaks, if not in actually filling in the valleys. It recognizes the scarcity of native sons educated for leadership and seated not in Cambridge or Berkeley, New York or London, but in Léopoldville, Kampala, Vellore, Hyderabad, Cali, and hundreds of places where modern civilization stops at the city limits, if it has got that far.

We need not go into detail to recognize that this is chancy business, against staggering odds, involving both world and nationalist power struggles. Viewed in its totality, the task of promoting the well-being of mankind in equatorial Africa, for example, defies the average American's imagination. The majority of the people there are at an economic, educational, and technological level close to that of the American Indian during the settling of the West. These developing nations are, in other words, a century or more behind Western civilization. Their problem of civilizing themselves is aggravated by the tendency of their populations to increase faster than agriculture and industry can improve food supply and per capita income. Direct transplantation of the American university's highly specialized knowledge and techniques to Africa, one of the easier undertakings, only complicates the problem of meeting human needs, for there the requirement is for country doctors and country schoolteachers rather than for medical and political scientists. The Foundation's African task force is fully aware of these questions and is looking for answers.

It would appear that the Foundation in its present course will have no trouble heeding the plea of Mr. Rockefeller at its fiftieth anniversary dinner that it be "more willing to risk criticism, even the possibility of failure," and also fulfill "an obligation to make clear to the American public — from whom our franchise derives — the role of foundations in a free society." This role, unlike that of government or business, he said, is "to take such risks for good cause."

Recently, the board of trustees described five areas in which the Foundation will concentrate its efforts, including an expanded interest in population control and a fresh interest in the American Negro's bid for equality: "For the foreseeable future, then, the Foundation proposes to do what it can to work toward the provision of an adequate food supply for all. It will expand its efforts toward population stabilization. It will help in the training of promising individuals and the development of institutions where the lack of leadership retards progress. It will seek to advance equality of opportunity for all. And it will strive to contribute to man's cultural development."

What we find, in conclusion, is no more than the beginning of another long story. In the Foundation's interests and efforts, its successes and failures, we find mirrored the crucial issues of civilization. The pressure of events has compelled the gentlemen and scholars of its staff to become more determined in their optimism, well knowing that nothing yet has been so fully and finally achieved as to alter the words of Walt Whitman: "It is provided in the very essence of things that from any fruition of success, no matter what, shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary."

File: Foundations: Rockefeller Fd., 1964

$50,000 recorded in financial book

May 1, 1964

Mr. John H. Greenfieldt
Assistant Comptroller
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Greenfieldt:

On behalf of the Council I acknowledge with deep gratitude your letter of April 28, 1964 and the enclosed check for $50,000 as payment in full as the Foundation's contribution to the Southern Regional Council for 1964; our official receipt is enclosed.

I am glad that our letter of April 21 clarified your questions. But your questions were helpful because I believe they indicate that we should, in future financial statements, report these matters more clearly.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

OFFICE OF THE COMPTROLLER

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

April 28, 1964

RF 61058

A 50,000.
CR
4/30/64
RHA

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

In accordance with your request of April 21, we are pleased to enclose our check in the amount of $50,000 as payment in full of the Foundation's contribution for 1964.

We also received your letter of April 21 clarifying the issue raised in our letter of April 13 relative to the financial statement for 1963. We have noted your comments.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Greenfieldt

John H. Greenfieldt
Assistant Comptroller

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

FW:lr
Enclosure

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

111 WEST 50TH STREET NEW YORK 20

TO

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

VOUCHER No. 6404382

DATE April 24, 1964

THE CHECK ENCLOSED IS TENDERED IN FULL PAYMENT OF THE FOLLOWING:

Payment in full of our contribution for 1964 under RF 61058, per Mr. Dunbar's request of April 21, 1964. $50,000.00

FORM 168

NO ACKNOWLEDGMENT REQUIRED. THE CANCELLED CHECK WILL BE REGARDED AS A RECEIPT.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Rockefeller Foundation - Leland Devinney

REGARDING:

Letter to Mrs. Frances Pauley re: Assistance with the Georgia Council's financial problems.

DATE

12/29/64

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

January 29, 1965

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Deputy Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

I thought the enclosed report might be of interest to you and your associates, at the foundation.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm
Enclosures

Rec'd 2/4/65

The Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

File

February 2, 1965

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for the copy of the evaluation of the 1964 Southern Teaching Program. I am very glad indeed to have this and will share it with my associates.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LCD:jw

L WD ✓

THE Rockefeller Foundation

SW-file

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

REFERENCE SERVICE
Doris B. Foster, Head
Muriel B. Spencer, Librarian

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

March 8, 1965

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright,

Thank you for sending us the Southern Regional Council Annual Reports for 1961, 1962, and 1963.

Since we maintain only a small reference library, we would not wish to receive all the research reports and other materials published by the SRC. Instead, we will write to you each year, requesting your current annual report.

Thank you very much.

Very truly yours,

Muriel B. Spencer

(Mrs.) Muriel B. Spencer

MBS:kh

File
Rockefeller Fd

February 19, 1965

Mrs. Muriel B. Spencer
Reference Service
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Spencer:

Under separate cover we are mailing you the SRC Annual Report for the years 1961, 1962, 1963. The 1964 report has not been written yet. We will send it to you when it is ready.

Regarding your request to be on a mailing list to receive these annual reports, I am sorry that we do not have such a category set up for reports only. You will have to be on a list to receive all research reports plus the annual reports and other materials sent to board members of the council. Would you wish to be on such a list? Otherwise, we will write ourselves reminders, but cannot guarantee you will receive the annual report each year unless you request it. I am not certain that your library would wish to be burdened by receiving all our materials, and so will await further word from you.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Recd 2/19/65

THE Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

REFERENCE SERVICE
Doris B. Foster, Head
Muriel B. Spencer, Librarian

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

February 17, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We would like to obtain the most recent issue of the Annual Report of your association.

We would also like to request that our library be put on your mailing list to receive all future issues of same.

Thank you for your attention to this request.

Very truly yours,

Muriel B. Spencer
(Mrs.) Muriel B. Spencer

MBS:kh

Annual Reports
61-
62
63
64 [illegible]

March 25, 1965

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

Thank you for your letter of March 19. It was really no trouble to excerpt the comments. We still have the original as well as some carbons, so there is no need for you to return the set sent to you.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

Rec'd 3/22/65

The Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

March 19, 1965

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for the excerpted comments you sent with your letter of March 17. I do hope you didn't have all this material specially typed just for me, as I had not intended to ask you to go to extra trouble about this. After I and any of my associates who are interested have had a chance to read the material I will send it back, in case someone else should ask to see it.

I am looking forward to seeing your annual report and will try to move as expeditiously as possible in dealing with the request for the fourth renewal of the Foundation's grant.

If you do get to New York this spring, I hope you will have time to come in for lunch. In case I succeed in getting to Atlanta I will try to call on you there.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LCD:jw

March 17, 1965

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

I was very grateful for your letter of February 16th and am sorry not to have been able to respond more quickly to the request in its last paragraph. Enclosed are comments excerpted from the reports of the Student Instructors and from the reports of Doctors Cothran, Killian, McKinney, and Morland; Dr. Newsom did not include any such material in his reporting.

Our work here at the Council seems more crowded than ever, and administrative matters slip a little further behind schedule. Our 1964 audit is only now being completed (by a different firm of auditors, your treasurer's office will be glad to know), and I am only now getting down on paper my annual report. I expect to be submitting both of these to you, however, before the month is out--along with our request for the fourth renewal of the Foundation's grant.

I have now no definite or specific plans for coming to New York this Spring, but if I do I shall hope to see you.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

signed by

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enclosures:
Excerpts from SI reports
Excerpts from Constultant reports (let Cohen)

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

February 16, 1965

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I have now had an opportunity to read your evaluation report of the Southern Teaching Program in 1964. I would like to express my appreciation for this manifestly thoughtful and useful piece of work and to thank you again for making a copy available to us. I am circulating it to my associates who are concerned with the Foundation's Equal Opportunity program.

If there is supplementary information conveniently available on the interaction of student instructors and the local communities (referred to in the footnote on page 22), I would personally be interested in seeing it.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LCD:jw

Foundations - Rockefeller Fd. 1965

April 28, 1965

Mr. Leland DeVinney
Deputy Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street, 42nd Floor
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

This is to place before the Officers and Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation a request for renewal of their grant to the Council's general support, in the amount of $50,000 for the year 1965.

Enclosed with this letter are the following documents:

(a) Audit, 1964;
(b) Approved budget, 1965;
(c) Annual Report of the Executive Director for 1964.

These enclosures, particularly the third, describe at length our activities during the period of the 1964 grant. It was a year of rather ceaseless and, we hope, fruitful work.

We found in 1964 a steadily growing involvement with the new federal civil rights and poverty programs. This has mounted during the early months of 1965. We are witnessing the creation of a large new federal bureaucracy, experimentally organizing itself to administer untried laws. We are engaged

not only in a consultative (and, frequently, field) association with the federal offices, but also with community groups learning their way in this new administrative world. We also propose to keep the federal programs under constant study and evaluation.

Our publication plans for 1965 include studies of housing segregation and the conditions of migrant farmers. These reflect a determination, which will pervade all our programs, toward grappling with hard economic and educational problems that underlie the more dramatic civil rights issues. In cooperation with certain state Councils on Human Relations, we shall be doing field work among Negro farmers. We expect also to undertake this year a planned program of human relations education within the southern labor movement, thus resuming a work we dropped in late 1958; the full program is contingent on funds applications, but prospects seem encouraging, and Dr. Emory F. Via, now associate professor of Labor Education at the University of Wisconsin, will join our staff in September to direct this work. We shall give considerable emphasis to the student programs of the state Councils on Human Relations (described in my annual report), encouraging their further growth.

I hope that you will address to us any questions or comments you may have. The four years of generous support we have had from the Foundation have been years of general excitement and change, in which SRC has tried to play a constructive part. In whatever ways or degree we have been useful, the Foundation is significantly responsible, for your assistance has been essential to our program and our growth.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 3.

file

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

May 3, 1965

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of April 29. I welcome the opportunity to see you and to meet Mr. John H. Wheeler while you are both in New York City next week. Would it by chance be convenient for you both to come to the Foundation for lunch at 12:30 or 1:00 following your morning meeting on Tuesday, May 11? If you are not free for lunch, I will be glad to see you at your convenience after lunch. If you can let me know when to expect you, I will appreciate it.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

LCD:jw

70

via air mail

April 29, 1965

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Deputy Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

I shall be in New York for a morning meeting on May 11, and shall probably stay over for several days. If you are in town and would have some time available I would be very glad to come by. I can telephone you when I arrive in town, but if there is some particular time which would suit you best, please let me know.

There is one possibility which I would like to mention. Mr. John H. Wheeler, President of the Council, will be with me on Tuesday, May 11. I don't believe that you have met Mr. Wheeler, and I feel sure that both he and you would find the visit pleasurable. We shall be free Tuesday any time after lunch, and would be most happy to come to your office.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

via air mail

May 5, 1965

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
Humanities and Social Sciences
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

Mr. Wheeler and I look forward to having lunch with you on Tuesday, and will be at the Foundation between 12:30 and 1:00 p.m.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Foundations - Rockefeller Fd. 1965 (Different from Rockefeller Bros.)

May 18, 1965

Mr. J. Kellum Smith, Jr.
Secretary
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Smith:

On behalf of the Council I acknowledge with deep gratitude your letter of May 7, 1965 informing us that the Foundation has granted $50,000 for use toward the general expenses of the Council during 1965. The support we have had from the Rockefeller Foundation in the years 1961 to the present has been a magnificent help to us.

We would appreciate receiving the funds as soon as may be convenient for you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Dr. Leland DeVinney

THE Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
J. Kellum Smith, Jr., Secretary
Janet M. Paine, Assistant Secretary

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

Read 5/17/65

May 7, 1965

In reply please quote: RF 61058

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I am glad to be able to inform you that, under authority given to them by our Trustees, the officers of The Rockefeller Foundation have taken action to make available to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., the sum of $50,000, or as much thereof as may be necessary, for use toward the general expenses of the Council during the calendar year 1965. Payment on this grant will be made upon request from you. At the end of the calendar year, please send us a statement of receipts and expenditures. Any balance of the grant unexpended on December 31, 1965, will revert to the Foundation.

Under special authorization from our Trustees when this grant was first made in 1961, the officers have been in a position to make annual renewals for each of the calendar years 1962 through 1965. This, however, is the final renewal which the officers are authorized to make.

A brief public announcement of our grant will be made in the next quarterly report of the Foundation. There is, however, no objection on our part to your announcement of the grant prior to the Foundation's report if for any reason it appears to you desirable. In this connection I am enclosing, as a matter of routine, a printed statement of the Rockefeller Foundation policy regarding the announcement of grants.

It is a pleasure to report this action to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Kellum Smith Jr.
Secretary

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Enclosure

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

Policy with Respect to Announcement of Grants

The Rockefeller Foundation records its grants in an *Annual Report*, and in *Rockefeller Foundation Grants*, issued quarterly, in which brief reports of grants are published soon after they have been made.

The Foundation is always glad to have its reports supplemented through announcements issued locally by recipients at the time the award is made. Only if the announcement involves an interpretation of the Foundation's purpose in making the grant, do the officers of the Foundation request that they be given the opportunity of seeing the statement before it is released.

Acknowledgment of Foundation aid in the support of research may also be made when the research results are published.

The Foundation requests, however, that in making public references to grants, recipients avoid any implication that the Foundation has any control over the project or any responsibility for its results.

The name of the Foundation should not be used in advertising, especially of books, nor in designating projects, fellowships, laboratories, or buildings toward which it has contributed.

Mildred -
please log this
letter until
mid-December

Jill Rockefeller Fd.
1965

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10020

OFFICE OF THE COMPTROLLER

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

May 25, 1965
RF 61058

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Undoubtedly by now you have received our check in the amount of $50,000.00 representing payment in full for the year 1965 under the appropriation noted above.

This remittance also represents our final payment under the grant. At its termination, December 31, 1965, we shall appreciate receiving a final statement of receipts and expenditures. Any unexpended portion of the Rockefeller Foundation's contribution is to revert to the Foundation.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Greenfieldt

John H. Greenfieldt
Assistant Comptroller

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

fw:fuw

File
Rockefeller Foundation

June 18, 1965

Mr. John H. Greenfieldt
Assistant Comptroller
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Greenfieldt:

The Southern Regional Council, Inc., acknowledges with appreciation the $50,000. check from the Rockefeller Foundation as a contribution for the year 1965.

An official receipt from the Council is enclosed for your files.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs
Enclosure (Receipt for $50,000.)

Check for $50,000.00 5/27/65 MPA

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

111 WEST 50TH STREET NEW YORK 20

6505629

TO Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

VOUCHER No.

DATE May 21, 1965

THE CHECK ENCLOSED IS TENDERED IN FULL PAYMENT OF THE FOLLOWING:

Payment in full for the year 1965 under RF 61058, per your letter of May 18, 1965	$50,000.00

John H. Greenfield
Asst Comptroller

FORM 168

NO ACKNOWLEDGMENT REQUIRED. THE CANCELLED CHECK WILL BE REGARDED AS A RECEIPT.

file

June 25, 1965

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
42nd Floor
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Enclosed is an advance copy of our latest pamphlet. It grows out of the observing and thinking we did last winter about Mississippi, notes on which I had sent you earlier. What Pat has done here, however, goes far deeper. I hope you will like it.

I want to express our appreciation for what you have done for, "Books for Equal Education."

Field did not make the wisest choice. I cannot be sure, and I am not sure that I did, either. I look forward to seeing more of you, and to working with you.

All best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js
Enclosure - 1.

file

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10020

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

PA
MJ file

June 29, 1965

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of June 25. I am glad to have "Encounter with the Future" and am putting it in my brief case for reading at the first opportunity.

Congratulations on your new responsibilities. I'll hope to continue seeing you from time to time after you move to New York and to compare notes with you about how things look to you from the other side of the desk. If I can be helpful in any way, please don't hesitate to call on me.

Thank you too for the generous comment about the Foundation. I may say that I, and I believe my colleagues, have felt vindicated with respect to whatever risk it may have appeared we were taking.

Cordially yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

LCD:jw

file

June 25, 1965

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
42nd Floor
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

Enclosed is an advance copy of our latest pamphlet. The subject has its swamps and mires, as well as importance. I personally believe that Pat Watters has done a really good job, and that this is probably one of the most valuable interpretations put out by SRC in my time here.

Let me take the occasion of this letter to tell you also that I shall be leaving the Council early this fall in order to succeed Maxwell Hahn, who is retiring, at the Field Foundation. This development came on unexpectedly and suddenly; as a matter of fact, it may be of small interest to you to know that, although it had been mentioned earlier, it took its serious turn on the afternoon of the day I had lunch with you last month. This was a very difficult decision for me to make. Among the considerations which decided me was an honest conviction - and I believe I say this without rationalizing - that the Council is the sort of organization which benefits from periodic change in its staff leadership. My successor has not yet been named, or in fact, dedided upon. The selection committee has gone about its duty with great care, and much consideration not only of persons but of qualities needed at this time.

It is altogether possible that it will finally decide on one of the obvious choices, but I think it is all to the good that the committee is giving long study to the matter.

I have always felt that one of the nicest things which has happened to me was that the Rockefeller Foundation made its initial grant to the Council knowing that Harold Fleming was leaving and hardly knowing me. I hope that you won't mind that I took occasion the other day in conversation with a representative of the Ford Foundation to refer to this example of what I called an "older brother."

I do look forward to seeing you this summer, either when you make your trip to Mercer, if this is still your plan, or in New York, or both.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js
Enclosure - 1.

Read 7/23/65
file

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

PA
MI

July 21, 1965

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

This note will simply acknowledge receipt of your letter and memorandum regarding Mr. Paul Anthony, addressed to Dr. DeVinney. Please be assured that both will be brought to his attention as soon as possible after his return in early September from a trip combining travel for the Foundation with vacation.

Sincerely yours,

Ethel Williams

(Mrs.) Ethel Williams
Acting Secretary

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File foundations

July 16, 1965

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
The Rockefeller Foundation 1965
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

Mr. Paul Anthony, presently our Director of Field Activities, will succeed me as Executive Director of the Council. We shall effect a gradual change-over, but at the latest he will assume office October 1.

Rather than describe Paul to you, I am enclosing a copy of Mr. Wheeler's announcement of his appointment that was sent to the members of the Council. I need only add that I am personally delighted that Paul was the choice.

We were exchanging plans with the Field Foundation for public announcement both of Paul's appointment and of my new position, when news came of Governor Stevenson's death. I do not know now when the Foundation may consider it appropriate to make its announcement, and we shall hold back here for a while.

I do hope that you and Paul will have an opportunity to meet. Thank you very much for your recent letter to me.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

October 22, 1965

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street, 42nd Floor
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

Leslie Dunbar has told me of his conversation with you regarding my coming to New York. I shall be in New York October 26, 27, and 28. If convenient with you I would very much appreciate an opportunity to meet with you during that time. I shall call your office on the morning of the 26 to see if this is possible.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

MS

file → The Rockefeller Foundation – 1965

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

November 9, 1965

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your good letter of November 1st. I was very glad indeed to have an opportunity to talk with you recently and to learn something about your hopes for the future development of the Council. Needless to say, you have my warm best wishes for this important work.

Sincerely yours,

Flora M. Rhind

Flora M. Rhind
Special Assistant
to the President

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File

1965

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

November 12, 1965

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of November 9. I appreciate your thoughtful offer to make a hotel reservation, but I have already reserved a room at the Atlanta Biltmore for Monday night, so there is no need for you to do this. I look forward to joining you at your Annual Meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

LCD:W

File Foundations Rockefeller 1965

A PROPOSAL

to the

ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

IN REQUEST OF SUPPORT TO THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

November 24, 1965

We cannot place before the Foundation a request for further assistance without expressing our gratitude for the Foundation's past support. We would like, too, to give some indication of what that support has allowed us to achieve.

In preparing this request, it was necessary to re-read the files pertaining to the Foundation from 1956 to the present. They reminded us of a great deal -- early correspondence from Dr. Mitchell to Mr. Kimball and Miss Rhind, later correspondence from Mr. Fleming and Mr. Dunbar with the above persons and Mr. Rusk and Dr. DeVinney. Throughout these files there was reflected the Foundation's careful scrutiny and analysis and, thereafter, the Foundation's continued interest and observation of Council program and effectiveness. This in itself gives us cause for gratitude and, we trust, gives the Foundation a basis for any consideration of future support which may be possible.

In the late 1950's and thereafter the Southern Regional Council was in a precarious position. The Council's programs and aims were unpopular with many of the people and most of the leadership of the region. There was little stable financial assistance and few foundations would consider support. Yet, the opportunities for the Council were perhaps never greater. The agency had acquired some fifteen years of experience and an excellent, though small, staff. Clearly defined programs in field work, research and information had been developed. A full-time research director, who was later to become executive director, had been secured and the Council was to enter perhaps the most productive period of research and information in its history. We were in an unprecedented position to influence public opinion and policy. And, perhaps most importantly, at least on a confidential and "off-the-record" basis, public officials and other leaders were beginning to turn to the Council for information and guidance.

During this period, in April of 1961, the Rockefeller Foundation announced a grant of $50,000 with the opportunity for the Council to request consideration of like support annually for four additional years. These funds have constituted from twenty to twenty-five per cent of the Council's support for general operations during these five years. We think, therefore, it is no exaggeration to observe

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that whatever the Council has been able to accomplish during this period has been made possible by the Foundation's support.

During this period Council activity has grown substantially. Our staff has more than doubled with a proportionate increase in program. In several of these years our special projects expenditures have approximated a half million dollars a year. During the years of school-closing crises we were able to work with, support, and in some instances create parents' groups in support of public education in Little Rock, New Orleans, Atlanta, Mobile, in a number of smaller cities, and most recently the State-wide Mississippians for Public Education. The state Councils on Human Relations -- a genuinely interracial, community-by-community movement which has gone through lean years -- have more than doubled their membership and have more than tripled the amount of financial support available to them from local sources since our earlier request to the Foundation.

We have found rapidly increasing opportunities for cooperation with and assistance to appropriate agencies of the federal government and a growing, if not rapid, rate of opportunity for similar cooperation with state and local governments. (SRC has, for example, been approached recently with a request from the Peace Corps that we conduct training programs for Peace Corps volunteers, a request we are considering seriously though cautiously.)

Our information and research materials have increased considerably in number, and in effectiveness, reflecting a growing receptivity to such information. (Recently, we were able to publish a report on school desegregation which included, we believe, the most accurate statistical information available. The Office of Education informed us they felt our information on the number of Negro children in formerly white schools to be more accurate than theirs. A recent report on Southern justice and an analysis of the problems of Southern juries was, we were told by a member of the White House staff, of some influence on the President's request for legislative remedy.) Attached to this proposal is a description of our publications during the current year, and a brief commentary on our information and research plans for the next several years.

The Council has achieved a high degree of cooperation in publications and programs with other agencies and organizations. These agencies include the YWCA, the NAACP, the Anti-Defamation League, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist

Church. SRC continues its role as secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference, an informal gathering for the purposes of information sharing of more than 40 agencies and groups concerned with race relations in the region.

In 1962, the Council began one of its most ambitious special projects, the Voter Education Project. Under this project the Council has expended almost one million dollars in voter registration and education efforts, most of these administered in cooperation with other national, regional and local groups. Over 600,000 new voters were added to the rolls. From this effort we hope to organize the most comprehensive information available on the subject of Negro voter registration and political participation in the South. A team of research-writers is now at work on this effort which will be published in book form by contract with Harcourt, Brace in the spring.

More recently, we have received a substantial grant ($324,000 per year for three years) from the Ford Foundation which will enable us, under the special project format, to enter on a substantial basis a number of new program areas, ranging from urban planning to prison reform and criminal rehabilitation. We will be able to conduct studies in school desegregation, technological unemployment and the effectiveness of federal anti-discrimination and anti-poverty programs. Heavy use will be made of consultants to local leadership and nonpropriate public and private groups. In this instance, the Council is able to move not only closer to the dreams of its founders, but closer to the emerging needs and opportunities of the region by being a repository of unique skills and insights needed by the region.

(Perhaps it is valid here to insert the thought that support to general operations of the Council offers in many ways the greatest return for the funds invested. Such support not only allows the Southern Regional Council to exist, it provides that base which develops and administers the more elaborate projects which the organization is able to direct periodically. Therefore, the relative modest expenditures which allow us to develop and administer programs occasionally leads to program expenditures well in excess of our total general operating budget.)

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We must hasten to add, as we always must in accounts of this nature, that the Southern Regional Council has no illusions of its power or ability to change the region. At best we can look for opportunities that are promising, needs that are pressing, new developments that require interpretation, or situations which hang in delicate balance. We can only hope that such resources as we can bring to bear will make a difference.

These skills and this realistic appraisal of limitations may be the reason the Council is unique, as we think it is. The Council is a strange agency, neither completely academic nor research-oriented in nature, nor action-oriented in the usual sense of that term. It is an agency, born out of the particular Southern mind, which is designed in the best judgment of those who direct it to meet the particular Southern need. This, in the cause of building a society as well as in the cause of correcting old evils, leads to the merging of special skills, interests, and resources. We find ourselves, therefore, attempting to analyze responsible questions raised about the cumbersome student movement of the deep South, or to confer quietly with a Southern governor, to advise on request about appointments to federal governmental posts, to engage scholars for highly academic research, or to rush out a special report to clarify issues.

These, in all too brief an accounting to do justice to the grant, are some of the ways in which the Rockefeller Foundation has contributed to the Southern Regional Council during the past five years. It is, in part too, some report on present program.

In requesting consideration of further support, we should like to place before the Foundation three areas of concern: program, stability, and financing. All are closely related and difficult to separate.

Program: To continue the ongoing program and to attempt to improve the quality of it, the Council must have the greatest degree of stability possible in its general operations. Our program of field work, particularly that of keeping closely enough in touch with the people and problems of the region to know what is happening, is essential to every interest of the Council; our program of disseminating information must not only perform its past functions but grow in the area of informing people of the new opportunities and programs available; and our research efforts must become more sophisticated as our approachable problems become more complex.

Whatever the temptations, demands, or resources of special projects, they must be seen as important appendages to the central body of the organization which makes its own stable, ongoing contribution.

In developing future program it is important to realize that in Southern race relations if the present time does not signal the end of an era then certainly it is the time of a long pause in the period of direct action. There will be more demonstrations, but generally efforts are turning inward to voter registration, community organization, self-help programs, the sharing in publicly funded activities.

We should recognize, too, that we are nearing that point when the institutions of government, particularly the courts and the legislature, have produced most of the legal framework that is necessary. Perhaps the last problems lending itself to simple identification will be that concerned with jury reform. The remaining ones will be infinitely complex.

Finally, we are approaching that point where race is an important, sometimes overwhelming, factor but not an exclusive one. Increasingly programs will have to be developed to include and assist all of the people.

Staff and Program Resources: As is quite obvious, staff is program and the quality of the Council's staff will determine the quality of the Council's programs. We have been able to attract highly qualified and dedicated people and we believe we can continue to do so, this, despite the ever growing competition from other sources, especially the federal government. But we cannot do so unless we can offer some measure of security. Here again, stability is required not just for comfortable planning, but as an essential to maximum productivity.

(An attachment to this proposal gives a list of staff and a brief description of each individual.)

The Council has long used consultants to extend its staff resources in the areas of field-work, research, and writing. The talent in the South, particularly that which is college and university related, is large and available. For instance, Dr. Paul Gaston of the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

University of Virginia has just completed an analysis of the effectiveness of the Summer Teaching Program sponsored by Yale University.

In this regard too, we enjoy good relations with a number of colleges and universities in the region. Increasingly, there is an opportunity to develop joint programs. We shall pursue these arrangements.

Finally, to meet our own needs but also those of all the agencies, we hope to work closely with college and university administrators in finding ways to encourage more young people from undergraduate and graduate schools to enter this field. This is seen both as a process of encouraging commitment and of developing curriculum.

Finances: Attached are the proposed budgets and estimated income for the Council for 1966 as approved at the Annual Meeting on November 16. For general operations this reflects a balance to be raised of $105,000. A determined effort will be made to seek a part of these funds from within the region. In fact, we have as a goal raising $40,000 from Southern sources during 1966. We have no idea of how realistic this goal is, but we are sure that we must begin such efforts however formidable the task.

We are in a position of having no choice but to return still to those sources where we can be certain the merits of our operation will be looked on objectively, whatever the final determination about support.

The Council remains, of course, in the position of having to raise its operating funds on a yearly-year basis. While this creates certain ever-present fund-raising problems, we do not consider this unfortunate. Quite the contrary, we think it a healthy situation to have to submit our work and plans over and over again to careful scrutiny as to its effectiveness and pertinence.

We respectfully request the consideration of the Foundation of a grant in support of the general operations of the Southern Regional Council in the amount of $50,000 per year for five years, beginning in 1966.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

file

MS

The Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

1965

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

December 2, 1965

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This will acknowledge with thanks your letter of November 24 and the accompanying request for a renewal of Foundation support to the Southern Regional Council. I will be discussing this proposal with the other officers during the course of the next few weeks and will let you know the outcome as soon as I am in a position to do so. If in the meantime we need further information, I will be in touch with you.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

LCD:jw

February 7, 1966

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

Following your suggestion we have written Harper's as enclosed.

We have received the letter of notification of the grant. Please know how deeply grateful we are. We shall keep you informed of the use of these funds, and will make every effort to see that they are spent wisely.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
PA's ltr. to the Editor of Harper's Magazine of this date re: financial support received from Rockefeller Foundation.

See Newspapers et al. Jan. February, 1966

Rec'd 2/7/66

The Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

February 1, 1966

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of January 19. I have consulted a bit with appropriate colleagues here and as a result would suggest that in order to correct the record you might wish to write the editor of Harper's simply to state that the Southern Regional Council had received grants from The Rockefeller Foundation in the amount of $50,000 each year from 1961 through 1965, and that on January 28, 1966, another grant to the Southern Regional Council totaling $250,000 was approved by The Rockefeller Foundation.

If the official letter of notification concerning this grant has not yet reached you, it should do so soon. Needless to say, I am pleased to be able to give you this news informally.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney jw

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

LCD:jw
(Dictated by Dr. DeVinney
and signed in his absence)

Rec'd 2/17/66 wj

MS - file with copy in SRC historical respondent

The Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

February 15, 1966

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the letter you wrote to Harper's. I am sharing it with other interested officers here.

Incidentally, you may be interested to know that the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and The Rockefeller Foundation provided a total of $700,000 for general support and special programs of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation between 1922 and 1938, and the General Education Board contributed $51,500 to the Southern Regional Council for support of its interracial activities between 1944 and 1949.

I am glad the Foundation renewed these earlier interests of the several Rockefeller boards.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

LCD:jw

FOUNDATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

J. GEORGE HARRAR

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

file —

June 6, 1966

Mr. J. Kellum Smith, Jr.
Secretary
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Smith:

This will acknowledge with grateful appreciation the Foundation's contribution of $10,000 to be used toward the expenses of the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," which are not fundable from government sources.

At an early date we will forward to the Foundation an accounting of the use of these funds.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 6/1/66 wy

THE Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
J. Kellum Smith, Jr., Secretary
Janet M. Paine, Assistant Secretary

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

File
Cr. ref. Community Resources Inst.

cc: RHA 6/6/66 wy

May 31, 1966

(4)

In reply please quote: GA HSS 6654

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am glad to be able to inform you that the officers of The Rockefeller Foundation have taken action to provide $10,000, or as much thereof as may be necessary, to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., for use toward the expenses of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" which are not fundable from Government sources.

Receive in many copies

The Foundation's check for $10,000, payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and designated for the White House Conference, is enclosed. These funds are available for use during the period ending December 31, 1966. On or before that date we would appreciate receiving a report on the expenditure of these funds.

A brief public announcement of this grant will be made in the next quarterly report of the Foundation. In this connection we are enclosing, as a matter of routine, a printed statement of the Rockefeller Foundation policy regarding the announcement of grants.

It is a pleasure to report this action to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Kellum Smith Jr.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Enclosures 2

10,000.00 ck.
6-1-66 rh

File

MS

The Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

Rec'd 6/20/66

June 16, 1966

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In Dr. DeVinney's absence, may I thank you for sending him a copy of your "Field Activities Newsletter." I am sure he will be interested to see it when he returns to his office later this month.

Sincerely yours,

Janet L. Weaver

Secretary to
Dr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Rec'd 1/27/67

P. 15

file

The Rockefeller Foundation Quarterly Report

file

SECOND QUARTER 1966

ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION grants made in the second quarter of 1966 totaled $9,847,281. Grants were made almost entirely within the five areas currently of principal interest to the Foundation. Brief reports on grants will be found on the following pages:

- CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT 1-5
- CONQUEST OF HUNGER 5-10
- PROBLEMS OF POPULATION 11-13
- EQUAL OPPORTUNITY 13-15
- UNIVERSITY DEVELOPMENT 15-17

ALLIED INTERESTS 17-20

During the same period 23 fellowships and scholarships awarded to persons from 11 countries became active; these are reported on pages 21-22. Following are the grants announced today by Dr. J. George Harrar, President, The Rockefeller Foundation.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

New York University Launches Program in Theatre Arts

The Rockefeller Foundation has appropriated $750,000 to New York University to support a program of professional training and creative work in theatre for its recently founded School of the Arts. The funds are available over a five-year period.

The School has designed a program which takes advantage of its proximity to the New York theatre, where professional activity is the most concentrated and the most diverse in the country. University-based and professionally oriented, the School will combine rigorous training in theatre skills with background courses in the liberal arts. As projected by Dean Robert Corrigan, the curriculum will center around theatre conceived in its broadest sense, eventually extending to cover film, television, and the visual arts.

The Foundation grant will be applied to the theatre program proper, to be directed by Theodore Hoffman. Actor training, which the Foundation has supported in the past in a variety of ways, is here approached along the lines of conservatory training: students will be selected by audition at about the age of 17; they will take a three-year course of studies analogous in its seriousness and continuity to undergraduate preparation for the liberal professions. As their training advances, the young actors will work directly under professionals: the School plans to form a Junior Company of third-year students to mount productions for performance at the University and in the public schools.

A rotating-faculty schedule has been devised so that top-ranking professional people from the New York theatre can be brought in to teach for limited periods, supplementing the full-time staff. A faculty of the highest calibre has been recruited; the roster includes names known in the theatre for imagination and creativity in their special fields, which range from acting, directing, and playwriting, to dance, movement, mime, design, and production; and from administration and theatre management to history, criticism, and theory of theatre.

Training for playwrights will take the form of a master-apprentice program, based on a workshop approach. Four leading dramatists each year will develop their own material and at the same time supervise the work of younger playwrights of promise.

onstrate a way to fill the gap. It is designed for the student whose record favors admission to a highly selective college, but who is barred by specific gaps or weaknesses in his preparation, and the one who might just manage to gain admission to such a college, but who would have to work so hard to survive academically that he would miss many of the benefits of a college education.

Students will be selected from all parts of the country and from all disadvantaged groups, but emphasis will be placed on the Southern states and a majority of those chosen will probably be Negroes. Forty boys and girls will participate the first year, with the total increased to 50 and 60 in the second and third years, respectively.

A group of Yale faculty members will administer the program, which will have many of the characteristics of a private secondary day school. Its teaching staff will be composed of a small number of experienced part-time instructors under the direction of two outstanding teachers who will serve full time, and members of the Yale faculty will volunteer their services as lecturers. English, mathematics, and communication and study skills will be emphasized, and courses in French, Spanish, science, and history-current events will be offered. In addition, each student will be given individual guidance in an independent study or research project. Students will live as members of interested families in the New Haven area; the New Haven Urban League will cooperate in finding such families and in raising the necessary funds for the students' living expenses.

St. Louis College Sponsors Work-Study Program

The University College of Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, has started a career development plan to help financially handicapped high school graduates study for college certificates in vocational fields while working in business and industry. A Rockefeller Foundation grant of $150,000 to the University will assist the program for a three-year period.

In collaboration with a number of community-spirited business and industrial firms in St. Louis, the College has worked out a program combining on-the-job training with part-time studies in evening classes at Washington University. Promising students are selected from the city's high school graduating classes, and after interviews and vocational testing, are placed with the cooperating companies. A course of study is mapped out in line with their career interests and abilities; the employers provide on-the-job training and contribute to the students' tuition costs. Remedial tutoring and individual counseling are also made available by the College.

Educators anticipate that most of the students selected will prepare for specialized certificates, normally requiring three to four years of part-time study. Students have a wide choice of courses, including business administration, accounting, retailing, secretarial administration, systems and data processing, drafting, and chemical, electrical, and mechanical technology.

The University College program, initiated on a pilot basis last year with 20 students, has proven so successful that the College proposes to enlarge it substantially to admit 90 students each year over the next three years. The Industrial Relations Club of Greater St. Louis, which numbers more than 70 local firms, has agreed to cooperate. The College believes that this demonstration will provide a pattern which will be followed by many of the 250 members of the Association of University Evening Colleges, thus establishing regular channels in many cities for helping financially handicapped young people train for interesting and useful careers with opportunities for personal advancement.

Other Grants Toward Equal Opportunity:

United States

Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana: prefreshman and freshman reinforcement program; $25,000 through June, 1968;

Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee:

Special summer assignments for faculty members; $20,000 through December, 1968;

Staff and recruitment costs; $100,000 for a three-year period;

Student assistance grants; $150,000 for a seven-year period;

Haverford College, Pennsylvania: undergraduate teaching program in African studies in cooperation with Lincoln University, Pennsylvania; $15,000 for a two-year period.

Lincoln University, Pennsylvania: to appoint a writer-in-residence at Lincoln University and Haverford College, Pennsylvania; $15,000 for a two-year period;

Oberlin College, Ohio: experimental summer school program for disadvantaged high school students; $15,000 through December, 1968;

Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia: toward the expenses of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"; $10,000;

Western Reserve Academy, Hudson, Ohio: summer program for boys from junior high schools in the Summit County-greater Akron area; $5,275.

UNIVERSITY DEVELOPMENT

Physics Institute Aided In Brazilian University

The Rockefeller Foundation has appropriated $41,-115 to the University of Minas Gerais in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, for essential equipment in the Central Institute of Physics.

The University is undertaking long-range development plans, with Foundation assistance, following the revision of Brazil's education law in 1962. One important feature of this project is the creation of central institutes in the major disciplines to coordinate work previously carried out in several separate schools and faculties. This reorientation will foster more economical and effective use of academic talent, facilities, and laboratory and classroom space, and provide for more centralized planning and administration. It will also help standardize basic undergraduate preparation for advanced work in the various University faculties.

The University of Minas Gerais has one of Brazil's stronger groups in theoretical physics, with concentration in solid state physics. The Central Institute of Physics plans to undertake research in the area of paramagnetic resonance as well, in collaboration with the chemists and physicists of other Brazilian universities.

In addition to reorganizing and modernizing undergraduate teaching, the University recently established a graduate course in physics leading to the M.Sc. degree; a Ph.D. program is planned for the future. The Central Institute of Physics has received substantial support from the University and the Brazilian research councils and is equipped for basic work in solid state physics. The present grant will supply complementary apparatus to provide greater versatility for teaching and research programs.

Continuing its program of strengthening selected centers of learning abroad, The Rockefeller Foundation in the second quarter of 1966 made grants totaling $55,210 for the University of Valle, Cali, Colombia; $20,375 for the University of Ibadan, Nigeria; $186,700 for the University of the Philippines; $11,-905 for the University of Khartoum, Sudan; $125,350 for institutions in Bangkok, Thailand; and $233,258 for constituent colleges of the University of East Africa.

Colombia

University of Valle, Cali:

Construction of offices and classrooms; equipment for the Candelaria Rural Health Center; $30,000 through December, 1967;

Socio-economic survey of the Department of Valle by the Center of Economic Research; $9,800;

Research in agricultural economics by the Center of Economic Research; $5,530;

Elbert S. Moore; advanced study in the United States in linguistics and language teaching; $1,800;

Dr. Pablo Medina; study in the United States in laboratory diagnostic procedures in leptospirosis and tuberculosis; $1,600;

To enable Dr. Timothy Loeb to serve as visiting assistant professor of biology; $1,500;

José Aníbal Patiño Rodriguez; to study aquatic biology in the United States; $1,265;

José Ignacio Borrero H., to observe biology teaching programs and attend professional meetings in the United States; $1,020;

Miss Eliza C. Avellar, Department of Public Health, Berkeley, California; to visit the University of Valle for a family planning conference and for professional discussions; $945;

Dr. Robert S. Morison, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; to observe developments in the biological sciences at the University of Valle; $875;

Dr. William A. Wimsatt, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; to observe developments in the biological sciences at the University of Valle; $875;

Kenya

University College, Nairobi (University of East

ANDREW CARNEGIE

(1835-1919)

Steel Manufacturer... Author
Philanthropist.

The Carnegies came to the United States from Scotland when Andrew was 13. Though poor as a boy, Andrew amassed a fortune by middle age. Settling near Pittsburgh, his first job was in a cotton factory as a bobbin boy. His salary... $1.20 a week. At 15 he became a telegraph messenger boy in Pittsburgh. He taught himself to send and decipher messages, then took over as telegraph operator. He next joined the Pennsylvania Railroad as a railroad clerk, quickly advanced to train dispatcher, and then, at the ripe old age of 24, was appointed division manager. With profits from earlier investments, made while with the Pennsylvania Railroad, Carnegie entered the iron business in 1864. Nine years later, after viewing the Bessemer process in England, he built a plant to produce Bessemer steel in the United States. From this, other steel plants were established and eventually merged into the Carnegie Steel Company to form one of the greatest industrial enterprises in America.

In 1901 he sold the company to the United States Steel Corporation.

Carnegie retired with a fortune estimated at half a billion dollars and devoted the remainder of his years largely to giving this fortune away. His philanthropic outlay of nearly $350,000,000 went to support education, public libraries and peace throughout the world.

JAMES J. HILL

(1838-1916)

Canadian Businessman... Financier
Railway Official.

Hill was forced to face the world on his own at the early age of 16 when his father died suddenly. Leaving his farm home near Rockwood in Ontario, Canada, he found work with a steamboat company in St. Paul, Minnesota. Later he became an agent for the Northwestern Packet Company and when he was 30 organized the Red River Transportation Company. This was the beginning of a series of enterprises that led to the development of transportation between the Great Lakes and the Pacific Northwest.

In 1878 Hill secured control of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad and, as its general manager, reorganized the system as the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway Company. This system eventually became a part of the Great Northern Railway which stretched from Lake Superior to Pudget Sound, Washington and was the first transcontinental railroad built without government help.

His energy and foresight in planning this important railway system turned an unsettled wilderness into a land of progress and prosperity and earned Hill the name "Empire Builder." And James Hill was not only a noted builder and operator of railroads, but a fine writer, an outstanding financier and a great philanthropist.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER

(1839-1937)

American Capitalist... Financier
Philanthropist.

Born the son of a peddler, Rockefeller moved with his family, from Richford, New York to Cleveland, Ohio when he was 14. Two years later he found work as a clerk in a small produce firm. Shortly afterwards he formed a partnership in a grain commission house. And, at 23, with the profits from this business, he entered the oil field.

At that time oil production and refining were poorly organized and Rockefeller set out to make it orderly and efficient. He believed that central control was the answer and that the flow of oil products from producer to consumer should be under the direction of one company. In 1870 he organized the Standard Oil Company, incorporating it in Ohio with a capital of $1,000,000. Within the next two years the company gained control of all the main refineries in Cleveland, New York, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. From this he turned his attention to the building of railroad tank cars and an oil distribution system. With this accomplished he was able to organize, in 1882, the Standard Oil Trust. Eventually Rockefeller controlled practically all oil refining and distribution in America as well as a large part of the world oil trade. This was to make him, at one time, the richest man in the world.

Upon retiring from active management in 1895, he devoted the greater part of his efforts toward his many philanthropies. From that day and until his death, some 42 years later, he spent his time planning and establishing the foundations through which he gave away well over $500,000,000 for the well-being of mankind throughout the world.

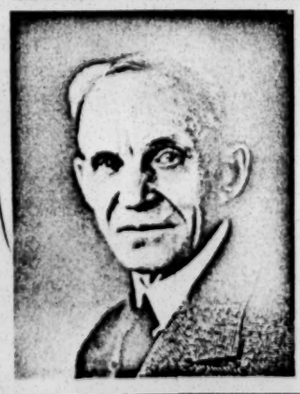
FRANK W. WOOLWORTH

(1852-1919)

American Businessman
Financier.

Woolworth started his business career, as a clerk, in a village store in his home town of Rodman, New York. Though he continued his connection with this type store all his working life, it was his forsightedness and keen business acumen that enabled him to change a small town variety store to the great world wide chain store it is today. It was while working for a firm in Watertown, New York that he suggested putting slow moving articles on a counter and selling them for five cents apiece. This proved an instant success... so successful that when it was carried over to new merchandise business boomed, six new stores were started, and Woolworth found he was a partner in the enterprise.

In 1912 he united his 581 stores with the 15 founded by his brother, Charles, to form the F. W. Woolworth Company... and the five and ten cent store became an official member of the American scene. One year later, with company funds, he built the Woolworth Building in New York City. It was to be the tallest building in the world for many years. By the time of his death in 1919, there were well over 1,000 Woolworth stores throughout the United States and Canada with annual sales of some $119,000,000. Today there are more than 3,600 stores operating throughout the United States, Canada, Mexico, England and Germany. All this the result of a "five cent counter" idea... an idea that not only made a family wealthy, but gave work to thousands and provided funds for the benefit of the indigent.



HENRY FORD

(1863-1947)

Automobile Manufacturer
Philanthropist.

Henry Ford was born on a farm near Greenfield, Michigan. He received his only formal education at the grammar school there before taking a machinist job in Detroit. He began experimenting with engines around 1890 and completed his first gasoline model three years later. In 1896 he built his first automobile. It looked much like a crude wooden box complete with a drivers seat, a steering tiller, bicycle wheels and an electric bell. It still runs today.

In 1903 he organized the Ford Motor Company and began making automobiles that only the well-to-do could afford. Later he came to believe that every man, regardless of income, should have the opportunity to buy an automobile of his own. His pioneering in assembly-line methods eventually enabled him to mass produce more cars at a lower price than anyone had before. The result... the inexpensive but incomparable "Model T." More than 15,000,000 of these cars were sold in the 19 years they were in production.

Ford gained national attention in 1914 when he announced that his company would share their profits with its employees, that the working day would be cut from 9 to 8 hours and that a minimum wage for all those over 21 would be set at $5 a day. A momentous step forward in employer-employee relations. But, when he suggested using most of the company profits to further expand the business, the stockholders rebelled. He promptly bought them all out and proceeded to run the company as he saw fit.

In his later years he established the Ford Foundation. This philanthropic organization has since provided more than one billion dollars to over 6,000 individuals and organizations throughout the world.

"The loss of honest and industrious men's lives cannot be valued at any price"

WILLIAM BRADFORD

Air mail

Dear Mr. DeVinney:

Our talk week before last was very helpful to me. I am most appreciative.

I must confess ~~that I have had~~ to some difficulty in trying to comply with your request for ~~some~~ informal examples of our ~~more discreet~~ "behind-the-scenes" activities. The enclosed memorandum, after some delay, ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ is the net result. It is neither very anecdotal nor very spectacular, but perhaps it will help round out the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ picture of the Council's usefulness, as we see it. I appreciate your assurance that the material will be used discreetly.

The more I have thought about it, the more I have concluded that the New York Times summed ~~it~~ up best what the Council has tried to do -- to influence public opinion and policy by "making it impossible to ignore the facts." The Council's effectiveness ~~xxxxbexxxxxx~~ probably must be measured in these terms.

At any rate, I hope the enclosure is of some use and that you will call on me for any supplementary information that might be needed.

Cordially yours,

HCF

enc.

half-space

Memorandum

To: Mr. Leland DeVinney

From: HCF

Subject: Illustrations of the SRC's quiet activities

spell out

~~These xx examples of~~ ~~brief~~ The Southern Regional Council's ~~xxxxx~~ unpublicized activities are, ~~rather arbitrarily,~~ of three sorts: ~~grouped under three headings:~~ Work with State or Community Leaders, Work with ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ Federal Agencies, and ~~Effective~~ Special Use of ~~SRC~~ Council Materials. The following examples are drawn from all three categories.

~~Work with State and Community Leaders~~

1. ~~Xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Under the Council's auspices, Col. Benjamin Muse has conferred with the Governors of four states -- Faubus of Arkansas, Almond of Virginia, Hodges and Sanford of North Carolina, and Collins of Florida. Even in the case of Faubus, ~~his~~ Col. Muse's counsel ~~(broadly,~~ (to the effect that desegregation is both inevitable and workable) was cordially received. ~~Mr. Muse~~ He was especially helpful in Florida, where he consulted over a period of months with Governor Collins and his advisers. ~~In this way,~~ He made a major contribution to the ~~thinking behind the~~ official race relations commission established by Governor Collins, the definition of its task, its staffing, structure, and procedures. So far as possible, Col. Muse will establish similar communication with the other ~~(or new)~~ Southern governors. To the best of our knowledge, no other human relations group ~~is doing~~ performs this ~~as a~~ continuing, ~~systematic~~ function.

2. Muse and other Council staff members and consultants ~~of SRC~~ have ~~had~~ occasion to advise and counsel privately with mayors, city managers, police chiefs, and other officials. Two of our consultants advised the Mayor of Raleigh on the ~~initiation~~ appointment of a bi-racial committee to resolve sit-in disputes. Our local cooperating group in Nashville ~~xxxx

copies to the Police Training Division to make this possible.

5. The Council's executive director was asked on Thanksgiving eve, by both Negro student and white adult leaders, to try to effect a last-minute meeting of the principal merchants and the protest group. Sit-ins were scheduled to resume, following the 30-day truce, on the day after Thanksgiving. Despite the best efforts of the Mayor, no face-to-face discussion by the principals on both sides had previously been managed. After a Thanksgiving day of telephone calls and maneuvering too complicated to detail here, the effort was successful. Department store Representatives and Negro students and adults met at 10:30 P.M. that night for a three-hour session. The meeting proved too little and too late. The Department Store president himself lamented that if such candid discussion had started at an earlier date, he felt sure a settlement could have been effected. At any rate, ground work was laid for the negotiations which are still bound to come.

6. At a time of tension in Tallahassee, Fla., we received a confidential call from Governor Collins' executive assistant. The trial of four white youths accused of raping a Negro coed was in progress, the Governor was hopeful of a fair and unbiased verdict, but he and his advisers feared an imminent public appearance by Martin Luther King, Jr., would inflame public opinion and adversely influence the trial. Could we help

guard against this? We discussed the matter frankly with Dr. King, who was in Atlanta, and proposed that he use the Tallahassee ~~speech~~ occasion to restate his opposition to capital punishment, applying the principle to ~~this~~ the local case, in which the offenders were white and the victim Negro. Dr. King accepted ~~this advice~~ the suggestion, and the magnanimity of his speech averted any ~~adverse~~ negative public reaction in Tallahassee. The accused white men were subsequently found guilty by the all-white jury.

7. The Council's educational consultant, John J. Brewbaker, former superintendent of Norfolk schools, has counselled privately with scores of superintendents and school board members throughout the South. There is little doubt in our minds that his practical advice has had measurable effects. Among the school authorities he has counselled are those in Virginia who voluntarily initiated desegregation at the beginning of the 1960-61 term. Several of them have ~~since expressed warm thanks to him for~~ acknowledged gratefully the sound guidance they received from ~~him.~~ Mr. Brewbaker. This, too, is a continuing function.

8. The Council has, without public credit, arranged for business leaders of Norfolk and Little Rock (e.g., the Chamber of Commerce head in Little Rock) to meet with their counterparts in Atlanta and New Orleans. Obviously, Their interpretations of the economic dangers of school closing and violence, ~~pretty obviously,~~ registered more strongly in Atlanta than in New Orleans. ~~But the self effacing role of~~ Making ~~these~~ such consultations possible under "respectable" local auspices ~~without public sponsorship of them~~ seems to us ~~one of~~ the Council's more useful, quiet, ~~functions.~~

9. A private session of Southern Episcopal Bishops was convened in Washington by the Presiding Bishop to ~~[illegible]~~ deal with differences over race relations. The Council's Research Director was invited to ~~present the a background~~ an analysis of the situation in the South as background for the conference.

10. Negro leaders sought the Council's help in exposing and correcting a particularly brutal situation in Terrell County, Ga. Within a matter of weeks, a number of Negroes had been beaten or shot by local police; one of them had died after a vicious beating in the presence of his wife and children. These excesses occurred in an overall climate of severe discrimination; for example, not a single Negro in the county was registered to vote.

The Council ~~[illegible]~~ telephoned the editor of the Washington Post, who agreed to send down one of his top reporters. Meanwhile, in cooperation with local Negro leaders, we arranged for the reporter to meet ~~with~~ outside the County (for reasons of security) with witnesses to the brutalities. A member of the Council's staff served as "guide" and advisor on the

fact-finding mission to South Georgia. The result was a full-page article in the Washington Post, describing the brutalities and discriminatory conditions in ~~the~~ Terrell County. The Department of Justice was thus stimulated to launch a full-scale investigation. The overt terrorism ceased (though there have been sporadic and less flagrant incidents since), and the first voting case under the 1957 Civil Rights act was filed against Terrell County registrars.

11. In August 1958, the Committee executive instructed the director to seek an interview at the White House and convey to the President our view ~~that his~~ of the need for a strong statement upholding law and order in the South. The director conferred at length with Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams and Attorney General Wm Rogers. The following day, President Eisenhower read ~~to a meeting~~ at his news conference a statement of the sort proposed by the Committee. This was the first, and virtually only, clear expression of moral leadership made by Pres. Eisenhower.

A new school year was about to open in an atmosphere of tension over impending desegregation

12. Since its inception in 1957, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has turned frequently to the Council for confidential information and services. It would be pointless and tedious to summarize each instance, but here are a few illustrations:

(a) The Commission faced the formidable task of appointing advisory committees in all of the States. On request, the Council worked closely with the Commission on the make-up of the Southern state bodies; this was not merely a matter of identifying "liberals" in those states, but of helping the Commission find amenable persons of both races and a wide range of racial attitudes.

(b) The county-by-county voter registration figures in the Commission's first report were largely gathered and suppliedby the Council. The figures for Texas, for example, were derived from a special survey commissioned by the Council.

(c) The Council has briefed the Commission's investigators on many of their Southern assignments, has advised them on the selection of counties for special-purpose studies, and has supplied them with the names of knowledgeable local persons in the areas under study or investigation.

13. The Council has maintained a similar relationship with the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. Among the services requested and rendered have been the supplying of background information and contacts in troubled situations, conferences with the Division staff in Washington, and liaison between the

Division and local Negro leadership in difficult areas of the South. On occasion, the Division has asked the Council to survey a specific situation, in order that the Department of Justice might be ~~xxable~~ to determine whether an official investigation was warranted. On the basis of such a field study by the Council, conducted in McCormick County, S. C., ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the Department of Justice ordered a review of registration records there. Shortly afterward, the first Negroes in ~~some~~ years were permitted to register and vote in the county.

14. The Council has more than once been asked to assist the State Department and other ~~xxxx~~ government agencies in the handling of delicate foreign-visitor problems. One such instance ~~xxxxxxx~~ concerned a visit to the South by a high-ranking Nigerian official who had expressed a determination to "test" segregation in Atlanta. Careful advance planning averted the international incident feared by ~~xxx~~ State Department officials. The Council has also supplied special information to the USIA and its overseas offices, or to overseas embassies. The latest request of this kind ~~xxx~~ came from Rhodesia, where ~~xxx~~ U.S. representatives had been asked for case material on interracial efforts in this country.

* * *

Day in and day out, the Council achieves its greatest effectiveness through the influence of its materials and staff services in a host of problem areas. There is no adequate way to document this, but with apologies for the essentially "testimonial" approach, we append some of the comments and excerpts from letters that have ~~supported~~ bolstered our own belief in the Council's effectiveness:

"We find this report (The Student Protest Movement) very interesting and the Commission has requested that we order an additional twelve copies [to supplement order for 200] for distribution throughout the State." William N. Rose, Staff Assistant for Governor's Commission on Race Relations. State of Florida.

"You deserve hearty congratulations for your study 'If The Schools Are Closed' from what I read of it in Time Magazine. As a member of an education committee in Savannah, I have had much difficulty attempting to persuade people that private schools are not the answer...." Lowell Goodhue, Goodhue Companies, Savannah, Georgia.

"The information presented in this bulletin ('If The Schools Are Closed') needs the attention of Superintendents and Boards of Education throughout the South. I need seven additional copies to meet our needs in Mobile --- five for the Board, one for our Assistant Superintendent in Charge of Pupil Personnel and one for our attorney." Cranford H. Burns, Superintendent, Mobile, Alabama, Public Schools.

"Your Study ('If The Schools Are Closed') will make it possible to implant, among the thinking men of our community, many new thoughts on this question of private schools." Stewart Carlton, Dean of Boys, Vero Beach, Florida, High School.

"Please send us ten (10) copies of your recent publication, 'If The Schools are Closed'...." Thomas A. Carrere, Acting Superintendent, Charleston, S.C., Public Schools.

"Will you please mail to me 100 extra copies of the statement on "Race and Intelligence" - Report No. L-8." J. Irving E. Scott, Director of Education in Negro Schools, The Board of Public Instruction of Duval County, Jacksonville, Florida.

"I seem to have in my file Reports # L - 6,8,9, and 10, but am short on the first 5 and report # 7. If you have these copies available, I would appreciate it if you will forward same to me. R. L. Lacy, Division Superintendent, Halifax, Virginia, County Public Schools.

"It would be appreciated if you would send ....."Racial Violence and Law Enforcement,'..." E. Wilson Purdy, Chief of Police, St. Petersburg, Florida.

"I should very much like to remain on your mailing list." James L. Hanry, Executive Vice-President, Wichita Falls, Texas, Chamber of Commerce.

"You are to be commended for the very splendid services you are performing for the South and for our schools." J. Lyle Hill, Superintendent, McAllen, Texas, Public Schools.

"Please send us 30 copies of the report, 'To Florida Leaders in Civic, Religious and Business Affairs; ..." Albert R. Gibson, Executive Manager, Statesboro and Bulloch County, Georgia, Chamber of Commerce.

"...the Associated Press Broadcasters asked us for suggestions with regard to press coverage in race relations. We forwarded to them the material in our files which we received from you. They found this of enormous help and plan to draw up their own statement using that material as the principal source....Further, your information on desegregation of variety stores was of real value in the negotiations in Miami. We continue to be in debt for the excellent cooperation of your organization." Saul A. Silverman, Staff Assistant, State of Florida, Fowler Commission on Race Relations.

"I wish to distribute a copy of this report (L-14, A Report From Virginia) to each member of our School Board." Fendall R. Ellis, Superintendent, Charlottesville, Virginia, Public Schools.

"The purpose of this letter is to let you know of the existance of our group and also to see if we might seek your valuable advice and counsel from time to time." Glenn F. Webb, Manager, Laurinburg (N. C.) Chamber of Commerce.

"PLEASE SEND ONE DOZEN COPIES SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: THE FIRST SIX YEARS, IMMEDIATELY." James F. Redmond, Superintendent Orleans Parish School Board. New Orleans, Louisiana.

"Please send me copies of your reports on the recent lunch counter "sit-in" demonstrations." Jack Elam, City Attorney, Greensboro, N. C.

"I would like to have copies of your Special Reports on the student sit-in demonstrations." J. Delmas Escoe, Assistant Counsel, United States Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights.

"I would like to send a copy of this article (on Biracial convention facilities) ...to each of the thirteen members of the Executive Council of the Southern Historical Association, since it is the executive council which decides on a site for the annual convention." August Meier, Department of History , Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland.

"After reading (Racial Violence and Law Enforcement) carefully, I believe we should quietly provide a copy to each member of City Council, the City Manager, the Chief of Police, to members of the School Board in this area, the Sheriff, the Chiefs of Police in several smaller cities in the area, and a couple of other concerned officials." Talbot Patrick, Editor and Publisher, the Evening Herald , Rock Hill, South Carolina

W

"We owe you another vote of thanks for an excellent research job." Mrs. Gretchen Conduitte, ~~Ex~~ Community Relations Librarian, Jacksonville (Florida) Free Public Library.

"I wish to obtain a copy of your pamphlet, 'Racial Violence and Law Enforcement,'" C. B. Crutchfield, Field Commander, Department of Public Safety, ~~Exxxxx~~ Division of Kentucky State Police, Frankfort, Kentucky

"Thanks to the Tampa Police Department, I have recently ...read..."Racial Violence and Law Enforcement.' This is truly a most timely and well presented piece..I would like to request two copies...one for my own library and one which I should like to present to the Chief of Police here in St. Petersburg." R. A. LaCouture, Chairman, Department of Police Administration and Public Safety, St. Petersburg (Florida) Junior College.

"May I congratulate you very sincerely on your very excellent report, 'The Federal Executive and Civil Rights'. This is precisely the type of document I have been attempting to have our Commission prepare for the new President. I am sure it will be most ~~xxxxx~~ useful to the new administration." (Rev.) Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., President, University of Notre Dame

"(The SRC report on school desegregation for 1960-61) is, indeed, an interesting and informative report and I am most grateful to you for sending me a copy." W. Henry Oliver, Superintendent of City Schools, Nashville 3, Tennessee.

October 28, 1955

Mr. Montgomery Bradley
The Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Bradley:

I wanted to write you further about our proposal for a special program offering professional guidance to our twelve expanding state organizations and to local communities on school integration.

Important at first to see the setting. The Southern Regional Council originally asked the Ford Foundation to help it get human relations agencies going in the Southern states back in 1951. Then there was time to congeal in each state the forces that would have to bear the brunt of the integration effort. When finally and generously the Fund for the Republic came to our aid, the grant preceded by six weeks the long-awaited May, 1954 decision of the U. S. Supreme Court. We got busy to organize in the Southern states, but perforce the work of setting up twelve new human relations agencies moved ahead in the general period when program needs — the techniques of solution — were in feverish demand.

Also, we had always wanted and had asked for funds enough to enable a sound job in the teaching of program to be done from this office for and with the new state groups. Money for this purpose we have never had; the central office of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta was staffed to do a paymaster's job anent the state groups; to get out a publication tieing them together and linking them to trend in the South; and little else. We have had to contrive out of effort and sacrifice, with not enough people and not enough books and not enough time and not enough travel, the steering that the people in our state movements want.

After more than a year of this some of our ablest people began to come up with solution. They pointed out that one of the important and hardly tapped resources of the South and of the nation toward unravelling of the problem of integrating the schools is the knowledge and experience of the people skilled in social science practice, concentrated in the Negro universities. And a way to use these brains was suggested.

The plan is to employ as consultants seven or eight such people conveniently spaced. Most of the time they would stay where they are, teaching and working at their regular jobs, but, at times carefully planned out ahead, one or two of them would attend policy and training conferences within their general territorial areas. At these meetings would be the (volunteer) Board members of the state organizations affiliated with the Southern Regional Council; state organizations' staff people; somebody from the Atlanta office; and sometimes, selected private citizens many of them having connections with the school systems. Such meetings would be for a single day; perhaps for two days. The consultants working with state staff people would draw the group along into policy objectives and understanding of techniques of implementation.

I point out some of the things this does: (1) in a society most unlikely to achieve this end by itself, it cuts a volcanic pipe up through all layers and brings out at the surface the eager diamond-like minds of mainly Negro persons at work in this field; (2) it provides living example of white and Negro persons working together on the same intellectual plane to solve a common problem. (I suspect that the mastery of this device is the whole content of the art of human relations!); (3) it responsibly enlists the thinking of respected and representative members of the minority said to be most concerned with the problems of integration; (4) it accustoms local officialdom to dealing with the fully developed and sophistically presented minority demand; and (5) it could hardly fail to open a resultful channel of communication between local people, most of them lay people, and the institutions from which the consultants would come.

No question but that the people who could do the consultants' job are available. We think of any of the following:

Dr. Bonita Valien, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
Dr. Mozell Hill, Atlanta University, Georgia
Dr. Hylan Lewis, Atlanta University, Georgia
Dr. Harry Walker, Howard University, Washington, D. C.
Dr. Lewis Killian, Florida State University, Tallahassee
Dr. Dan Dodson, New York University Center for Human Relations
Dr. G. D. Wilson, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky
Dr. Miller Ritchie, President, Hartwick College, Oneonta, N. Y.
(Floridian, long in charge of the Department of Human Relations, University of Miami)

There are others.

We asked the Fund for the Republic as they considered the second installment of the grant to the Southern Regional Council to consider adding on a program of this kind at a net cost of $30,000 for a year. They stuck to what they had promised us for the second grant; and we are extremely grateful for that backlog grant.

But we are still up against having twelve now no-longer-infant state organizations with inadequate guidance and training in extraordinarily perplexing times.

We have a council on human relations (thus named in most of the states) going and staffed and getting membership and friends and purpose in each of the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Fitting together what we can, we have launched on a part of this program of implementation. We have offered employment to a very able man, now at Fisk University, to coordinate the whole matter. We have told him that he might use one, two, or three consultants for infrequent occasions. Altogether we are committing perhaps $8,000 for this corner of the effort.

We would like to pick up the whole thing. Here is a budget for what it ought to cost for twelve months:

Program Director	$7,500	
Administrative Assistant to the Executive Director	6,000	
Clerical	6,000	
Social Security	470	
Travel, Program Director	2,000	
Consultants Fees	4,000	
Travel of Consultants 50 trips @ $100	5,000	
Travel of an occasional state board member, and contingencies	3,000	
Supplies, space	500	
Telephone and Telegraph	800	
Total		$40,270

Our eight thousand committed dollars would reduce it to $32,000. Foundations are apt to round things downward; and we could do a good job on somewhere around $30,000.

I know this is a stiffish proposal. But the Southern states are up against a stiff problem, and here is some original thinking and much promise toward the kind of quiet understanding and non-agitational solution most to be desired.

I would be glad to come up to New York to talk with you or any of your associates about the matter. Meanwhile, if you will explore what reception may be given to the proposal, we in the Southern Regional Council would be most grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mr. Frank Loescher
Mr. Nat Griswold

Rockefeller

Room 5600
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

RECEIVED JAN 26 1956

January 24, 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of the seventeenth about grants which Dr. Alexander received in connection with the early program of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. In going back through the records I find that Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., made personal contributions of $15,000 annually in 1922 and 1923, thus supplementing the grants of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial which continued to support the Commission's work for several years.

It was thoughtful of you to write of Dr. Alexander's recollections and I know that Mr. Rockefeller will be appreciative.

Sincerely yours,

Dana S. Creel

Dana S. Creel

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Foundations - Rockefeller Bros. Fund

January 17, 1956

Mr. Dana S. Creel
Rockefeller Bros. Fund, Inc.
50 West 50th St.,
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Creel:

A matter I wish you would pass on to appropriate hands.

On last Saturday there died on his farm at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, Dr. W.W. Alexander. He had been the beginner of interracial activities in the South and, as you will know, was in his later years Vice-President of the Rosenwald Fund. Last June, with a premonition that Dr. Alexander was not too long for this world, our Council gathered together near Chapel Hill the staff people employed by our new State organizations. And one afternoon we all sat on Dr. Alexander's porch for a couple hours and got him to talk about the 'twenties and 'thirties when work of our kind was new.

It was an occasion for which he chose carefully among his many recollections. And quite early in the afternoon he told us this tale:

> Early in the game (I would guess 1920-21) he applied to "Mr. Rockefeller" (Senior or Junior, I do not know) for $50,000 to help get interracial work going more strongly in the South. The application moved here and there within the Foundation's staff and finally at the meeting of the Board it was agreed that Dr. Alexander might have $25,000. He was grateful for that sum, though he needed the $50,000; and came home on the train appreciative, but sick at heart for the lack of the other $25,000 which he didn't know how to get together. In about three days he got a letter from Mr. Rockefeller saying in effect:

I have been thinking about our Board Meeting the other day. I do not think the Board gave you enough. Here is my personal check for $25,000, and I will send it to you every year hereafter as long as you need it.

That of course made possible persistence.

If some one of your principals may hear of this, I would think it fitting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

RECEIVED APR 7 1956

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

April 5, 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 3 and your report on the counselling project which the Southern Regional Council has undertaken.

As I indicated in my letter of November 11, we would be glad to discuss the proposal with you, although we cannot hold out very much hope of being helpful in this situation. With this thought in mind and knowing that you are going to be in New York on April 9 and 10, I hope that you will have an opportunity to come in and talk. I will make a tentative date for Monday afternoon and, if it is convenient for you, will look forward to seeing you at 2:30. If this is inconvenient, would you call my secretary when you get in so that we can arrange to meet at some other time either Monday or Tuesday afternoon?

Sincerely yours,

Montgomery S. Bradley

Montgomery S. Bradley

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FILE COPY

April 3, 1956

Mr. Montgomery Bradley
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Bradley:

The files will have a letter from us dated October 28, 1955.

We ask now to make that request (as modified in this letter) a matter of active interest to the Fund. The Southern Regional Council, using what resources it could fetch together, has gone ahead with the program outlined in the letter. We have allocated for it $12,000. We have spent of that sum for it $6,000. The balance remaining will carry the program about through May, 1956. Then we will be without funds to carry it further.

We got hold of a most able person to carry the program, as Assistant Director of the Southern Regional Council. He is John Hope II. John Hope's father was president of Morehouse College and later the first president of Atlanta University. John himself has worked for a number of years with the Race Relations Department of the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Christian Church (serving at Fisk University). He put through mainly on his own researches the notable series of published studies on changing patterns of bi-racial employment in the South, done in 1953 and 1954 for the Committee of the South of the National Planning Association. This Committee was composed of Southerners active in agriculture, business, education, finance, government, industry, labor, the press and radio, under the chairmanship of the late J. Melville Broughton, former Governor of North Carolina and United States Senator. John Hope is a thoroughgoing and practical social scientist; a man widely acquainted in sociology and economics across the South; and a judicious fellow who gets things done; and gets them done judiciously.

He promptly tied on to his work the following consultants:

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, Assistant Professor of Psychology, City College of New York; Associate Director, Northside Center for Child Development, New York

Dr. A. Lee Coleman, Department of Sociology and Rural Sociology, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky

Dr. Robert Johnson, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dr. William Jones, Department of Sociology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee

Dr. Lewis M. Killian, Department of Sociology, The Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida

Dr. Hylan Lewis, Department of Sociology, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Bonita Valien, Department of Sociology, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. Harry J. Walker, Department of Sociology, Howard University, Washington 1, D.C.

Dr. G.D. Wilson, Department of Education, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky

Mr. Whitney M. Young, Jr., Dean, Atlanta University School of Social Work, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia

These people merely agreed to come when summoned to meetings of our State people or to towns or situations that might need advice.

The next move was to consult the prospective consultants as to what they should do and get them to agree. Two conferences did that.

Then we began to move pairs of the consultants to carefully scheduled meetings, State by State, of the Board people and the staff people of our SRC-affiliated State Councils on Human Relations. This was the test. If our State people learned worthwhile things the program was working. If the State people thought it was flabby, it was.

Three such meetings have thus far been held.

Here is some account of each:

Virginia at Richmond, February 17 and 18, 1956

16 State Board Members
John Hope and two consultants

X9

Solid responsible Virginia people, important in their day-to-day responsibilities. They had a disturbed conscience. Virginia had not lived up to its tradition. The consultants were: Dr. Robert Johnson (the son of Dr. Charles S. Johnson at Fisk University, and presently attached to the American Friends Service Committee at Philadelphia) and Dr. Harry Walker, from Howard University. An almost chemical-like change took place when specialists and lay persons sat down together to plan effective methods of desegregating public schools. The consultants never said what to do but would ask "Have you thought of trying this...." or would say "When a similar situation developed in Baltimore we tried...." Faces lit up as recognition came on how a specialized skill might be applied to a local problem. The body of knowledgeable Virginians took fresh purpose and a sharpened aim from the experiences which the college teachers brought.

Arkansas at Little Rock, March 9 and 10, 1956

20 State Board Members
John Hope and two consultants

X10

The two consultants: Mrs. Bonita Valien, of Fisk University and Mr. Whitney Young, of Atlanta University. The consultants sketched in their experience and fields of competence. The group picked the minds of the consultants. No speeches. Problem was how to help communities toward desegregation. Labor and management, Urban League and NAACP, church women and clergymen, PTA mothers and college professors, talked back and forth about what and how to do. How do you work in a rural area where there isn't regular community organization structure; how do we find people and organizations on our side; how can the Arkansas Council best work with other agencies? How do we know when publicity is helpful, harmful? Result: a new perspective and a new intent. They caught a vision of Arkansas as a "Land of Opportunity" attainable for all.

Texas at Austin, March 16 and 17, 1956

18 Board Members
2 Staff Members from Texas Commission on Race Relations
John Hope and two consultants

John Hope and C.H. Parrish from SRC itself. Mrs. Bonita Valien from Fisk University and Dr. A.L. Coleman from the University of Kentucky as the two consultants. They all began with a dinner meeting at the University of Texas Tea House - precincts Caucasian alone until a year or so ago. The Texas people felt futile in the face of the violent White Citizens' Council groups in East Texas and the obstructive efforts of the leading politicians. The team of consultants deftly queried the group ostensibly for clarification but also to break up the problems into manageable parts for constructive and systematic discussion next day. Thus handled, the body shifted toward the positive analytical step-by-step consideration of various specifics of the program. And this note carried through to the end of the workshop. Next day they "started in a run." Everybody chipped in. What the consultants were skilled at fitted together in a way that made possible intensive coverage of specific questions and answers about a wide range of separate problems. The questions were still coming when the consultants had to leave for their planes at 5:00. John Hope said, "It was a difficult meeting to close." It boosted the morale of the Board and staff members in Texas; made clear to them the particular things that they could do and how they could; sorted out what was the Board's business and what was the staff's business, and strengthened everybody's thinking as to ways of getting their program done.

X11

Within the brief period of six days of intensive but informal discussion, six alert and well qualified consultants (assisted by central staff persons) reached some forty-odd Board members and six State staff personnel in three strategically placed States. These Board members came from widely scattered communities in their respective States. They were people with prestige in a variety of influential organizations.

Other such State meetings are planned: North Carolina, Tennessee, Florida, possibly Kentucky. As a result of the revelations of the "Hard Core" State Conference described below and the satisfaction of the directors of these States in the ability of the consultants to help them, urgent requests for similar State Board and staff workshops were made.

Late in March in Atlanta we fetched together State staff people and two leading Board people from each of what we call the Hard Core States -- Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, for an agonizing reappraisal and to sharpen plans for the future. The consultants were John Hope and Mrs. Bonita Valien, Dr. Hylan Lewis, Dr. Lewis Killian, and Dr. Kenneth Clark. This little meeting cost nearly $1,500. But we all think it was worth it.

I would hope that enough has been said to let you see what we are after. It is performing quite remarkably well the things forecast in the letter of October 28.

Useless in the present situation in the South to labor with refutation and propaganda and moralizing. Abidingly hopeful to concentrate on particular things to be done that fit toward bringing about an informed compliance with the broad rules of American democracy. And an item to be cherished: State by State, gathering by gathering, a living example of white and Negro brains working together to contrive solutions.

We think it ought to keep on after the end of May.

Nine more States to serve. And then cities and towns and situations within each State to be served in detail. Also be it noted, the $12,000 we will have put on it by then will have brought into being an experienced team, knowing the balanced and acceptable way in which to bring about an interplay of constructive understanding and local perplexity. Come to think about it, that mighty nearly amounts to importing the standards of world civilization to this history-pressed string of States.

Here is a budget of what it would cost to continue this program for eight months -- from May 1 to the end of the calendar 1956. We think that by December we would have learned from pursuing this vein where the next vein of instructive experience lies.

Proposed Budget for SRC Training Program
For Eight Month Period, May 1 Through December 31, 1956

1. Salaries	$ 7,000
2. Research and Clerical Assistance	1,500
3. Travel (Assistant Director for Program)	4,000
4. Consultant Services and Travel	10,000

5. Special Purpose Conferences, Meetings, etc. -- Sub-regional staff conferences, strategic community meetings, etc. -- (excluding item 4) involving travel and other expenses of state staff and others mainly at State level.....$ 4,000
6. Administrative overhead..... 1,000
7. Other expenses -- supplies, office supplies and equipment, postage, etc..... 2,000

Total.....$29,500

We do greatly hope that the Rockefeller Brothers Fund will fire to this opportunity to take reasonable, constructive steps in a situation which worries the wisest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mcf

April 21, 1956

Mr. Laurance Rockefeller
49 West 49th Street
N. Y., N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rockefeller,

Our Council has a proposal before the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. 'Tisn't big, but it is wise and helpful.

Mr. Clement, at Atlanta University, is Chairman of our Executive Committee (which happened to meet to-day). Mr. Clement said you were sensitive on these matters, and would be interested.

I ask your concern as to the S.R.C. proposal.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

May 17, 1956

Mr. Dana S. Creel
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Creel:

I am late in replying to your letter of April 25th.

Sorry the Rockefeller Brothers Fund couldn't help out on that one, but we are very grateful to you and to Mr. Bradley and to the whole Fund for putting no inconsiderable amount of time and sympathy and inquiry into it.

I think we have found someone who will carry that project for the time being on a month to month basis. Which rejoices us because it does seem a main thing to do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED APR 27 1956

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

April 25, 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am sorry that I did not have the opportunity of seeing you when you came in to the office two weeks ago to discuss the Southern Regional Council's consultant program outlined in your letters of October 28, 1955 and April 3, 1956. However, Miss Goss and Mr. Bradley reported in detail on your discussion.

As you know, while sympathetic to the problems which you have discussed, we have not been optimistic about the possibility of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund being of assistance, and it is now clear that this is a matter which the Fund cannot undertake. Its present commitments and plans are such that there is very little leeway for assuming new interests in the foreseeable future, and in view of this situation it was decided that the Fund could not advisedly be helpful as you suggest.

We are sorry to send you this disappointing reply and hope that you will understand that the Fund's position, based as it is on program limitations, involves no lack of recognition of the work which the Council is carrying on.

Sincerely yours,

Dana S. Creel

Dana S. Creel

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Harold
For your information
Frank

File

414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pa.
May 29, 1957

Mr. Yorke Allen
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N.Y.

Dear Yorke:

Here is the letter I promised about your idea of providing counsellors to churches in the South. I think the idea is a good one.

The Fund for the Republic made some small grants to several denominations for educational work in race relations, including one to the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches for a counsellor. The Council now has Will Campbell stationed in Nashville for counselling clergymen, and for guiding the New York staff on channeling of relief to people subjected to economic pressure.

I believe that many of the denominations would do more if they had the funds, particularly on the counselling aspects. The Fund for the Republic is no longer a source of support, since it is shifting its program to long-range studies of basic issues in civil liberties and withdrawing from grant making in race relations.

Enclosed is a folder, printed a year ago, summarizing the Fund's grants to religious organizations for work in the field of civil liberties and race relations. To these figures should be added the following terminal grants to religious groups for educational work in race relations, as approved by the Fund's Board two weeks ago:

Student Department of the National Board of the YMCA	$15,000
College and University Division of the YWCA	15,000
The Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention	15,000
United Church Women	20,000
American Friends Service Committee	20,000
Women's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church	10,000
United Lutheran Church in America	10,000

All of these organizations requested more than the amounts granted. I believe that most of them could spend additional money effectively.

I promised to send you the names and addresses of some of the key people in denominational work in the South. Here they are:

Dr. A. C. Miller
The Christian Life Commission of
the Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Ave., North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Mr. H. B. Sissel
The Board of Christian Education of the
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Penna.

Dr. Malcolm Calhoun
Board of Church Extension
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.
341-B Ponce de Leon Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Mr. A. Dudley Ward
Board of Social and Economic Relations of
The Methodist Church
740 Rush Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Mr. Lewis H. Deer
United Christian Missionary Society
Board of Missions and Education
222 South Downey Ave.
Indianapolis,7, Indiana

Dr. Harold Letts
The Board of Social Missions of the
United Lutheran Church in America
231 Madison Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.

Dr. Almon R. Pepper, Director
The National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church
281 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N.Y.

Dr. Galen Weaver
Congregational-Christian Churches
289 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N.Y.

There is someone else you might want to see. I have great confidence in Harold Fleming, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia. He knows the South and its institutions better than anyone else, in my opinion. All of the denominations cooperate with the Council and look to Fleming for guidance. (John D. Rockefeller, Jr. gave

considerable sums in the twenties to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Council's predecessor.

I recall your saying that you wish you had time to work on your idea. Perhaps I can help you. I am leaving the Fund shortly and my future plans have not taken definite shape. I should be pleased should the Rockefeller Brothers Fund be interested in considering my services as general consultant on intergroup relations, project evaluator, applicant processor, program projector, or program organizer.

My special interests and areas of competency are intergroup relations in the United States and South Africa. My experience includes teaching in white and Negro colleges in the South, initiating the Quaker job opportunities program, administering the Philadelphia Fair Employment Practice Commission, serving as consultant on program to the South African Institute of Race Relations and research work for the Federal Council of Churches that resulted in my book The Protestant Church and the Negro. I enclose a biographical sketch.

During my three and a half years as intergroup relations consultant to the Fund for the Republic, approximately $3,000,000 was appropriated for educational work in race relations. This experience has given me a good working knowledge of nearly all of the religious and educational organizations and personalities in the field.

Coming back to the churches and the problems they face in the South, I hope you won't hesitate to get in touch with me, if there are questions that you would like to discuss. I am in New York every week and I could come by your office or we might have lunch.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

THE ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS FUND, INC.
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

A discretionary perpetuity incorporated in New York in 1940. Donors: John D. Rockefeller, Jr., David Rockefeller, John D. Rockefeller 3rd, Lawrance S. Rockefeller, Nelson A. Rockefeller, Winthrop Rockefeller.

Purpose: Application to charitable purposes of the income, and if the corporation so decides, the principal, as the corporation may from time to time possess.

Methods: Grants to other organizations.

Policies Regarding Grants: In the Greater New York area the Fund contributes to agencies serving many different community needs --- civic improvement, cultural advancement, education, health, religion and welfare. As a general rule its contributions are to agencies of city-wide significance since it cannot, because of the number involved, contribute directly to such organizations as individual hospitals, churches, community centers, and schools. The same principle is followed in the State of New York where it contributes to agencies whose services are state-wide.

Ourside of New York State its grants are directed to selected organizations with programs of general import. For the most past these organizations are national or international in scope, but occasionally an institution whose primary significance is local in character may be the center of a particular program which the Fund assists because it relates to a broad geographic area or a field of particular interest to the Fund.

In the case of grants to the budgetary or capital needs of established agencies, the Fund's contributions are purposely held to a relatively small proportion of the total need since the objective of the Fund in this area is to share with others in support of such institutions.

In the case of grants to projects in which the Fund has a special interest, it is prepared to contribute a larger percentage of the total need and in some cases to assume not only major or full financial responsibility but also possibly a measure of operating responsibility.

Current Fields of Interest: Aesthetics, agriculture and rural life, children, city and regional planning, conservation of natural resources, democracy and citizenship, economics, higher education, secondary education, Negro education, religious education, health and medicine, humanities, intercultural relations, international matters, religion (all faiths), social sciences, social welfare, youth.

Financial data (year ended December 31, 1954): Total assets, $59,874,779; total expenditures, $1,502,253; grants out of income, $693,204; grants out of principal, $729,239.

Trustees: Detlev W. Bronk, Wallace K. Harrison, David Rockefeller, Nelson A. Rockefeller, Winthrop Rockefeller, John D. Rockefeller,3rd, Laurance S. Rockefeller.
Officers: John D. Rockefeller 3rd, President; Laurance S. Rockefeller, Vice-President; Dana S. Creel, Director; Robert C. Bates, Secretary; Philip F. Keebler, Treasurer; John E. Lockwood, Counsel.

(From Rich's - American Foundations and Their Fields, Seventh Edition)

J. S. Loescher
414 S. 46 St.
Phila. 43, Pa.

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Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

HOW EXTREMISTS PLAY ON PASSIONS OF SOUTH

Kasper's Technique Rallied Army Of Discontented to His Side

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to The New York Times.

ATLANTA, Sept. 21 — As sidewalk turbulence attending public school integration subsided at week's end, thoughtful Southerners were beginning to get a fuller perspective on the role of the vocal agitator.

Unquestionably, the foremost case history concerned Frederick John Kasper, the New Jersey-born and Columbia College-educated exhorter of white supremacy, who led his ragtail army around school grounds in Nashville, Tenn., one of the most colorful and history-laden cities of the ante-bellum South.

It was the second time that Kasper had spearheaded the disruptive element during a school integration controversy. His first appearance as a rabble-rouser was last year in the east Tennessee mountain town of Clinton, which has some 4,000 population, and the heady wine of at least an initial success there sent him on to the cosmopolitan capital city in middle Tennessee with a population of 185,000.

End of Line

In both instances, Kasper came to the end of his tether after acts of violence had shocked the responsible elements of the community. In Clinton it was the sidewalk assault on a Baptist minister by a group of Kasper followers and in Nashville it was the covert dynamiting of a public school at night that brought the heavy hand of the law into play.

The clergyman's beating in Clinton resulted in the arrest of Kasper and fifteen of his supporters by United States deputy marshals on charges of broad theme of the protest over integration.

But the violence erupted swiftly in the late summer night and the local police never again had control of the situation. National Guard troops and state highway patrolmen were summoned to restore law and order but after they left town there were intermittent outbreaks of discord that culminated in the assault on the minister and wound up with the appeal for Federal Government assistance.

Kasper Technique

Thus, when Kasper went on to Nashville it was manifest that he was confident he had evolved a technique for immobilizing the local police, that he could stir up resistance emotions under their very eyes and bring it to a pitch that would force the responsible elements to call-off the integration program as unfeasible.

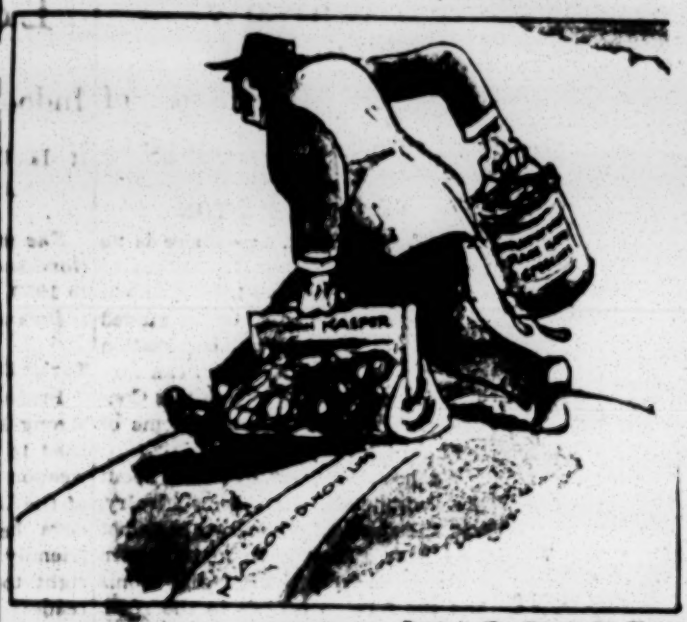
Kasper's technique in both places was the same. His strategy was to form a nucleus of grievance-ridden dissidents around which there could coalesce the curiosity-seekers, those who consider themselves depressed and oppressed, those alienated in a status-minded society and the usual run of bully boys looking for a fight.

Added to this ragtail army, a small group at best in terms of total community population, would be those with sincere opposition to integration, such as a "mother group," whose opinion had been moulded by local and regional leadership of esteemed position that had attacked court-ordered integration as the product of unconstitutional rulings by Communist-inspired judges.

Always Kasper used the language of the demagogue, railing against a picture of evil people in high position, monied swells who did not send their children to public schools, conspirators trying to change the Constitution written by the listeners, very forefathers, tricky one-

'UNFORTUNATE'

ON VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH



Burck in The Chicago Sun-Times
"Carpetbagger."

Palmer in The Springfield News Leader & Press
"Casualty."

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The clergyman's beating in Clinton resulted in the arrest of Kasper and fifteen of his supporters by United States deputy marshals on charges of

'UNFORTUNATE'

Carmack in The Christian Science Monitor

conspiring to flout a Federal court injunction forbidding interference with orderly progress of classroom integration at Clinton High School.

Kasper and six of the defendants subsequently were convicted by a jury of white Southerners in Federal court in near-by Knoxville and are now free on bail pending sentence. As he left the courtroom, Kasper remarked that he could not go back to Clinton this year, but boldly added that he would "kick off a big one in Nashville."

He kept his promise and "invaded" Nashville about two weeks before the start of the integration program limited to the first grade only. He kept up a drumfire of hatemongering at street-corner rallies night after night, warning that violence might be essential to hold back the integration program, and he spoke of shotguns and dynamite and possible blood-letting.

Small Police Force

When Kasper moved into Clinton that town had a police force of eight uniformed patrolmen and a chief. As the crowds began to respond to Kasper's resistance message, the police moved among them, nodding to neighbors and kinfolks, joshing with old friends who regularly gathered on Saturday night in the courthouse square and trying to calm down the rowdy teen-agers. After all, these were homefolks and the police understood the phrases and the emotions, and in most instances they were sympathetic to the

'FAUBUS' FOLLY'

to carry the integration program as unfeasible.

Kasper's technique in both places was the same. His strategy was to form a nucleus of grievance-ridden dissidents around which there could coalesce the curiosity-seekers, those who consider themselves depressed and oppressed, those alienated in a status-minded society and the usual run of bully boys looking for a fight.

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Always Kasper used the language of the demagogue, railing against a picture of evil people in high position, monied swells who did not send their children to public schools, conspirators trying to change the Constitution written by the listeners, very forefathers, tricky one-worlders doing the simple grass-roots people out of their inheritance.

In both Clinton and Nashville, Kasper bore down on his anti-Semitic theme. In Nashville he named prominent Jewish community leaders and urged that they be driven from town. At times his street-corner harangues were almost entirely anti-Semitic, with reference to the integration program suddenly introduced as a kind of afterthought.

In Nashville, the police started off trying to be kindly and tolerant of the radical elements. They permitted orderly picketing of the schools. They adopted a friendly, amiable posture with the crowds.

Same Homefolks

For in Nashville, too, these were homefolks. And even though many came from outlying areas, rallying to the cry that if Nashville goes first the other towns in its orbit must do likewise, still they were often of the milieu from which the police officers came themselves.

Moreover, Kasper has forged a close bond with this sort of follower and has no taint of the "outsider" in their eyes. He has done this by the universally popular touch of adopting the simple ways of the people he leads into emotional crises. Kasper dresses without slickness, he more or less lives off the land by taking domicile with one of the farmers in the outlying area and sharing meager fare at the table of his admirers. He also has shrewdly exploited the colloquialisms of local speech and has a real flair for putting his hate message into terms that have impact.

Thus, Kasper not only stands against the national conspirators pushing "mongrelization" of the races, but he pits the locally alienated against the vested powers, and he does it successfully by fully sharing the drab lives of those who make up the nucleus of his army.

In this setting the police and the responsible elements allow for a great deal of provocation. For these are no polyglot urban areas with solid experience at handling complex integroup flare-ups. Indeed, although the South's urbanization is as spanking new, shiny and chrome-plated as that in the rest of the country, its power structure in the new order is still closely akin to the unsuccessful "cousins" in the poorer settings, the less aggressive who have not found themselves in the city cultures. A great many families living in the premium neighborhoods have the impoverished cousin who visits at unexpected times and spews out the bitterness of the alienated in the parlor of the ranchhouse to the embarrassment of the newly sophisticated.

In any event, to date the local police have sensed this background and have not wanted to act so abruptly that they would antagonize public opinion among those with whom they deal almost every hour of the

Palmer in The Springfield News Leader & Press

"Casualty."

Kass in The Nashville Banner

"Get out! And stay out!"

day. They prefer to move when they know the public is fighting mad about the flouting of law enforcement.

But in times of tension and high excitement, a torpor on the part of local officials and leaders bolsters the agitators. And it takes only an incident to turn the crowd into a mob bent on bending the community to its demands. Then the only chance to halt the momentum is to have a superior force at the right time. In Clinton this critical moment was a failure; in Nashville it succeeded because the police force was large and well-drilled and had a fine esprit when the challenge came.

Tied in with this kind of crowd psychology has been the agitation of the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils. The Klan, a night-riding terroristic organization, obviously does not show its hands when the school bell rings in the morning, but its members do distribute hate pamphlets in the crowd and burn crosses in key spots at night.

Resistance Groups

The councils, resistance groups founded in response to the school integration issue, are sometimes dominated by those of violent disposition and sometimes by respectable leaders who view the controversy as a states' rights matter and who at some point are likely to turn against the violence makers.

What this has meant in its varying measures in Nashville, Charlotte, Greensboro, Winston-Salem, Little Rock and Clinton, is that the key to maintaining public order lies in halting the mob momentum before it can get out of control. And this means having no truck with the hard-core nucleus whatever the reasons of sympathy, the bonds of common understanding. It means police training in crowd dispersal techniques and a realization that when emotions run high the nucleus can instantly turn into a cadre for violence.

Power of Injunction

Basically, the Nashville experience showed, it means getting the catalyst isolated from the crowd. Actually, that is what the Federal court injunctions against interference have been doing for the local police when they have moved too slowly or cautiously. The injunction names the ten or twelve ringleaders specifically, then restrains all others who might act with those ringleaders at any time.

After the bombing in Nashville, the police moved swiftly and Federal, state, county and municipal authority was unified in its determination. They did not waste a minute in selecting the ringleaders. When Kasper got out of custody on bail a few days ago and left town a chastened and dispirited and deflated demagogue, his following—picked up while he rode high in the face of police temporizing—shrinked to a handful. The lesson was obvious.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

File - Foundations - Rockefeller Bros. PA

Mother Formed Character Of Rockefeller Brothers

By JOSEPH R. MARSHALL

NEW YORK, Sept. 28—INS—The five Rockefeller brothers were made multi millionaires by their grandfather and father, but they were made men by their mother.

And those two influences have worked throughout the individual, yet similar, lives of David, the brain; Winthrop, the charmer; Laurance, the mechanic; Nelson, the energetic, and John D. III, the slow but sure.

The five brothers, aged 42 through 51, have put their millions to work in everything from developing agricultural grasses to Latin American diplomacy, and recently to the distinctly non-esoteric question of how to keep the baseball Dodgers employed as "Brooklyn Bums."

Crusty, dime-giving John D. Rockefeller, oil "robber baron" and philanthropist, left them America's most fabulous fortune, estimated once at a billion dollars.

But it was the late Abby Greene Aldrich, daughter of the millionaire Rhode Island Sen. Nelson W. Aldrich, who gave them rock-ribbed character.

Devout Baptists

She wed old John D's son, John D. Jr., and worked with him to turn the family more and more from getting money to giving it. Both she and John D., Jr., who is still living at the family's huge Tarrytown, N.Y., estate, were devout Baptists.

Although she had more money than she could ever spend, she never owned a diamond tiara nor an opera box. Rarely did she leave her children to servants. She raised them herself.

Thus by the time she died nine years ago, they had become a fitting tribute to an amazingly strong-principled yet humane woman who numbered among her favorite philanthropies, for instance, a Negro school she helped establish at Williamsburg, Va.

You can see her sharp, slender nose on every one of her sons, but even more you can see her influnce in the men they are and the things they do.

For instance, she was interested in a Negro philanthropy. Her son Winthrop finally found himself building and managing his huge Winrock stock farm on Petit Jean Mountain in the Ozarks of Arkansas. He appointed James Hudson, a Negro, general superintendent of the huge operation not far from Little Rock.

This, then, is the background that made them, bound together by family loyalty yet divided by distinct interests. Their relationship is perhaps best shown by their homes. All have houses on the huge family estate, Pocantico. But David's is Georgian, Winthrop's modern, Laurance's a sort of continental modern, Nelson's Dutch colonial and John's a French farmhouse.

David is a Harvard Graduate, Winthrop a Yale man, Laurance a Princeton grad, Nelson, Dartmouth, and John D. III, a Princeton alumnus.

Conservative

Were you to see any of them getting out of a cab in New York City, you'd never look twice. They always appear as conservative, well-dressed businessmen, except Winthrop who reportedly has worn cowboy boots into one or two New York nightclubs.

These are the men:

John D. III, first-born and first philanthropist, most serious and perhaps most dignified of the five. Charming in his own quiet way, he wed Blanchette Ferry Hooker, a young woman with both beauty and brains.

They have four children, one of them being 21-year-old Sandra F. Rockefeller, who spent the summer in Britain as a "poor little working girl." Discovered, and asked what her father thought, she said, "He thinks the trip was an excellent idea."

John D. III's major interests have been the family foundations, and recently the Far East. His latest concern is Lincoln Center, a program to redevelop a section of midtown New York to house the Metropolitan Opera and other cultural groups.

Nelson, the energetic, is the husky, blue-eyed "wheel" of the family. Big schemes after big schemes have passed through his hands, never quite using up all his restless, nervous energy.

He, along with his four brothers, has a large staff, which serves them all, at Rockefeller Center in New York City. When Nelson wants something, the staff members know he wants it "on the jump." They also know he depends on them for all details while he takes care of the "big picture."

Nelson worked first for Chase Manhattan Bank—"the Rockefeller Bank—and then worked at renting Rockefeller Center, a job he couldn't have done more thoroughly had it meant his bread and butter. He jumped into international affairs first with two big private international development funds. In 1940, he became coordinator of inter-American affairs, and then an assistant secretary of state.

It was Nelson who persuaded John D. Jr. to buy and present to the United Nations its site on the East River. President Eisenhower named him undersecretary of health, education and welfare, and a special assistant on foreign affairs.

Jump Into Fight

When it looked like the Brooklyn Bums were just about ready to become the Los Angeles Angels, he jumped into the fight trying, as he put it, "every conceivable means of keeping the Brooklyn Dodgers in New York."

Laurance, the mechanic, undoubtedly would have made his own million had he been poor in this mechanical age. He likes airplanes and electronics, has the dash of an entrepreneur, and the ability to spot down-and-out firms destined for fabulous success.

These are a few of the companies which have proved his judgment: Reaction Motors, makers of rocket engines; Marquardt Aircraft, maker of ramjet engines; Piasecks Helicopter, and Aircraft Radio.

And if any Rockefeller has great warmth and charm, it is Winthrop—the Rockefeller of "Bobo" fame. He is the only one who ever installed a bar in his office at Rockefeller Center, where liquor is banned at Christmas parties in deference to John D. Jr., and to old John D., both devout Baptists of the non-drinking, non-smoking schools. He is the Rockefeller adorned by messenger boys, secretaries, farm hands and just plain people.

He is also the only Rockefeller to establish a playboy's reputation, to have worked with his hands—as a roughneck for Humble Oil—to have married twice and to have fought in combat in World War II. As an Army officer he got ambushed, burned, caught jaundice, and came home from the Pacific to recuperate into a healthy six foot three, 225 pounds.

Wed Miner's Daughter

And, of course, he is the only Rockefeller who wed Paulekiute Sears, the daughter of a coal miner who eventually won a divorce settlement of about five million dollars.

Now Winthrop appears to have found his home at Winrock Farm, built for a million and a half, stocked with Santa Gertrudis cattle, raising special grasses, and irrigated by a system now being copied by farmers throughout the state. He wed socialite Mrs. Jeanette Edris last year.

But the Rockefeller who always knew where he was going is David—destined, everyone says, for the presidency of Chase. He's already a director at 41.

He graduated from Harvard, studied economics, got a Ph. D., wrote restrained words of praise for the New Deal—that anathema of most millionaires—and went on to join the bank after serving in Army staff jobs during World War II.

David consistently comes up with ideas, such as new publications by Chase, a new kind of credit agency and increased movement of Chase into the lucrative retail banking field.

David, also, is distinctly part of the work-a-day world.

While his brothers usually take cabs to work—not chauffeur driven limousines—David often takes the subway. And as one man who knows him, and takes the subway to save money, one said with a grin:

"The subways are crowded enough without David Rockefeller crowding them up more. But David never thinks of himself that way."

Catholic Inquiry Forum Opening At St. Joseph

An "inquiry forum" on Roman Catholic doctrine, beliefs and practices will be instituted next Tuesday at St. Joseph Church and will continue through semi-weekly meetings for 12 weeks.

The meetings are open to Catholics and non-Catholics alike. The forum instructors will be the Rev. Jerome T. Mire and the Rev. Arthur W. Hauth.

It was pointed out that obligation of marital instructions for Catholics and non-Catholics contemplating marriage could be met by attending the forum sessions. Meetings will be held Tuesday and Thursday nights from 7:30 to 8:30. No committment for affilation with the Catholic Church will be asked of any person attending the forum meetings.

State-Times and Morning Advocate want ads get quick results.

File

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

November 8, 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of November 5 with which you enclosed the background material on the Southern Regional Council which we had requested.

We are looking forward with interest to receipt of the list of new board members and a copy of the Council's Annual Report which you mentioned in your letter.

We enjoyed our discussions with you and only hope that we did not take up too much of your limited time here.

Sincerely yours,

Montgomery S. Bradley

Montgomery S. Bradley

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3
Georgia

November 5, 1957

Mr. Montgomery Bradley
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Bradley:

I was very glad to have had the opportunity to discuss with you and Dr. Meserve the work of the Southern Regional Council and to talk briefly with Mr. Kreel and Mr. Allen.

Enclosed is the background material on the Council which I promised to send. The items enclosed, with a word of explanation about each, are as follows:

1. List of Board Members. As I believe I explained, our board will be replenished in a major way at the annual meeting next week, since representatives of the state groups automatically terminated on October 1st. Therefore, the enclosed list is temporarily incomplete, showing only those members whose continuance on the board for the next year or more is certain. Some thirty odd additional members will be elected next week, and once their acceptances are received I shall send you a revised and complete list.

2. Budgets. Enclosed are copies of the actual budget for 1957 and the proposed budget for 1958. You will note that the proposed budget for next year shows, by source, the income considered expectable and the remaining amount that must be raised from other sources if the budget is to be effectively carried out.

3. Contributors for 1954 Through 1957. This shows, by category, the sources of the Council's income for these years.

Although some of the amounts contributed are trifling, particularly in the case of the churches, I thought it well to include them. Many of these groups have very small budgets themselves, and the fact that they contribute at all is a tangible indication of their support of the Council's aims and activities.

4. Program. Of course, it is possible to supply an endless amount of detail on program activities. With a view to keeping this brief, I am enclosing only two documents - the general description entitled: "The South of Promise" and our most recently prepared report, covering the first half of 1957. We will shortly have an annual report ready, at which time I shall send you a copy.

Also enclosed as of general relevance are an organizational chart and a copy of the Council's letter of tax exemption.

I recall that you inquired particularly about the amount of financial support secured within the South. As you will see from the schedule of contributions, little of the Council's financial support comes from purely Southern sources. One reason for this is the fact that our related state councils on human relations must depend heavily on the money they can raise within their respective states, and we have been at pains not to compete with them for those funds. Therefore, any accounting of money raised for this movement within the South should take notice of the amounts raised by the state groups. During fiscal 1954-55, they raised approximately $24,000; during 1955-56, $37,000; during 1956-57, approximately $55,000. All of these funds, with possibly a few negligible exceptions, were raised within the Southern states. During the coming fiscal year, the state organizations have undertaken to raise somewhat more than $70,000.

We expect to submit a request to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund by no later than mid-December. Meanwhile, if I can usefully furnish further background material of any kind, please let me know.

With best regards to you and your associates,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures. (see attached)

Encls. for Mr. Montgomery Bradley
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

1. List of Board of Directors
2. Actual Budget for 1957
3. Proposed Budget for 1958
4. Contributors for 1954 through 1957 (List) - Showing Council's income for these years and categories
5. Semi-Annual Report - January 1 - June 30, 1957
6. South of Promise
7. Organizational Chart
8. Job Descriptions
9. Biographical Data on Staff Members - SRC
10. Treasury Department Tax Exemption Letter for SRC

December 13, 1957

Mr. Montgomery Bradley
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Bradley:

My apologies for not having written sooner about the additional material I was to send you. As it happens, board acceptances are still trickling in, and we decided to delay the annual report so that it might cover the entire calendar year. I am enclosing a descriptive list of our members as of this date, with only a few more acceptances still pending. As a partial substitute for the annual report of staff activities, I am enclosing the Report of the Executive Committee to the Annual Meeting. Also enclosed is the recently completed audit for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1957.

The main purpose of this letter, however, is to transmit our request to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund for assistance during the next three years. The proposed program has had the earnest consideration of the Council's officers and staff, and we sincerely hope it will merit the approval of the Fund

Needless to say, we will be happy to supply any further information you may wish. I will be in New York Tuesday and Wednesday of next week - December 17 and 18 -- and will give you a call then.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

N.Y. Times Art. Sept. 22
ALA. Journal Art. 1/11/57

Enclosures - 3 copies of the Proposal
1 copy of the 1956-57 Audit
1 copy of the Report of the Executive Committee
List of Board Members with Biographical Data
Summary of Activities... SRC

File Copy
Please Return

A PROPOSAL
TO THE
ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS FUND
FROM THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

December 13, 1957

This is a request for assistance over a three-year period to the Southern Regional Council for a special effort to stimulate and aid community leadership in achieving orderly desegregation of public facilities. The amount requested is $40,000 a year for the three-year period. Since the program proposed is flexible in nature, the amount requested might be smaller or larger, depending on the scope and intensity of the effort made. Our justifications for feeling the amount of $40,000 as an appropriate annual figure are set forth in the projected budget at the end of this proposal; but if the substance of the proposal meets with approval, we shall be glad to discuss with the Fund any adjustment in this amount that may be necessary. We do not feel, however, that the common practice of requesting diminishing amounts over a multiple-year grant period is applicable in this case.

THE SOUTH AND DESEGREGATION

In the interest of space, we will confine this analysis of the situation in the South to the barest summary, emphasizing the points which are most relevant to this proposal. For a fuller analysis, in which the Council's staff was a collaborator, we cite the article entitled, "The Southern Negro; Change and Paradox," by John N. Popham in the Sunday New York Times Magazine of December 1, 1957.

Since the Supreme Court rendered its school desegregation decision in May 1954, two conflicting trends have been underway. First is progressive desegregation of public schools and other facilities beginning in the border states and the District of Columbia and, within recent months, reaching into cities of the mid-South. The second trend has been one of increasingly intense resistance to any change in the racial pattern, beginning in the rural heart of the Deep South, then spreading into other areas of the Deep South and into adjoining mid-South states.

Heartening progress toward integration has been made in the five Border States and the District of Columbia; and also in the mid-South -- Kentucky, western Texas, and a few scattered spots in Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee. These areas have provided more than enough evidence that desegregation of schools and other facilities can and does work well, given the necessary preparation and leadership.

Unfortunately, in the rest of the South there has been a resolidifying of old attitudes, largely engineered by the political leadership. Defiance is manifested not only in official actions and utterances

directed at the Supreme Court and its decisions, but also in punitive measures against individuals and groups who favor a positive or even a more realistic course of action.

Accompanying this official posture have been the growth of the White Citizens Councils and other resistance movements, serious problems in the churches and the labor movement, the deterioration of political campaigns, and in general conformity or silence by many of the responsible elements in the South. The example set by state office-holders and others in high places has stirred excitable rank-and-file Southerners to violence in several instances - even in parts of Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas, where integration should have proceeded without a ripple.

Any adequate appraisal of these negative factors must take into account the great concentration of power available to the extreme pro-segregation forces in the Deep South. This includes virtually all of the state and local controlling institutions - governors and attorneys-general, legislatures and state created commissions, many grand juries, congressmen and senators, and, under vigilante pressure, many influential private institutions such as newspapers, business organizations, civic clubs, and the like.

All of this has presented grave problems in national and international terms. The impact of the "Southern revolt" on the prestige of the United States abroad, particularly among Asians and Africans, is of great concern to every thoughtful American. Domestically, the assaults on the authority of the Supreme Court, on respect for law and order, and on recognition of the rights of minority-group citizens are major threats to the national welfare. Pro-segregation laws and administrative actions in the South have seriously eroded such basic civil liberties as freedom of speech, association, and the right to due process of law.

Yet it is important to recognize that, beneath an artifically imposed orthodoxy, there is great diversity of conditions from one state to another, from area to area within a given state, and from one white Southerner to another in a given area. Far from being the region of static, unyielding values pictured by the segregationist leadership, the South is undergoing kaleidoscopic changes in its economy, its population, and its way of life. The rapid spread of new industries, the explosive growth of the cities, the mechanization of agriculture, the influx of people and ideas from other sections of the country, and a host of other economic and cultural changes - all these are remaking the face of the South with breathtaking speed. Not the least of the changes is the emergence of a new self-image among Southern Negroes, more and more of whom are content with nothing less than full equality under law. A disproportionate amount of fear and tension accompanying this rapid transition in Southern society is finding expression in emotional resistance to racial change. Yet the historic forces - moral, economic, political, and international - which are creating new tensions are also pressing the South, inevitably if unwillingly, towards desegregation. The South is avidly seeking to do two things - to transform

itself into a modern industrial society and to maintain an unyielding pattern of racial segregation. The two objectives are clearly incompatible, and in the end clearly it is segregation that must yield. The question is: What price must be paid in human suffering, social disorganization, and economic damage before the inevitable is accepted?

The unhappy events in Little Rock have dramatized this question for the South, the nation, and the world. The issues in Little Rock have not yet been resolved, and it is impossible to say with certainty what the net effect of that crisis will be. But there are at least tentative indications that the Little Rock experience has positive as well as negative implications for the immediate future of the South. It demonstrated for the first time that the Federal Government does not intend to let the orders of the courts be flouted with impunity. Thus the waning belief that desegregation was "inevitable" has been revived and strengthened among reasonable Southerners. Little Rock also demonstrated the extent to which a previously placid and law-abiding community can be disrupted by mob action when official leadership espouses defiance of law. There is some evidence that inert "moderates" elsewhere in the South have been shocked into awareness that their silence and inaction can have devastating results. The most tangible evidence of this so far is the adoption of positive statements on desegregation by clergymen in Atlanta, Macon, and Columbus, Georgia; Houston, Texas; and other Southern cities. Though less concrete, there are also indications that businessmen, educators, and law enforcement authorities feel some of the same concern.

In summary, this is a time for maximum efforts to reach community leaders who, though not convinced of the desirability of desegregation, are disturbed by the possible consequences of emotionalism and defiance.

THE ROLE OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

This situation imposes a tremendous responsibility on the Southern Regional Council. As the only wholly Southern interracial group with long experience, professional skills, and reputation in the field of race relations, it has had to operate on a broader and more effective scale than ever before, recognizing that it is dealing with causes and effects that are nationwide in scope. The Council's task has included but gone far beyond the stimulation of purely local action. We have felt it essential to assume more leadership in educating and rallying those regional - and sometimes national - forces whose action or inaction at this time is critical.

Lest this sound presumptuous, we hasten to add that we have no illusions that the Council is a causative force, or even, in itself, a powerful one in this vast transition. Its effectiveness must be judged in terms of the strategic importance of its activities in contested situations where the right program at the right time can make a decisive difference. Examples would be the timely release last summer of the Council's findings on Negro suffrage, the support of consultant services

to community leadership vacillating between a forward and a backward course, and other activities described in the attached material.

We are all too conscious that the Council's present program is largely devoted to meeting those needs and opportunities that are, so to speak, thrust upon us. This is not surprising, since the demands are many and the Council's staff and resources are limited. Our information staff -- two professionals and one clerical person -- is hard pressed to get out our regular publications and service the stream of requests from the press and other media, private organizations and government agencies, our associated state councils, foreign visitors, students, teachers, writers, and so on. Our consultant service must deal with requests for assistance from the state councils and voluntary community groups seeking to rally support for desegregation. Other field staff, such as the labor consultant and director of women's work, are involved with the pressing needs of these specialized groups and with the demands of interagency coordination, which we have been asked to perform.

This means that many of the Council's present resources are enlisted in necessary work with these who are committed to some degree of preparation for desegregation or action for compliance. Many of our activities have some influence, direct or indirect, on people in decision-making positions who are not so committed. But, under the circumstances, our effectiveness with this group is limited and sporadic; and we know of no organized effort that seeks to do more - or indeed as much.

We have spoken of our belief that there is increasing receptivity to constructive suggestions among reasonable white leadership, even in the Deep South. It is logical to assume that such receptivity will grow as the issue is joined in new areas and the high price of recalcitrance becomes inescapably clear. Hence we are requesting assistance that will enable us to carry on an [illegible] and systematic program aimed at "moderate" leadership.

OPERATION "LAW AND ORDER"

By stressing law and order we do not imply, as some have, that advocacy of desegregation on moral and democratic grounds is useless or should be abandoned; on the contrary, it should be increased, especially by our religious leaders. We do feel that the "moderate" segment of white leadership is not likely to be moved by such advocacy in the short run. These are influential people who show some willingness to consider pragmatic arguments for change, and the tangible consequences of one alternative as against another. Thus the inevitability of desegregation, the need to maintain law and order, and the practical workability of proposed changes are most likely to influence them. The techniques which the Council is best fitted, by experience and skills to use with the "moderate" group include:

Rockefeller Proposal - 5.

1. Consultation. -- We have had experience with bringing respected practitioners together with their counterparts in Southern communities. We have enabled eight local school superintendents and several school board members to draw on the experiences of school superintendents from districts which have successfully carried out desegregation. This technique would be equally useful in the fields of law enforcement, transit desegregation, and changes in other public facilities.

The usefulness of the method, of course, lies in exposing doubtful officials to the reassuring counsel of a professional equal who has actually done the job. The difficulty lies in developing enough local interest and receptivity for the consultant's visit to be worthwhile. It is at this point that more staff effort is needed than the Council has yet been able to provide. The Council's role as an unpublicized middle-man is essential, for two reasons: most local officials are unfamiliar with qualified consultants; also they dare not risk the premature controversy that appropriation of public funds for such a purpose might arouse.

The extent to which this technique can be useful depends entirely on successful prior cultivation of the community leaders in question. The Council needs aid to enlarge its field work for this purpose, and to bear the cost of the services requested.

2. Visitation. -- This is an unsatisfactory term for the reverse of the consultant method -- that is, giving key local officials the opportunity to visit other communities where facilities have been successfully desegregated. This alternative technique has several advantages: (a) It is more palatable to the official who is uneasy about the adverse consequences of bringing an "outsider" into the community to talk about desegregation; (b) it puts the local official into a total setting where the change in question is an accepted reality; (c) it stimulates the local pride -- and thus the "consultant" performance -- of leaders in the community visited; and (d) on a quite practical level, it eliminates the consultant fee.

The Council has had only a limited experience with this technique, principally in the field of law enforcement, but we feel it holds much promise. The demands on Council staff are approximately the same as those mentioned under "Consultation."

3. Conferences. -- We hold no great brief for general-purpose conferences, in which the subject matter or the group itself is diffuse. However, the proposed effort might well call for occasional special-purpose conferences, in which the group is carefully selected, homogeneous in interest, and focused on specific questions of common concern. In most cases, conferences of this sort, whether of educators, police officials, or others, would require the presence of one or more specialists in the field under consideration.

The Council's recent conference experience has mainly involved religious leaders, organizational personnel, union leadership, and social scientists with special skills and interest in community and human relations.

4. Preparation of Special Materials. -- All phases of the proposed program need supporting materials especially prepared or assembled. There is, of course, much existing material on desegregation, including that prepared or distributed by the Council itself. Again, however, the job is to assemble what is available, supplementing it as necessary, in order to support the appeal to practicality and law and order discussed earlier. Examples:

(a) Materials illustrating the economic stake in compliance with law. There is a growing body of statements by influential Southerners on the danger to the economy of defiance and disorder. There is also documentation on damage to industrialization and marketing of school bonds, disruption of transit services, boycotts and counter-boycotts, loss of national conventions, waste of manpower, loss to the consumer market, and the like. What is needed is the preparation of special publications presenting these facts in persuasive fashion for use in conjunction with consultation, conferences, and in special mailings.

(b) Popular material on principles of police work with minority groups, prevention and handling of mob action. As the Clinton, Nashville, and Little Rock episodes demonstrate, the quality of police action is a vital factor in successful adjustment to desegregation. Southern police forces are generally untrained and inexperienced in the handling of intergroup tensions. Moreover, the police are unusually responsive to community opinion. Material of the kind here proposed could usefully be directed both at police officials and community leaders.

(c) Illustrative case material. In border cities (e.g., Baltimore, Louisville, St. Louis) the factors that made for successful school desegregation have been carefully studied and described. The primary factors were educational planning, police procedures, and community preparation. Similar evaluation of the recent experiences in Nashville, Little Rock, and the three North Carolina cities is needed. In this way, other Southern cities can learn by concrete example both the positive and negative lessons of these early experiences. We should like, if possible, to commission specialists who would study the evidence and prepare the final reports.

(d) Finally, some of the articles appearing in periodicals are very effective as program material. (For example, see the enclosed items from the New York Times and the Alabama Journal, Montgomery, Alabama.) We should like to reprint and give selective distribution to the best of this material.

FINANCIAL R[illegible]

An intensive program using these techniques cannot honestly be blueprinted; it must be developed in the light of increasing experience and changes in the Southern situation itself. We make no claim to having achieved a final formula for this or any other program, and we doubt that such a claim by anyone would be justified. What the Council does offer is an orientation, structure, and range of staff skills appropriate to

the effort proposed.

From this it will be obvious that the following proposed budget can only be an estimate, subject to major revision as the program progresses.

PROJECTED ANNUAL BUDGET FOR THREE-YEAR
"LAW AND ORDER" PROJECT

Coordination and Overhead	
Project Coordinator (Salary and Social Security)	$ 7,500.00
Travel	5,000.00
Clerical	3,500.00
Office Equipment and Supplies	1,000.00
Communication	1,000.00
SRC Supervision and Overhead (10%)	4,000.00
Consultants	
Fees	4,000.00
Travel	3,000.00
Visitations	
Travel	4,000.00
Materials Preparation and Distribution	
Commissioned Preparation (Including case studies)	3,500.00
Printing and Distribution	3,000.00
Miscellaneous (including salary increase, last two years)	500.00
TOTAL	$40,000.00

We propose a three-year period for two reasons. First, such programs as that proposed generally suffer because of short-range financing. Un-

certain prospects make sound planning and involvement of key persons difficult; moreover, duration of less than three years prevents learning from the experience accrued during the life of the project itself. Secondly, securing the services of a qualified coordinator on a one-year basis would be next to impossible. The Council is fortunate in having a remarkably able and devoted staff, but we cannot expect to hold such people or make maximum use of their skills if the financial structure of the organization is not secure for a reasonable period ahead. The stresses of this kind of work today become unreasonable when financial insecurity is added to the other liabilities.

There is little question that the situation in the South today portends a critical period of at least three years. Naturally, we should expect grants for the latter two years to be contingent on a satisfactory showing of program achievement at the beginning of each new grant year.

December 26, 1957

Dr. Harry Meserve
The Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Meserve:

Enclosed are two of the three additional items I was to send you. The annual report of staff activities should be ready shortly after the first of the year, and I will see that a copy is sent to you immediately.

I enjoyed our conversation last week, and appreciated your prompt reading of our application so that we could discuss it while I was in New York. That was far behond the call of duty, and I am duly grateful. Please let me know if we can send anything else that will aid in consideration of the proposal.

My latest communication from Little Rock is uncheerful. It is a copy of Harry Ashmore's new book bearing the following lugubrious inscription: "For Cousin Harold with gratitude for his help, and for his laughter on the mourner's bench. HSA, Little Rock (if you'll pardon the expression)."

All good wishes for the new year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures: Proposed Budget - 1958
Current By-Laws

VIA AIR MAIL

January 6, 1958

Dr. Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc.
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Room 5600
New York 20, New York

Dear Dr. Meserve:

We have had two further acceptances which you may wish to add to the list of Council members previously submitted. They are Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim, dean of the Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, and Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild of Atlanta.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

VIA AIR MAIL

January 14, 1958

Dr. Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc.
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Room 5600
New York 20, New York

Dear Dr. Meserve:

We have pulled together the several exhibits which you and I discussed by telephone Friday. A word or two about each:

1. Financial Analysis for 1958. -- In the months since we prepared the budget which you have, the balance to be raised from new sources has been reduced by unanticipated carry-overs from 1957, one or two new grants, and the like. The outstanding balance now stands at $43,000. If our application is approved by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, we estimate that this will be diminished, through overlapping, by about $9,000, leaving $34,000 to be secured through requests pending, in preparation, or in prospect -- some of which are also listed. I think you will agree that this reflects a firm fiscal base on which the proposed project can rest.

It hardly seemed worthwhile to attempt similar analyses for 1959 and 1960, since the details of such analyses will depend in some part on the outcome of fund-raising efforts in the interim. (For example, whether the pending requests are approved, whether they will be one-time or recurrent, etc.) As a rough index, however, it can be said that if all committed, expectable, and requested

sources repeated in the same amount during 1959, our income would be $178,400, as against a projected need of $198,598. All of them won't, of course, but the development of new sources of income during the period should make the fund-raising task for 1959 and 1960 a reasonable one.

2. Calendar-Year Statements Since 1953. -- These are the calendar-year audits which were prepared to supplement the fiscal-year audits. Since the 1957 audit will not be completed for several weeks, I am also enclosing an unaudited statement of income and expenses for the year just ended as a basis for comparison with earlier years. As you will see, these statements show a steadily rising income over the five-year period. This is true for the year just ended, even though we had less Fund for the Republic money in 1957 than we will have during 1958, 1959, and 1960. This indicates that the Council's fund-raising performance has increased commensurately with the growth of its budget.

If this financial material raises new questions, or if there is other information I can usefully submit, please let me know.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures: Financial Analysis - 1958
Audited Statements, 1953 - 1956
Unaudited Statement, 1957

P. S. You will note that there is a discrepancy between the balance on the 1957 statement and the amount carried over on the 1958 analysis. This difference is accounted for in the interest income shown in the "On Hand or Committed" column of the analysis.

H.C.F.

Submitted to Rockefeller Bros. Fund

Jan. 14, 1958

FINANCIAL ANALYSIS - 1958

Amount Budgeted		$207,598.00
Amount Carried Over From 1957:		
Cash Balance 1/1/58	$3,997.00	
Fact-finding Balance	5,775.00	
Consultant Program Balance	3,432.00	
Total:		$13,204.00
On Hand or Committed by Contributors:		
Fund for Republic Allocation	$76,800.00	
New York Fund for Children	7,500.00	
William C. Whitney Foundation	5,000.00	
Aaron E. Norman Fund	5,000.00	
John Hay Whitney Foundation	2,000.00	
Phelps-Stokes Fund	2,000.00	
The Methodist Church	1,500.00	
Presbyterian Church, U.S.	250.00	
Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.	250.00	
United Steelworkers Union	1,000.00	
Interest on Investments	7,116.00	
Total:		$108,416.00
Income Expectable:		
New World Foundation	$20,000.00	
Christopher Reynolds Foundation	5,000.00	
Sigmund Silberman Foundation	400.00	
Edgar B. Stern Family Fund	300.00	
AFL-CIO	3,000.00	
ILGWU	500.00	
United Auto Workers	1,000.00	
The Protestant Episcopal Church	1,000.00	
Methodist Woman's Division	1,200.00	
Individual Contributions	2,000.00	
Office-Related Income (Subscriptions, sale of literature, honoraria, etc.)	8,500.00	
Total:		$ 42,900.00
		$164,520.00
Balance to be Raised	$43,078.00	
Less Reduction if request approved by Rockefeller Brothers Fund	9,000.00	
Remaining balance	$34,078.00	
Grant Requests Under Consideration:		
New York Foundation	$15,000.00	
Jacob R. Schiff Fund	15,000.00	
Benjamin E. Rosenthal Fund	5,000.00	
Total Requested:	$35,000.00	

Grant Requests in Preparation:

Prynce Hopkins Charities Fund	$ 5,000.00
*Marion R. Ascoli Fund	500.00
*New-Land Foundation	2,500.00
Ella Lyman Cabot Trust	5,000.00
Chace Fund	5,000.00
Total to be Requested:	$18,000.00

In addition, preliminary discussion or correspondence has been carried on with other foundations which will be applied to in coming months. (Field, Sunstein, Old Dominion, etc.)

*Contributed in 1957.

Submitted to Rockefeller Bros. fund
1/14/58

INCOME

January 1, 1957 to December 31, 1957

GENERAL BUDGET

Balance on Hand - January 1, 1957		$1,141.00
Contributions:		
Foundations:		
New-Land Foundation	$2,500.00	
Field Foundation	3,000.00	
William C. Whitney Foundation	5,000.00	
New York Fund for Children	10,000.00	
Christopher Reynolds Foundation	5,000.00	
Adele R. Levy Fund	2,500.00	
Marion R. Ascoli Fund	500.00	
Sigmund Silberman Foundation	400.00	
Edgar Stern Family Fund	300.00	
Fund for the Republic	32,666.66	
New World Foundation (Overhead Allocation)	2,000.00	
		$63,866.66
Individuals	4,815.18	
Organizations	5,568.00	
Churches	4,095.00	
		14,478.18
Interest Income		2,862.97
Office Related Income:		
(1) Subscriptions, Sale of Literature, Honoraria, etc.		8,717.09
(2) Reimbursement from Consultant Service Program for Project Expenses Incurred 1956		2,455.32
Total Income, General Budget		$92,380.22

Consultant Service Program:

Balance, January 1, 1957	$ 7,538.33	
New World Foundation Grant	20,000.00	
Total Income for Project:		$27,538.33

Fact-Finding Program:

Balance, January 1, 1957 ..... (Carried Over From 1956)	$19,810.50	

Fellowship of the Concerned (Women's Work):

John Hay Whitney Foundation Balance January 1, 1957	1,199.84	
Phelps-Stokes Fund	2,000.00	
Travel Refunds	79.18	
Total for Project:		$3,279.02

Total Income, General Budget and Projects $143,088.07

EXPENSES

January 1, 1957 to December 31, 1957

GENERAL BUDGET

Salaries	$66,942.65	
Consultant Fees	1,153.04	
Rent	1,722.00	
Fire and Bond Insurance	722.69	
New South, Printing and Postage	6,236.90	
Postage	1,068.91	
Printing	752.72	
Office Equipment	350.40	
Office Supplies	1,598.24	
Misc. Expense	160.68	
Georgia State Sales Tax	26.16	
Books and Subscriptions	336.42	
Executive Committee Meetings and Annual Meeting	2,112.62	
Legal and Accounting	305.00	
Social Security Tax Expense	1,033.16	
Bank Charges	.45	
Telephone and Telegraph	2,995.54	
Total Expenses, General Budget:		$87,417.58

Consultant Service Program:

Consultant Fees	7,456.86	
Travel	7,237.97	
Overhead to General Budget	2,000.00	
Project Expenses 1956 Incurred to General Budget	2,455.32	
General Budget for Intern Program	4,955.80	
Total Expenses for Project:		24,105.95

Fact-Finding Program:

Consultant Fees	6,084.95	
Travel	1,123.50	
Printing	2,328.11	
Overhead to General Budget	3,500.00	
Office Equipment	998.15	
Total Expenses for Project:		14,034.71

Fellowship of the Concerned (Women's Work):

Travel Expenses for Meetings		2,760.20
Total Expenses, General Budget and Projects:		$128,318.44

Expenses (Continued)

Total Income	$143,008.07
Less: Total Expenses	128,418.44
Balance, January 1, 1953	$ 14,689.63

(See attached schedule for income and disbursements to state organizations.)

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

January 1, 1957 to December 31, 1957

INCOME

Balance, January 1, 1957 ..... (Fund for Republic Grant for State Subsidies)	$66,042.61
Grants-in-Aid to States (1 Quarter) ..... (From General Funds for State Aid)	10,125.00
Special Project Grant (Arkansas) ..... (From Fund for the Republic)	1,500.00
Total Income:	$77,667.61

EXPENSE

Salaries	$60,184.38	
Consultant Fees and Travel	2,214.52	
Local Expenses for Mississippi, Tennessee and Virginia	1,418.68	
Liability Insurance	61.46	
Grants-in-Aid to States (1 Quarter)	9,500.00	
Reserved for Louisiana Effort (1 Quarter)	625.00	
Social Security Tax Expense	1,369.00	
Special Project Grant (Arkansas)	1,500.00	
Miscellaneous Expense	129.18	
Total Expense:		$77,002.22

Balance, January 1, 1958 ..... 665.39

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL

February 10, 1958

Dr. Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Room 5600
New York 20, New York

Dear Dr. Meserve:

Suddenly, as usual, I find I am to be in New York for the latter part of this week. I will be there from mid-afternoon Wednesday until Friday evening.

While I doubt that you need anything further from me until your Board has an opportunity to act on our proposal, I would not want to come to New York without letting you know. I will call you Wednesday afternoon or Thursday morning to see if there is any way I can be useful. If not, please don't feel that you must make any effort to work me into your schedule.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

February 19, 1958

Dr. Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Room 5600
New York, New York

Dear Harry:

The hour we spent together over lunch last Friday was a very pleasant one for me. Recalling your interest in the leadership and activities of the segregation groups, I'm sending separately some materials on that subject. They are a bit out-of-date in some respects but still essentially accurate.

I thought you might also like to see the minutes of the last Southern interagency meeting. If there are further developments with respect to Knoxville, I'll let you know.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosures for Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Bros. Fund

~~List of Board Members - (Feb. 17, 1958)~~
~~SRC Annual Report - 1957~~
Biographies of Leaders of the Resistance Movement in Alabama, 1956
(Sam. Martin Englehart, Jr.
Walter Coats Givhan
Leonard Wilson
Luther Ingalls
Rev. G. Stanley Frazier
John Temple Graves
Albert Burton Boutwell)
Notes on Interview with Member of Board of Directors of Montgomery Citizens's Council

Ltr. from John U. Barr with Excepts from Speech made by Sen. J. O. Eastland

August, 1955 ANNUAL REPORT of The Citizens' Council

Pro-Segregation Groups in the South

"Hate-Monger with Literary Trimmings" by James Rorty

"A Review of Black Monday, by Judge Tom P. Brady

"Conflicting Views on Segregation: Reprints of a Series of lettersk between D. M. Nelson and Unnamed Alumnus

Mimeoed copy of A MANUAL FOR SOUTHERNERS Reprinted from The Citizens' Council Feb. 1957 issue.

2 Smear Sheets

March 12, 1958

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Dana S. Creel
Office of the Director
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Creel:

This is to acknowledge, with warm appreciation, your letter notifying us of the grant of $8,000 for assistance to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. The Southern Regional Council's official receipt is enclosed.

This Council's check for $8,000 has been sent to the Arkansas Council, and I am sure you will shortly be hearing directly from the officers of the state group. From our vantage point, we can hardly imagine a special grant of this kind that would be more timely or more effective in strengthening positive effort in the South. The assurance of equal support in 1959 and 1960 greatly enhances the effectiveness of the grant.

You will, of course, receive periodic reports on the progress of the Arkansas Council.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Enclosure: receipt.
HCF:fcl

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Office of the Director

February 28, 1958

RECEIVED MAR 6 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming:

As you know, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund for some time has shared your concern for, and has been giving consideration to, the special needs of one of the state groups affiliated with the Southern Regional Council. In this connection, a decision has been reached to make a contribution of $24,000 over a three-year period to the Southern Regional Council to enable it to assist in maintaining and strengthening the program of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Accordingly, I am glad to enclose the Fund's check in the amount of $8,000 payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. as a contribution designated for the general budgetary activities of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations in 1958. Further payments under this pledge will be made by the Fund in equal amounts payable in 1959 and 1960 upon written requisition by a duly authorized officer of the Southern Regional Council. The Fund would also be glad to receive copies of any reports that may from time to time be issued.

CR. 4/8000.00
RHA

Sincerely yours,

Dana S. Creel

Dana S. Creel

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 21, 1958

Dr. Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Harry:

I thought you might find these minutes of the last Southern interagency meeting of general interest.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Minutes of Interagency Conf., Feb 25, 1958)

March 21, 1958

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Dave:

You may already have received a copy of these minutes through the routine mailing, but I wanted to be sure.

You will note, among other things, that the joint fact-finding project is finally congealing. We expect to begin, with Margaret Price as the project person, in about two weeks. She will be working out of SRC's offices and under our day-to-day direction, though the overall direction will be in the hands of an interagency subcommittee of five.

A copy of the minutes was also sent to the Norman Fund.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Interagency Conf. Minutes, Feb. 25, 1958)

P. S. You will also see that the Southern interagency group has tactfully declared its independence.

H.C.F.

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

March 25, 1958

RECEIVED MAR 27 1958

Dear Harold:

Thank you for sending us the minutes of the interagency conference which was held on February 25th. I have read them with interest and we are glad to have them for our files.

With all good wishes to you,

Sincerely yours,

Harry

Harry C. Moserve

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

May 21, 1958

Dear Harold:

Thank you for sending me the agenda for the Interagency Meeting. I shall look forward to being present with real interest. I expect to arrive in Atlanta at 7.06 p.m., Monday evening, on Delta Airlines Flight 727. If that is not too late for you, let's plan to have dinner then. I have reservations at the Biltmore Hotel. It will be good to see you.

Sincerely yours,

Harry

Harry C. Meserve

8:00

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Delta
VA 4-3242

Encls: Proposed Agenda - Interagency Conf. - May 27-28
List of interagency staffers whose attendance is expected.

May 15, 1958

Dr. Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Harry:

As we agreed a few moments ago on the telephone, here is the proposed agenda for the forthcoming Interagency meeting and a list of those agency staff people who have thus far notified us that they expect to attend. The list is not complete, and it is likely that the attendance will be substantially larger than this suggests.

I have talked with Nat Griswold, and he plans to be with us on the 27 and 28. He was very pleased at this opportunity to get together with you, both because he hasn't met you as yet and because he is feeling remiss in not having posted you recently on the activities of the Arkansas Council. He expects to come prepared to give you an overall picture, which I gather is a busy one. It seems to me that the best time for this would be the evening of the 27th after the formal interagency session is over.

I will be looking forward to getting together with you Monday evening for dinner. When your plans are complete and reservations made, let me know what flight you will be arriving on.

If there is any problem about hotel reservations, we will be glad to undertake arrangements here.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

ack
6/13/58

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

June 12, 1958

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of June 10th. I am delighted to hear that you are coming to New York on the 19th and 20th. Why don't you plan to have lunch with Dave Freeman, Monty Bradley and me, and we will get Dana Creel to come with us if we can. Plan to come to the office here about 12:15 and we will start from here.

Official notification of the grant together with the check should be on its way to you very soon. It will be good to see you.

Sincerely yours,

Harry

Harry C. Meserve

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, In.c
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

VIA AIR MAIL

June 10, 1958

Dr. Harry Heserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Harry:

Many thanks for your kind note. It was a great pleasure having you with us. I only hope that the hectic activities generated by the Southern Interagency Conference didn't make your visit more confusing than helpful.

We continue to rejoice in the news of the grant, which we are treating as confidential until the official notification is received. We have already begun to perculate on plans for preparation and distribution of supporting materials for the project, and I am going to talk with someone we hope is a good prospect for the staff position next week.

I am to be in New York Thursday and Friday of next week, June 19th and 20th. As usual, I will call to see if there will be a convenient time for me to come by your office. I hope I will have an opportunity to express our heartfelt thanks to Monty Bradley and Mr. Creel. Meanwhile, my best regards to you all.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

June 2, 1958

Dear Harold:

Just a line to thank you for your kindness to me during my recent visit to Atlanta. I found the sessions of the Interagency Conference very helpful in giving me a better grasp of the problems you people are facing in the South today. May I say that I very much admire your leadership in this field and was impressed with the members of your staff whom I met. Naturally we shall watch with interest the development of Operation Law and Order.

Monty Bradley joins me in sending best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Harry

Harry C. Meserve

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

VIA AIR MAIL

June 13, 1958

Dr. Harry Heserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Harry:

The prospect of lunching with you, Dave, Monty, and possibly Dana Creel is most welcome. I look forward to seeing you next week.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

May 1 -

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Office of the Director

Copy of this ltr sent to Mr. Dobbs 6/27/58

June 20, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The Trustees of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund have now had an opportunity to consider the request of the Southern Regional Council for a contribution of $40,000 a year for three years for a special program of consultative services and conferences focused on practical problems arising from educational integration.

In view of the importance of the problems to which the Council's program is directed, the Trustees of the Fund were glad to authorize a grant of $120,000 as requested. Accordingly, it is a pleasure to enclose the Fund's check for $40,000, to the order of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., for the current year. Further payments in an equal amount will be made in 1959 and 1960 upon requisition of a duly authorized officer of the Council.

RHA 6/25/58

Sincerely yours,

Dana S. Creel

Dana S. Creel

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

June 27, 1958

Mr. Dana Creel
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Creel:

The officers and staff of the Southern Regional Council are deeply grateful for the generous contribution of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and for the confidence in the Council which it signifies. This contribution affords us a very special opportunity to contribute to the solution of the serious problems arising from school desegregation and other changes in Southern race relations. We are determined to apply to this project all of the skill and effectiveness which the Council can command.

I will see that you receive periodic reports on the progress of the program efforts made possible by the grant, as well as appropriate financial statements.

With appreciation and kindest regards to you, your staff associates and the Trustees, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Official receipt)

VIA AIR MAIL

July 24, 1958

Dr. Harry Heserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Harry:

This is a note of explanation that might possibly be needed. Since I saw you last, I have thrown several strong suggestions to Nat Griswold and Bert Cartwright that they should key you in closely on the activities of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. As always, there is the likelihood of over reaction. So, I hope you will be tolerant of any seemingly irrelevant or unrelated items that may come to you from Arkansas.

At this point, I might appropriately assure you that as time goes on you will get a full measure of reporting out of us too!

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

August 5, 1958

Mr. Harry C. Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Harry:

We've made considerable progress on the planning of materials for Operation Law and Order, but we haven't yet turned up the right man for project director. I've made the need known to a number of well connected friends and have acquired a goodly list of possible candidates. No luck with those I have approached so far, but I still have quite a few to go. So there's no cause for despair - just the problem of time for proper recruitment.

You will be interested to know that we are following through, full-throttle, on the Virginia consultant operation discussed at the last Southern interagency meeting. So far as any voluntary organization can help in that situation, I think we are helping.

You'll be hearing from us further in the near future. Meanwhile, all best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

July 28, 1958

Dear Harold:

I have been surprised and pleased recently to receive several communications from Nat Griswold and will confess that I had suspected that you had made a few discreet suggestions on the subject of reporting. Thank you.

How are you getting along with Operation Law and Order? Have you found the right associate director yet? I hope as the summer moves on you are getting some time for rest and vacation yourself for it looks as if the autumn will be a busy season.

With all good wishes to you,

Sincerely yours,

Harry

Harry C. Meserve

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

VIA AIR MAIL

August 13, 1958

Mr. David F. Freeman
St. Andrews
New Brunswick, Canada

Dear Dave:

My apologies for trying to sneak in a letter during your vacation. I am led to such inhumanity by the urgent prospect of a religious conference at Williamsburg in early September.

The modified plan is a Virginia-wide meeting of clergymen the week after schools open -- maybe interfaith, but more likely all Protestant. Will Campbell is carrying the ball, with the cooperation of Jack Marion, Paul Rilling as the new director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, and the Virginia Council of Churches. The plans are going forward briskly, and I think it is likely to be a successful and helpful effort.

The delegates are expected to pay their own travel. But the steering group feels that the success of the meeting would be enhanced if meals and lodging could be subsidized. The estimated cost is $2,000.

Since it will be a statewide rather than regional or national meeting, denominational money would be

hard to come by, particularly on such short notice.

I have no idea that you can look into this very far on vacation, but thought perhaps a letter now would speed up an answer on your return. If you don't feel anything can be done, a postcard to that effect would be appreciated.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

VIA AIR MAIL

August 25, 1958

Dr. Harry Neserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Harry:

I had hoped to see you this week in New York, but I've just learned by telephone that you're away.

As a second best, enclosed is a confidential report to our executive committee. Since we regard the effort it describes in bare summary as part of the RBF project -- law and order at the summit -- I wanted you to know about it. When we next have a chance to talk, I will fill you in on some of the more colorful details.

I will be in New York Wednesday and Thursday of this week, staging an off-the-record briefing of the top news and public affairs executives of the television networds. A good opportunity for us to cue them to what we consider useful approaches for their coverage of September events in the South.

As to staffing of The Project, we now have two possibilities who look good. The one we prefer probably won't be available for a few months, but we may decide to offer it to him despite the

delay. There are useful things we can be doing meanwhile within the framework of the project; and for the long run the quality of the staffing is more important than speed.

Sorry to miss you this trip, but I'll hope for better luck soon.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

Confidential memo to executive committee re: President's letter. (Sent also to H. Hoffman + Dave Freeman)

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Office of the Director

September 2, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your note of August 22nd and the copy of your interim report of activities for 1958. It was interesting reading and I will be looking forward to the talk you suggest whenever you are next up this way and have time to drop by the office.

Sincerely yours,

Dana S. Creel

Dana S. Creel

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

September 12, 1958

Mr. Harry C. Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Harry:

Thanks for your letter. You're so right about the nullifying effect of Eisenhower's "go slower" remark. It makes us feel more than ever that he must now go clearly and positively on record, for the sake of the national welfare. We know it, but does he know it?

I'm going to be in New York Thursday and Friday of next week and will try again to see you, if you're available.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

September 4, 1958

Dear Harold:

I am sorry to have missed you during your last visit to New York and will hope to be here next time you come.

I was very interested to see the memorandum to the Executive Committee with regard to the contact you made with Sherman Adams and the Council's part in preparing the President's statement on school integration. I fear his subsequent comments about "going slow" took some of the punch out of his first statement.

I will be interested to hear any further news about staffing Operation Law and Order and will look forward to seeing you next time you are here.

Sincerely yours,

Harry

Harry C. Meserve

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

September 12, 1958

PERSONAL

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Dave:

Enclosed is a copy of our request for further support from the Aaron E. Norman Fund, as well as a copy of our semi-annual audit. I have transmitted both to Mr. Weil and a copy of the memorandum to DeJough Franklin.

This has truly been nourishment at the root. We are continuingly grateful to you for it.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
encls:

P. S. I'll be in New York Thursday and Friday (Sept. 18 and 19) and will hope at least to exchange greetings with you.

Answered by memo 2/20/59

Room 5600
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

February 16, 1959

Dear Harold:

Just a line on two inconsequential matters: (1) For many months I have been flattered to receive four copies of each issue of "New South." I think this must be a throw-back to the day when I was the distribution point at the Fund for the Republic. Please cut me down to one copy. (2) I have just received a bill from our telephone operator for apparently a very lengthy conversation with Atlanta on December 17th. I can't think of anyone I would rather talk to than you, and I can't recall talking to you at such length. If your memory is better than mine, please let me know what we talked about so that I can pay my bills promptly.

All the best,

Sincerely,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

March 10, 1959

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of March 5, and I am glad to hear that you are nearing the goal so far as securing a project director for Operation Law and Order is concerned.

I regret to say that I shall not be in the office March 17, 18 and 19 since I shall be away on a brief vacation. I would suggest, however, that you get in touch with David Freeman or Monty and give them the good news. As soon as the matter is concluded do please send me the formal letter on the status of the project.

I shall be sorry to miss seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Harry

Harry C. Meserve

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

VIA AIR MAIL March 5, 1959

Dr. Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc.
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Room 5600
New York 20, New York

Dear Harry:

I am terribly remiss in not having given you further word on the Southern Leadership Project. We have been in almost constant negotiation with possible candidates for project director ever since you were here. And, frankly, I couldn't bring myself to write another negative report.

We are still negotiating, but this time I feel pretty confident that we will emerge with a director. There are two possibles: Benjamin Muse, newspaper man and former state senator of Virginia, and William Lightsey, government official currently on leave to direct the Virginia Committee for the Public Schools. Both have unusual qualifications. After some further interviewing, our Personnel Committee is expected to meet at the end of next week to consider one or both.

Since I am to be in New York March 17, 18, and maybe 19, I will hope to give a report in person.

Assuming a successful outcome, I will also send you promptly a formal letter on the status of the project, of the sort we have discussed.

Again, my apologies and best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

March 19, 1959

Dear Harold:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 16, although I am sorry to hear that your trip is off. I hope whatever has hit the family is not serious.

Before he left, Harry told me that you would be here, so I was keeping my ears open. However, we hope to hear from you before too long.

Sincerely yours,

Monty

Montgomery S. Bradley

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

VIA AIR MAIL

March 16, 1959

Mr. Montgomery Bradley
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Room 5600
New York, New York

Dear Monty:

Harry Meserve may have mentioned to you that I was to be in New York this week. Unfortunately, because of illness in the family, I have had to cancel the trip this morning.

I expect to have some positive word on our project by the end of the week. You and Harry will be hearing from me further then.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Fine Foundations
Rockefeller Bros. Fund

(File RBF-58-59

April 8, 1959

Dr. Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Room 5600
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Meserve:

This is a report on the status of the project supported by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund's grant of June 1958.

The delay in the activation of the project has been a matter of concern to the officers and staff of the Council. We have appreciated the patience and understanding shown by the representatives of the Fund, and we want to be sure that the delay is fully explained. It proved difficult beyond all expectations to find a person qualified to serve as director of the project and available for full-time employment in Atlanta. Despite our most concentrated efforts -- some fifteen potential candidates were personally interviewed -- it was not possible before now to fill the position properly.

Fortunately, this impasse has been broken. As of April 1, 1959, the Council has employed Colonel Benjamin Muse of Manassas, Virginia, as project director for an initial period of six months. We

feel that Mr. Muse is extraordinarily well equipped for this assignment by virtue of his experience in the diplomatic service, his political career, and his distinguished record as a writer on Virginia affairs for the Washington Post and Times-Herald, and other publications. (A brief biography is attached.)

Some measure of the reputation and effectiveness which Mr. Muse brings to this task is already available. As a pilot effort, he has consulted by invitation with the Governor of Florida and members of his staff. A copy of Mr. Muse's confidential report on these conferences is enclosed.

Since Mr. Muse owns a printing firm in Manassas, he will have to maintain his base there and reserve two-fifths of his time for that and other commitments. However, he is prepared to make frequent trips to Atlanta and such other field travel as the project requires. Salary is to be pro-rated on the basis of $8,000 per year.

The period of this agreement was set at six months by mutual agreement. We felt that, at the end of this initial period, both the Council and Mr. Muse would be better able to assess the effectiveness of the arrangement, and possibly to consider a full-time and longer-range commitment.

The Fund's first grant payment of $40,000 is virtually intact. Except for an expenditure of $2,759.98 last summer for groundwork on research and materials for the project, these funds have been reserved pending selection of a director.

We do not propose, therefore, to request any further payment under the grant this year. If it is satisfactory to the Fund, we should like to consider June 1, 1960, as the first anniversary of the project, at which time the second instalment may be considered payable.

We also feel that it would be appropriate to review the terms of the project in the light of developments since the grant was originally requested in December 1957. While the general purpose and framework remain valid, shifts in public emphasis during the past year-and-a-half suggest the desirability

of a restatement of the project with certain modifications in approach.

The single biggest development in Southern race relations has been the narrowing of the legal alternatives to a choice between some degree of desegregation or the closing of public schools. The State of Virginia closed and later, under pressure of public opinion, reopened the public schools in three communities where limited desegregation was ordered. Public high schools in Little Rock are still closed, although there is evidence of mounting public dissatisfaction which may foreshadow a reopening in the near future. The main point, however, is that the reality or prospect of closed schools has stirred new elements in the South to activity on the side of compliance.

In Virginia, Georgia, Little Rock, and Florida citizens efforts have been organized with the specific, emergency purpose of preserving public education. Business and industrial leaders, in their quiet and reluctant fashion, are increasingly spurred by the prospects of economic damage to make their influence felt. As the Atlanta situation has indicated, educators and other professional groups are finding their voices as the threat of school closing becomes a real and present danger. And as the issue of court-ordered school desegregation comes to a head in more deep South communities, this pattern of developments may be expected to spread.

At the time the project was originally proposed, problems of lawlessness and violence were in the forefront; indeed, the project was informally christened "Operation Law and Order." Law enforcement is still and will continue to be an essential factor in the Southern transition. But the developments summarized above suggest that other claims on self-interest warrant greater emphasis, at least for the time being. The categories of leadership that will be most decisive now appear to be parents, educators, business, financial, and other economic leaders. Public officials directly involved in the school decisions at all levels of government will, of course, continue to wield crucial influence.

(Religious leaders, although important, are deliberately omitted, since their actions in this field

aremmotivated largely by moral considerations rather than self-interest; moreover, the Council works closely with them through other programs.)

We propose, then, that the framework of the project be enlarged to include activities directed at these and similar segments of Southern leadership concerned with the preservation of our educational and economic institutions. This program might appropriately be redesignated the "Southern Leadership Project." As before, the touchstone continues to be practical self-interest, and the proposed methods and techniques remain basically the same.

It would be possible to write at greater length of the opportunities for the project presented by current happenings in the region. But we will reserve this for progress reports on the work itself and for discussion with staff members of the Fund.

Meanwhile, we hope that the actions reported and the proposals made in this letter will meet with the approval of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. All of us in the Council are continuingly grateful to the Fund for its important assistance, and we are deeply committed to justifying the confidence you have placed in us.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

VIA AIR MAIL

April 14, 1959

Mr. Dana Creel
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Room 5600
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Creel:

This is in reference to the three-year grant of $24,000 in support of the work of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, approved by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund in early 1958.

As you will recall, the first year's instalment of $8,000 was transmitted to the Southern Regional Council by your letter of February 28, 1958. Please consider this the Southern Regional Council's requisition of the second year's instalment of $8,000 to be designated for the general budgetary activities of the Arkansas Council.

It is our understanding that you have received from the Arkansas Council periodic program and financial reports during the first grant period. If we can provide any additional information or evaluation that will assist the Fund, you have only to call on us.

I trust that you feel, as we do, that the Arkansas Council is making an important contribution

in this difficult period. Certainly the assistance of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund has been vital to it.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

BC: Nathaniel Griswold
Arkansas Council

bc of Creel's ltr. and HCF reply sent to Nat Griwsold
with SRC check #44 ($8,000)

April 24, 1959

Mr. Dana S. Creel
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Creel:

This is to acknowledge, most gratefully, your letter of April 21st transmitting the second instalment of $8,000 for support of the work of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Our official receipt is enclosed. I am forwarding our check for $8,000 to the Arkansas Council. I am sure they will wish to add their thanks for your prompt response to our letter of requisition.

Most sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Official receipt)

RECEIVED APR 24 1959

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Office of the Director

April 21, 1959

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of April 14 in which you requisition the second installment of $8,000 on the Rockefeller Brothers Fund's pledge of February 28, 1958, to assist in maintaining and strengthening the program of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

RHA
4/24/59

I am glad to enclose the Fund's check in the amount of $8,000, payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., as a contribution designated for the general budgetary activities of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations in 1959. A final payment under this pledge will be made by the Fund in the same amount in 1960 upon written requisition by a duly authorized officer of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Dana S. Creel

Dana S. Creel

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

VIA AIR MAIL

June 12, 1959

Dr. Harry Heserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Harry:

Wilton Dillon tells me that you have been invited to the consultation to be held next weekend at Holly Knoll in Virginia. If you decide to go, perhaps we could journey down together Friday afternoon.

I will be in New York all day Thursday and will fly to Richmond on Eastern's Flight No. 63 leaving New York at about 3:30.

In any case, I hope we can have some time together in New York to get caught up. I'll call Thursday morning to see what's possible.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

VIA AIR MAIL July 8, 1959

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

This is a further word of reassurance about Tong Soo Pak. Mrs. Alexander, under whose direction he worked mainly, confirms my opinion that he was pleasant, diligent, reliable, and in every way satisfactory. Even language presented little or no problem.

In short, judging by our experience, I can recommend him to you without reservation.

Small world, isn't it?

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosures: 3 copies of the Muse Report for five months on the Leadership Project.

September 24, 1959

Dr. Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund —— file
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 17, New York

Dear Harry:

Enclosed are three copies of a brief report on the Southern Leadership Project which Benjamin Muse prepared for our Executive Committee. We have more copies, if you should need them.

I think Ben's report is a good one, though it is too summary to give many concrete details. I am eager for you to get the flavor of the project from some of Muse's field reports, letters, responses to the "L Reports," and so on. I will work out some way of sharing this material with you soon. In any case, we feel that the project is really paying off and is steadily gaining in effectiveness. Muse is doing an even better job than we had hoped.

I expect to be in New York about October 7th or 8th and will, as usual, call you in the hope that we can get together.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 3.

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

October 2, 1959.

RECEIVED OCT 5 1959

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of September 30 informing me that you will be in New York City next week.

I hope that you can have lunch with me on Wednesday, October 7. Will await your call.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

VIA AIR MAIL

September 30, 1959

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

The National Manpower Council is bringing me to New York for a conference at the end of next week, so naturally I'm coming a copple of days early to strike a few blows for SRC.

I am hoping that you will be there and will have some time for conversation on Wednesday or Thursday (7th and 8th). As usual, I'll be calling you, probably Wednesday morning.

Tongsoo turned up here the other day to pay his respects. He gave some cloudy and incomprehensible account of his parting from the Freemans at the end of what, otherwise, he portrayed as a mutually pleasant arrangement. I'm anxious to hear the authentic story.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

October 27, 1959

Dr. Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Harry:

Here, as I promised, is a fairly full set of Benjamin Muse's reports on his field visits for the Leadership Project.

I don't expect you to read all this! But I do think you will find it interesting to thumb through and find some of the meatier passages. Blessedly, Ben writes well and concisely.

Henceforth, Ben is to send me an extra carbon of each communication, so that I can share the more noteworthy ones with you as we go along. As we can get to it, I also will be sending you some of the more interesting letters and other reactions to the L-Reports and Ben's contacts.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. -- I just received a letter from Jean Fairfax informing me that John Yungblut is on the job as "hard-core" field man for AFSC. We will be giving him all possible cooperation and support.

HCF

November 3, 1959

Dr. Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Harry:

Here are copies of some newspaper stories and a few letters to supplement what I have sent you for the Southern Leadership Project file. Most of these are reactions to the "L" reports which have been prepared and distributed as part of the project.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

Sent to RB.7.

ATLANTA JOURNAL

OCT 28 1959

Free School Group Meets Here Nov. 4

HOPE, Inc., which "has as its sole objective the continued operation of the free public school system," will sponsor speeches here Nov. 4 by Boyd Ridgway, executive director of the Little Rock (Ark.) Chamber of Commerce, and Everett Tucker Jr., chairman of the Little Rock Board of Education.

The speeches will be given at the Red Cross Auditorium, 848 Peachtree St., at 8 p.m.

• • •

ATTENTION is called to the speeches in letters HOPE (for Help Our Public Education) has mailed to 500 businesses and businessmen in the state, declaring:

"We earnestly ask that you and your associates, in the interest of your city and state, encourage active discussion of all phases of the schol question. We urge that you do not wait until the public schools are closed, and private education is found ineffective. The business community in Virginia and Arkansas regrets that it waited too late."

• • •

THE LETTERS note, in reference to the pending Atlanta school integration suit, that "the meeting of the Georgia Legislature in January, 1960, is the last regular meeting of the assembly before possible school closing. It is essential that the public be aware of this fact, and of the necessity of choosing between no public schools or their continued operation within the law. This choice should be made known to the governor and legislators."

With the letters, HOPE, of 50 Whitehall St. SW, sent out pamphlets quoting excerpts from speeches by Gov. Lindsay Almond of Virginia and Ralph E. Odum, assistant attorney general of Florida. Gov. Almond is quoted as saying, "No error could be more grave" than closing the public schools of Virginia and Mr. Odum is quoted as saying the abolition of public education in Florida would be impractical for financial reasons.

ATLANTA JOURNAL-ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Loss of Schools Seen in Court Defy

SEP 13 1959

Atlanta Problem More Difficult, Education Chief of Louisville Says

By WILLIAM OSBORNE

Georgia's failure to abide by the "decision of the Supreme Court with respect to integration" has the "potential of destroying Georgia's school system," the superintendent of Louisville, Ky., schools said in Atlanta Saturday.

Dr. Omer Carmichael, who engineered Louisville's schools into peaceful fulfillment of a desegregation order, said the problem in Atlanta will be "much more difficult" to solve because the state of Georgia has "defied" the order since its issurance by the Supreme Court.

"I'm not trying to tell Atlanta how to do, the Alabama-born educator said. The desegregation plan that works in one city may not work in another," he said.

A city trying to solve its desegregation problem should "get the best things from the experience of other cities," he said. Then the city could develop a plan suited to its own needs, Dr. Carmichael added.

* * *

HE IS IN Atlanta this weekend as a guest of the Georgia Human Relations Council and made a film to be shown on television in which the Louisville plan is described.

Asked about private schools, he replied, "I don't feel private schools can replace public schools and provide universal education." Lack of money would be the major drawback, he said.

Dr. Carmichael suggested that Atlanta seek to gain the opinion of the people desegregation would affect and let the community become identified with the plan. Such a plan would be "very strong" and by letting everyone share in it, the chance of any violence erupting over the desegregation plan would be greatly reduced, he said.

Dr. Carmichael said "the aggressive Negro leadership" has often criticized him. He said the NAACP is "inept in many ways" and shows immature thinking on occasions which has hindered the Negro in the South.

* * *

"PROBLEMS are made more difficult by failure of leadership in the South to face the Supreme Court decision and the over-aggressiveness of some Negroes," he said.

Dr. Carmichael has been superintendent of the Louisville system for 15 years, the last four since integration began there.

Last year the city had 55 integrated schools, nine white and eight Negro. The entire faculty in the integrated schools was white.

This year 10 Negro women of "high professional and personal qualities" have been employed as teachers in five integrated schools, Dr. Carmichael said.

Since school started only last week it is too early to determine the city's reaction, he said. "I've been amazed at the small number of requests" that have been received asking that a child in one of the Negro women's clasrooms be moved into a white teacher's class, he said.

Dr. Carmichael said trouble probably could be avoided in any city if it "properly plans" its desegregation pattern.

MAY 4 '59
ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Capitol's Mixing Is Given Okay

Academic standards have risen and delinquency has declined in Washington, D.C., schools since they were desegregated in 1954, the superintendent of that city's school system said here Sunday.

Carl F. Hansen, discussing his school system on a WAGA-TV Panel show, said that racial differences added a new dimension to the problem of discipline in the early days of integration at the city's schools. But race friction and delinquency gave way to concern for educational problems and a working together by both races, he added.

Hansen told a panel of Atlantans questioning him that tests given in 1954 and 1955 and again in 1958 indicated there has been a "phenomenal increase in the rate of learning."

DELINQUENCY DROPS

Delinquency among non-white school pupils has dropped from 37.1 per thousand to 21.2 per thousand since 1954, he said. He did not cite figures for white pupils.

The school official explained that Washington's schools group students by their ability: honor students, college preparatory, general and basic. This ability grouping, he said, has been the principal factor in keeping superior students from suffering the bad academic effects that many predictod would accompany integration.

Of Washington's 114,000 students, Hansen said, 74 per cent are Negro. Sixty-two per cent of the system's teachers are Negro, he said. Only a "limited number" of the system's schools are either all-white or all-Negro, he said.

WHITE STUDENTS LEAD

Hansen said most of the students in the honors group are white and most of those in the basic groups are Negro. "This was to be expected," he commented, "A great number of the Negro pupils had not been given the kind of educational opportunities they needed. The separate but equal doctrine just didn't work."

He added that another factor was that so many Negro pupils came from families that were "culturally and economically deprived."

ATLANTA JOURNAL MAY 3 1959
ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Delinquency, Mixing Link Untrue, School Head Says

By GORDON ROBERTS

Reports that racial integration in the classroom increased the incidence of juvenile delinquency in Washington, D.C., schools is "just plain nonsense," the superintendent of Washington schools said here Saturday.

In fact, declared Supt. Carl F. Hansen, juvenile delinquency in the Washington school system is no greater proportionately than it is in any other metropolitan school system.

And what discipline problems there are—"one-half of one per cent of the school population" of 114,000—cannot be laid at the school's doorsteps because of 1954 desegregation, asserted Mr. Hansen.

• • •

MR. HANSEN was in Atlanta to appear in a television discussion of Washington schools. He will be interviewed Sunday at 12:30 p.m. on WAGA-TV by Devereaux McClatchey, attorney and member of the Atlanta school board, and Harry Boyte, chairman of the executive committee of HOPE, Incorporated.

Sponsors of the program, second in a series, is the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

Mr. Hansen emphasized that he was not in Atlanta to do battle with Congressman James C. Davis for the Fifth District representative's report on the high rate of incidence of delinquency in Washington schools.

• • •

RATHER, he said he was here to "tell the story of Washington schools." This is his first trip to Atlanta since the Davis report came out in 1956, he said.

"I have not engaged myself in an evaluation of his report," said Mr. Hansen. "The position I take is that it would be advantageous if people could get all the facts of what is happening there now and what has happened there since 1954," he added.

"We all have tried to counteract the Davis report by actions rather than condemnation," he declared.

Mr. Hansen deplored segregationists who seize upon the Davis report as ammunition in their attack on desegregation.

• • •

THE DISCIPLINE problems in Washington schools — and there are some—are social problems which existed before 1954 and cannot be laid to desegregation, he said. They are problems which originate in the pupil's community, in his home, said Mr. Hansen.

"We have pregnancies, the venereal disease rate is much too high, but these are not caused by integration," said Mr. Hansen. "They are social conditions coming out of the community from the homes," he declared.

"We have an extremely stable system and visitors find orderly and well-disciplined classrooms."

said the school superintendent, who said he "shocked" the Davis congressional subcommittee by telling them that he "believed in integration." He was assistant superintendent at that time.

• • •

SINCE DESEGREGATION of the district's schools in 1954, said Mr. Hansen, academic standards have improved. "So many people make the mistake of thinking that desegregation caused lowering of academic achievements when actually we just discovered something which has been there all along," he said.

When the facts are looked at and balanced there has been no real reduction in academic standards," said Mr. Hansen. And he emphasized that there has been no reduction in the learning of white pupils.

"If children are placed according to abilities and not according to race, those children will learn and no child will be held up in class because of slow learners," he said. He said Washington children are grouped according to "honors, regular college preparatory, general curriculum and basic," the latter catogery covering "severely retarded."

Questioning Supt. Hansen were Devereaux McClatchey, of the Atlanta School Board, Harry Boyette of Help Our Public Schools Inc., (Hope) and John Griffin of Emory University.

The Georgia Council on Human Relations, an independent organization working in the field of race relations, sponsored the program.

Journal, 1959

School Desegregation Can Be Successful, Class Told

Dr. John H. Fischer, superintendent of Baltimore public schools, has declared that experience in his city has demonstrated conclusively that children of both races can attend school together, can learn together, and can develop positive, friendly, effective relationships.

In a speech before an Emory University adult class, Dr. Fischer insisted that Negroes and white students similarly can attend school together and can be taught quite well by members of another race.

The educator said that "Teaching competence is not related to race, but to the teacher's personality, his own education and cultural background and his ability to understand people.

In describing the successful integration of schools at Baltimore, Dr. Fischer noted: "It is not risky to assume that what works in Baltimore can work in other communities. I doubt that all the conditions in Baltimore can be duplicated completely in any other area."

He said that school integraion can be successful if "the policies and procedures by which it is carried forward are simple, firm, fair, flexible, clearly stated and consistently applied.

Baltimore city schools were desegregated in 1954. Dr. Fischer noted that integration was accomplished with only two disturbances, one the first year and the second in 1956. He described both incidents as non-violent and orderly.

Dr. Fischer reviewing desegregation in Baltimore schools said it dated back to events as far as 1920, when joint meetings of white and Negro teachers were begun. An integrated PTA was formed in 1947.

When the Baltimore schools integrated in September of 1954 about 1,700 pupils enrolled in previously white schools. This year 34,000 or 44 per cent of the Negro children are attending integrated schools.

Mix Program Of Baltimore Outlined Here

FEB 3 4 1959

ATLANTA JOURNAL

Years of preparation and a "spirit of constructive tolerance which characterizes our entire community" preceded successful school integration in Baltimore, the superintendent of Baltimore public schools has said here.

Dr. John H. Fischer, speaking before a non-credit adult evening class at Emory University, said that children can learn effectively with other races and can be taught effectively by teachers who are not members of their own race.

"Teaching competence is not related to race, but to the teacher's personality, his own education and cultural background, and his ability to understand young people," he said.

• • •

"IN GENERAL," he said, "our experience in Baltimore has demonstrated conclusively that children of both races can attend school together, can learn together, and can develop positive, friendly, effective relationships."

Dr. Fischer cautioned, however: "It is risky to assume that [illegible] at works in Baltimore can wor[illegible] [illegible]mmunities. I [illegible] [illegible]nditions in [illegible] [illegible]uplicated completely [illegible] other area."

School integration can be successful if "the policies and procedures by which it is carried forward are simple, firm, fair, flexible, clearly stated and consistently applied," the educator said.

Dr. Fischer said events leading up to desegregation in Baltimore be[illegible]n as far back as the 1920s. [illegible]hool year 34,000 or 44 per [illegible] the city's Negro children, [illegible]ing integrated schools

MONTGOMERY, ALA.
ADVERTISER
D 81 515 S 79 033

SEP 10 1959

Council Says Survey Shows Private Schools 'Too Costly'

ATLANTA (AP) — Private schools, often heralded alternative for racially integrated public schools, were pictured in a survey Wednesday as expensive and generally unacceptable substitutes.

The Southern Regional Council, a biracial group working for clearer race relations, reached this conclusion from a study of "the Virginia experience." It said that with court-ordered integration edging on, there has been more talk than achievement in setting up new Virginia private schools.

It suggested as reasons:

1. The establishment and operation of any school is an expensive enterprise.

2. Many citizens shy away from any private school plan dependent on state tuition grants for fear it will jeopardize the legality of private segregated schools.

3. Citizens accustomed to good schools and equipment find classes conducted in church rooms, warehouses or lodge halls poor substitutes.

4. Many churches are rebelling against use of their facilities in "a program of resistance to the order of any duly constituted court of "law" for racially discriminatory classes.

5. Teachers are wary of surrendering their public school salaries and security for what hastily-formed private schools may offer.

In a sumup of the Virginia situation, the council said that only in Prince Edward County will there be this year "a county-wide experiment in private education for whites, with no education of any sort for Negroes."

"In Charlottesville and Norfolk," it added, "private schools may or may not, depending on finances and administrative problems, enroll limited numbers of white children. In Warren County, a decision on whether the private school will continue has been postponed."

In its report, the council quoted freely from surveys and stories by newsmen. Included were James Baker and George Gill.

Audit of Little Rock

The Southern Regional Council has performed the useful service of digesting into a few, well-documented pages a report on what has happened to Little Rock since the school crisis. New industry shunned the city entirely in 1958 and 1959. In 1957, before the trouble at Central High, eight new plants valued at $3 million created 1,002 new jobs in Little Rock. No new plants located there in 1958-59. Industrial managers said to the Women's Emergency Committee interviewers they thought that "new plants have avoided Little Rock because of the school situation." Expansions of existing plants also declined abruptly – from eight in 1956 to one each in 1958 and 1959. Newcomers to Little Rock have declined in number. One-third fewer Arkansas families will move into Little Rock this year than in 1957, it is estimated – and 50 percent fewer out-of-state families will come in.

The sale of homes is off between 20 and 25 percent this year over last, and there are 20 percent more rental vacancies. Income gain in Little Rock has fallen below the gain in the rest of Arkansas. Business volume and total consumer purchases are both lagging.

People with professional training are leaving Little Rock – one out of five of the professionally trained who were interviewed said they were leaving or that they planned to leave if the public high schools did not open this year. And personnel managers report great difficulty in filling jobs.

New Republic
11/2/59

CORPUS CHRISTI, TEXAS
TIMES
D 38 454

SEP 22 1959

Right To Vote

The right to vote is the most fundamental of all civil rights, for it is the fountainhead from which all other liberties flow. American democracy is undeniably discredited by the U. S. Civil Rights Commission report, coming 75 years after the Supreme Court held the states could not prevent Negroes from voting, that disfranchisement by reason of race is still widespread and entrenched in the Deep South.

The Southern Regional Council, an objective organization of Southern moderates, supports those findings. It adds that the school-integration issue "clearly has retarded the normal growth of Negro suffrage."

The commission's statistical survey shows that only 25 per cent of voting-age Southern Negroes are registered, against 60 per cent registered in the region's white voting-age population. Many Black Belt counties with a Negro majority have not a single Negro voter. In the Deep South, the percentage of non-whites in the total voting-age population runs from two to eight times the percentage of nonwhites in the total voting registration. That evidence of discrimination, or worse, outright disfranchisement, is irrefutable.

Texans, however, have considerable cause for pride in the commission's statistical report. This state is alone in the South in having a larger percentage of nonwhites (14 per cent) in its voting registration than the percentage of nonwhites (12 per cent) in its total voting-age population. Incidents of Negro disfranchisement no doubt can be found in Texas, but those figures clearly show that the democratic right to vote—regardless of color, creed or convictions — is far more respected in Texas than among any of its sister states in the Southern region.

The unmistakable and irreversible trend in our American democracy is toward universal enforcement of the unqualified right of every citizen to access to the polls. In Texas that trend is well advanced, and the goal should be reached far easier and quicker than elsewhere in the troubled Southland. That is something to note openly and view with thankfulness.

BOSTON, MASS.
CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
D 159,988
NOV 21 1959

Inferior-Race Myth Pricked

By Joseph H. Baird
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

From the South

An attempt to deal with the most controversial and emotion-charged issue in the dispute over integration has been made by two southeastern organizations.

The Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, and the southeastern office of the American Friends Service Committee, High Point, N.C., both state in recent reports that the Negro is not mentally inferior to the white man, regardless of environment and conditioning. They also say there is no moral or political justification for assigning the Negro a lesser station in American society.

The reports are unrelated except for their treatment of two aspects of the same subject.

The Southern Regional Council, founded to promote cooperation between the Negro and white races in the South and to help solve the former's social and political problems, quotes a statement signed by 17 leading psychologists and anthropologists in 1956. They united in agreeing that there are no "innate differences in intelligence between Negroes and whites."

Standard Argument

The assumption that such fundamental differences do exist long has been a standard argument of many southerners who oppose any degree of integration in the public schools. Negroes would be handicapped from the start in keeping pace with white students, and so would act as a drag on the progress of an entire class, these persons hold.

Their pragmatic argument receives some support in the following statement by the natural scientists:

"No one can deny that at the present time the intellectual achievement of American Negro children, particularly those who come from segregated schools, is lower on the average than that of white children, nor that a reasonable amount of time must elapse before the gap can be closed."

But the scientists hold that the inferior showing made by Negro children is due to factors of environment and conditioning, adding:

"The scientific material available to us at present does not justify the conclusion that inherited genetic differences are a major factor in producing the differences between the cultures and cultural achievements of different peoples or groups.

"It does indicate on the contrary that a major factor in explaining such differences is the cultural experiences which each which the former have in the past been subjected.

The conclusion is inescapable that any decision to use differences in the average achievement of the racial groups as a basis of classifying in advance any individual child, Negro or white, is scientifically unjustified."

The report of the Quaker group was based on research by a "working party" of 15 persons who were assigned the job of studying "where we as a people stand in the matter of race relations, to inquire into what ought to be, and to propose methods of bridging the gap."

Their findings are summarized in a 64-page booklet, "Race and Conscience in America," published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

The gist of their conclusion is contained in the charge that all Americans, both in the North and in the South, are responsible for the "large-scale inhumanity" shown toward some citizens.

Signers Listed

The study designates seven areas of "unfinished business" in American race relations before the United States can claim to be "a land of equal opportunity." These are public school desegregation, employment, housing, public accommodations, political participation, religion, and discrimination in religious institutions and civil rights.

Scientists signing the report quoted by the Southern Regional Council were Otto Klineberg, Columbia University; Theodore Newcomb, University of Michigan; Gardner Murphy, Minninger Foundation; Nevitt Sanford, Vassar College; Robin Williams, Jr., Cornell University; David Krech, University of California; Jerome Bruner, Harvard University; Allison Davis, University of Chicago; Daniel Katz, University of Michigan; Anne Anastasi, Fordham University; Stuart Cook, New York University; Marie Jadhoda, New York University; Kenneth Clark, College of the City of New York; Bingham Dai, Duke University School of Medicine; Irving Lorge, Teachers College, Columbia University; Solomon Asch, Swarthmore College; and David Rapaport, Austen Riggs Foundation.

The "working party" of the American Friends Service Committee included: B. Tartt Bell, High Point, N.C.; Richard K. Bennett, Ambler, Pa.; Philip Buskirk, Los Gatos, Calif.; Charles J. Darlington, Woodstown, N.J.; G. James Fleming, Baltimore; Frank S. Loescher, Philadelphia; James McCain, Sumter, S.C.; Barbara W. Moffett, Merchantville, N.J.; Algie I. Newlin, Guilford College, N.C.; W. Carson Ryan, Chapel Hill, N.C.; David H. Scull, Annandale, Va.; Phern Stanley, Atlanta; Norman J. Whitney, Philadelphia, and John W. Willard, Seattle.

MONTGOMERY, ALA.
ALABAMA JOURNAL
D. 22 948
AUG 17 1959

Hiding Out

THE SOUTHERN Regional Council, pet of Mrs. Roosevelt and the Ford Foundation for the Republic, has issued a special report saying the segregation blocs in the South are failing.

The council must be holed up over there in Atlanta and doesn't read anything but the Atlanta Constitution and the Arkansas Gazette.

McAllen Public Schools
J. Lyle Hill, Superintendent
110 So. 10th St.
McAllen, Texas

August 25, 1959

acknowledged 8/28/59 HCT

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

You are to be commended for the very splendid services you are performing for the South and for our schools.

Your reports are interesting, informative and very much to the point. Congratulations!

Sincerely yours,

J. Lyle Hill

J. Lyle Hill

WICHITA FALLS

RECEIVED JUN 15 1959

Chamber of Commerce

P. O. BOX 1860 • WICHITA FALLS, TEXAS

June 11, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for sending me report #L-1 issued by the Southern Regional Council.

This information is interesting, and I should very much like to remain on your mailing list.

Sincerely,

James L. Hanry

Executive Vice-President

James L. Hanry/mjh

-n Anniversary

MA

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH

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Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary Health, Education and Welfare

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN
Mrs. Rollin Brown

CONFERENCE DIRECTOR
Ephraim R. Gomberg

August 18, 1959

RECEIVED AUG 19 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Thank you for the statement on Race and Intelligence, which I have read with much interest. This statement will be circulated to our staff, and I am sure it will be of help to us in preparing study materials for the White House Conference.

Sincerely,

Harold Orlans

Harold Orlans
Director of Conference Studies

330 Independence Ave. S.W., Washington 25, D.C. EXecutive 3-6300

LUDV
JCV
MF

Arkansas Gazette.
LITTLE ROCK
ARKANSAS

OFFICE OF THE
PUBLISHER

RECEIVED SEP 18 1959

September 16, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

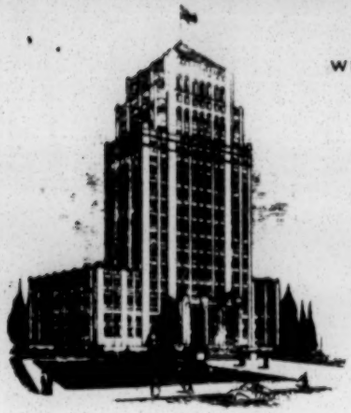
I appreciate being placed on the list to receive the "L" series of the Southern Regional Council, and have reviewed the first nine of these reports with great interest.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh B. Patterson, Jr.

Hugh B. Patterson, Jr.

HBP:mnm



WILLIAM B. HARTSFIELD
MAYOR

W. W. BURNS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

CITY OF ATLANTA

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

September 4, 1959

RECEIVED SEP 8 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of the 3rd, enclosing a copy of the printed leaflet, under HOPE's imprint, containing the excerpt from Governor Almond's speech. I shall appreciate it if you will send me several more copies.

Best wishes.

Yours very truly,

W B Hartsfield

Mayor

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SUPERINTENDENT

NEW COUNTY COURTHOUSE, P. O. BOX 4788
JACKSONVILLE 2, FLORIDA

L. O. CALHOUN
DIRECTOR OF BUSINESS AFFAIRS

September 24, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Will you please mail to me 100 extra copies of the statement on "Race and Intelligence" - Report No. L-8?

Appreciating your prompt reply, I am

Very truly yours,

J. Irving E. Scott

JIES:vcg

J. Irving E. Scott
Director of Education in Negro Schools

sent 100 copies
9-25-9
mgb

MORRIS LEWIS, JR., INDIANOLA
PRESIDENT

BRUCE C. AULTMAN, HATTIESBURG
VICE PRESIDENT

H. C. ROBERTS, CANTON
TREASURER

JC - Are they on your COJC List? HCF

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DJ ✓
C.C. ✓
A.C.J. ✓

August 24, 1959

Southern Regional Council
61 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

If copies are still available, we would like to obtain the pamphlet "If The Schools Are Closed."

Thank you very much for this assistance.

Sincerely,

Carl Black, Jr.

Carl Black, Jr.
Assistant General Manager

CB:lg

Sent 8/26/59

Yes, but the COJC only got the news release on L-8A, thus the request JC.

Savannah Morning News
SAVANNAH EVENING PRESS
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

CREED C. BLACK
Vice President and Executive Editor

August 21, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Many thanks for your prompt response to my request for the two copies of your recent background report of school desegregation. I have not received them yet, but assume they will be along soon.

By coincidence, Colonel Muse and his wife were in Savannah last night and were in our home with a group of the people from our papers. It was the first word I had of his connection with your organization and I was pleased to learn of his interesting assignment.

I appreciate being placed on your mailing list and will look forward to your material. I hope to be in Atlanta for a few days this fall and will try to see you then. Meanwhile, if your travels bring you this way, we would be happy to have you pay us a visit.

Sincerely,

CB/jh

Read 11 [illegible]

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

RECEIVED AUG 5 1957

LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE

August 1, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you so much for the three copies of "The Negro Voter in the South," which you recently sent us. As you probably know from telephone conversations with Members, it has created considerable interest on the Hill, and our copies are all now in heavy use.

I am writing in the hope that you might be able to give us an additional three copies to help carry the load. If such a gift is possible, we would be pleased to have you use the enclosed label which will bring the pieces to us without further postage.

Thank you so much for your past courtesies and for your consideration of this present request.

Sincerely

Charles A. Goodrum

Charles A. Goodrum
Librarian
Legislative Reference Service

Enclosure

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER, PERSONNEL AND RESERVE

12 June 1959

RECEIVED JUN 15 '59

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Our congratulations upon the series of occasional reports instituted with Report #L-1, April 27, 1959. I hope we are qualified to receive all the reports in this series as they are issued.

Those concerned with ideologies may decry economic determinism, but no one can deny its existence and its potency. While not overlooking other factors, we consider it highly significant that there is a strong thread of the economic running through these reports. As long as the dollar sign is dominant, such may prevail where appeals centering around human returns go unheeded.

The problem of 'plant location' has been continuously before us since the inception of World War II, as you know. Without denying the claims of many areas, we have always contended for better and better climate for those in uniform sworn to the defense or our country. Much attention has been centered upon location in favorable climates, limited to temperature and humidity, -- whereas we have contended for the totality of climate as bearing upon morale, and including many of the factors outlined in the Reports.

We are confident that all of your work, including this new series of reports, is in the national interest and hope to continue to receive the Reports. We were glad to see you at the Seminar of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, and hope that all continues to go well.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Enclosures

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RICHMOND, VA
AFRO-AMERICAN
SAT. 15.871
OCT 10 19

WHAT SCIENTISTS SAY ON QUESTION

Are You Inferior?

Northern colored persons score higher than Southern colored persons as a whole. But Northern white and colored people score higher than Southern whites.

By John Jasper

There is no such thing as racial inferiority.

This is the substance of a report on race and intelligence issued last week by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, Georgia.

The six - page report was issued by the council because some southern opposition to integrated schools is based on the myth of racial inferiority.

The council cites a statement submitted to the United States Supreme Court in 1953 signed by 30 top social scientists which declared:

"Perhaps, all of the observable differences among various racial and national groups may be adequately explained in terms of environmental differences.

"Fears based on the assumption of in - born racial differences in intelligence are not well founded.

Superiority

"No one can deny that at the present time the intellectual achievement of American colored children, particularly those who come from segregated schools, is lower on the average than that of white children.

A reasonable amount of time must elapse before the gap can be closed. "In every comparison with which we are familiar in this field some colored children do better than some white children.

"Some colored children do better than the average white child, in spite of all the handicaps to which the colored child may have in the past been subjected."

"These statements signed by the 30 experts in 1953 still stand and in our judgment represent the consensus of scientific expert thinking," the council said and added:

"We know of no new research which would reverse these conclusions."

Nazis

These same scientists had previously looked into the question of race and intelligence when Hitler and the Nazis claimed Jews were inferior.

On that occasion they said, "The achievement of the members of each racial group is about the same when they have been given similar degrees of cultural opportunities to realize their potentialities."

To bring the report up to date, the council cites a new book published in 1958 by Kent S. Miller of Florida State University in which he said:

"Approximately 25 per cent of the colored persons tested make scores higher than those of the average white person tested and many make very high scores.

"Much talent among the colored group is currently being wasted or lost because of social and economic restrictions."

In its final statement the Council quoted from the new book of H. Harry Giles, entitled "The Integrated Classroom," published in New York by Basic Books in 1959.

Mr. Giles' conclusion was: **"Northern colored people scored higher than Southern colored people as a whole and Northern white and colored people scored higher than Southern white people."**

Scientists who signed the 1953 statement to the supreme Court are:

Otto Klineberg, Columbia; Theodore Newcomb of Michigan, Gardner Murphy, Menninger Foundation, Nevitt Sanford, Vassar College; Robin Williams Jr., Cornell; David Krech, of California; Jerome Bruner, Harvard; Allison Davis, of Chicago; Daniel Katz, Michigan;

Anne Anastasi, Fordham; Stuart Cook, New York; Marie Jahoda, New York; Prof. Kenneth Clark, College of the City of New York; Bingham Dai, Duke; Irving Lorge, Teachers' College, Columbia; Solomon Asch, Swarthmore; David Rapaport, Austen Riggs Foundation.

Encls: MUSE REPORTS:
"New Orleans Survey, Nov. 1-9, 1959"
"Lester Kabacoff -- Judge J. Skelly Wright, Nov. 2-6, 1959"
"William Munroe -- Orleans Parish School Bd., Nov. 4-5, 1959"
"Msgr. Henry C. Bezou, Supt. of Catholic Parochial Schools, New Orleans, Nov. 3, 1959"
"New Orleans, Nov. 1-9, 1959 - Addresses of People Seen..."
"New Orleans Times-Picayune, Nov. 3, 1959 - George W. Healy, Jr. Editor -- Harold P. McCall, Associate Editor."

November 23, 1959

Dr. Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Harry:

Enclosed, for your files, are copies of several recent reports by Benjamin Muse.

Incidentally, the next meeting of the Southern interagency group is set for January 19 and 20, at Atlanta University, as usual. I don't have to tell you that you will be most welcome if you can make it.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 6.

MEMORANDUM December 28, 1959

To: P. Anthony
P. Rilling
L. Dunbar
J. Constable
R. Alexander
B. Muse — cc mailed
M. Flowers

From: H. Fleming

All hands, ple ase note that David F. Freeman is now our man at the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Harry Meserve having left the Fund for new duties as yet unknown.

Dave, it will be remembered, was the key man in our dealings with the Fund for the Republic, of which he was a vice-president. And he has helped us, out of friendship, with more than one other foundation. Dave is both tough-minded and well informed in our field; he may be expected to take a more detailed interest in our program than other philanthropoids -- and perhaps also to play a more vigorous part in stimulating new efforts in the South. At least, these things were true of him in the Fund for the Republic days.

Mildred and John, please see that Freeman's name is substituted for Meserve's on all appropriate mailing lists. Freeman is probably already receiving all our routine mailings; if so, it is necessary only to delete Meserve's name, at least until we find out where he has gone.

Clinton Gardner
Jr. Univ.

Dr. 3-1621, ext 516

January 8, 1960

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

That was good news in your Christmas note.

I am looking forward to our next session and am hoping you can make the interagency meeting on January 19 - 20. By all means do it if you can.

There is a chance that I will be in New York for a day or two before then. If so, I will give you a call, as usual.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

VIA AIR MAIL

January 13, 1960

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

By mutual agreement, I have been sending Harry Meserve copies of Ben Muse's field reports and other evidences of the workings of the Leadership project. Of course, I want to continue to do this -- in fact, more so -- now that we're working together.

Here is an interesting report on Muse's interview with Hodges of North Carolina. If you aren't familiar with the Yancey County situation, we'll brief you next week.

After due consideration, we decided it was simpler for you to put up at the A. U. dormitory, 50 Chestnut Street. The meeting will take place Tuesday in the dining hall in that building.

Hope I'll be getting your plane schedule -- just so we will know.

Until Tuesday, all best

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

via air mail

January 21, 1960

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

I'm awfully sorry the interagency meeting was such a wretched, dispiriting affair. It was about the worst one ever. You sat there and took it like a good soldier, but it's still a pity you had to come 1,000 miles for such a treat.

Anyhow, I'm glad you and Ben Muse and I had some chance to talk and hope we will have further opportunity on happier occasions.

Recalling your extra-curricular interest in the federal-registrar proposal, I'm enclosing a copy of a memo prepared here for our own amusement.

When you see Vernon, tell him that Somebody Up There who controls the weather must like him.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. -- For possible uses of our own, we have compiled the names of the Southern directors of the 500 largest corporations in America (the Fortune list.) It occurs to me that, if you explore the business men further, this might be helpful as a raw list from which to pick and choose the best small group. Let me know if and when and whether this might prove useful.

January 28, 1960

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Dave:

The sheet circulated at the interagency meeting was for Courtney Siceloff's use. But we have checked in the enclosed directory of Southern-operating organizations the names of those who were present. A few of the second-echelon representatives are not listed, but the chief delegate of each agency present is indicated.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

January 25, 1960.

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for yours of the 21st and its enclosures. I am sorry to say that I agree with your assessment of the interagency meeting. To me one of the main problems was the Chairman's inability to keep any control over matters. I realize that with a policy of rotating the chairmanship, there is not much that can be done about this, but hope that you will have better luck next time. I have already reported to Vernon along the lines you suggested.

I noticed that on the first day of the meeting a paper was circulated on which those present listed their names and affiliations. It would be most helpful to me if you could stick a copy of this in the mail, even before the minutes are ready.

All the best,

Sincerely,

David F. Freeman

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 9, 1960

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

I thought you should know that we have been busy in the "sit-down" crisis, not merely through the press and special reports.

Enclosed is an informative memorandum from Ben Muse who, as you will see, has been constructively active in Durham and Greensboro. Ben's reports tend to be modest; if anybody of our viewppint can help those folks desegregate, Ben is the man.

We also have had two consultants into Raleigh, at the mayor's invitation; a similar effort, under the auspices of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, led to the establishment of a bi-racial negotiating committee there. The issue is about to come to a head here in Atlanta. We hope to be helpful through our work with an influential committee of ministers and businessmen, as well as with Mayor Hartsfield.

Despite all this, as I needn't tell you, the situation is tense and region-wide solution is far off. Bob Hughes is doing what he can in Montgomery,

but there is little that anyone can do in such an official climate.

Parenthetically, the businessmen as personified by management of the ten-cent stores are showing a dismal lack of understanding and leadership. Clearly an occupational disease.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

Ben Muse report on Raleigh, Durham and Greensboro (Student Protest Against Lunch Counters)

BC: Ben Muse report and Ltr. to Freeman also sent to Vennon A. Eagle

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

May 10, 1960.

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your letter of May 5. I was delighted to learn that you plan to be in New York City later this month. If it is all the same to you, Tuesday, May 24, would be the best day for me. How about having lunch on that day? Please give me a ring when you get into town, and we can arrange a mutually convenient time.

Best regards,

David F. Freeman

P. S. I liked your piece in the REPORTER even better than the one in the TIMES MAGAZINE. Keep up the good work!

DFF

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

May 5, 1960

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Dave:

It's been much too long since we touched base, and I hope to be able to remedy that soon.

I am scheduled to be in New York next, for one of those well-known command performances before members of the Field board, in late afternoon and evening of Monday, May 23. I could either go up the night before and have Monday free until about 3:30 p.m., or stay over on Tuesday. If you will have some free time on one of these days, I will plan accordingly. Please drop me a note as soon as you conveniently can.

As for the Arkansas Council's grant, it is perfectly satisfactory for us to keep the existing arrangement undisturbed. In fact, we can receive the grant for them with even greater equanimity now that their tax-exemption has come through. Incidentally, all but two of the state councils have now received the good word from IRS, and we're hopeful that the remaining two will shortly.

All the best, as ever,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

May 3, 1960.

Dear Harold:

Sorry to miss you on your last trip to New York. Please ring me next time you come through, as I still want to have a chance to try out something on you that I have been puzzling about.

I just received a letter from Nat Griswold forwarding the Arkansas Council's quarterly report, in which he indicates that they have now received their tax ruling and that we might now make payment directly to them, should we choose to do so. At the moment I have no particular preference one way or the other but would just as soon leave the present setup unchanged. What is your feeling in the matter?

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

May 13, 1960

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Just a note to say that lunch on Tuesday, the 24th, will be fine. I'll call you Tuesday morning to set time and place.

Meanwhile, here is a new report on the lunch-counter situation from Ben Muse -- an unusually good and informative report, I think.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS FUND
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK

COPY.

May 25, 1960.

Dear Mr. Griswold:

Many thanks for your letters of April 21 and May 20 and my apologies for this delayed reply. Since I had made a date some weeks back for a meeting with Harold Fleming yesterday, I wanted to chat with him before writing you.

Harold and I have now had our meeting, and it was agreed that the payment for 1960 should be handled just was it was last year - namely, through the Southern Regional Council. We will try to speed matters up as much as possible.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

Mr. Nat R. Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

cc: Mr. Harold Fleming

BC to Nat Griswold

May 27, 1960

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This is to request, on behalf of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations the third installment of $8,000 pledged to the State Council by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. Although the Arkansas Council has recently secured sufficient evidence of tax exempt status from the Internal Revenue Service, it is my understanding that it will be convenient for this grant-in-aid to be given through the Southern Regional Council as in the case of the earlier installments. We shall be glad to continue this arrangement.

I have been advised by Mr. Griswold that appropriate reports on the work of the Arkansas Council have been furnished. If any further information on any point is desired by the Fund prior to the payment of the third installment, I shall be glad to see that it is provided.

With appreciation and kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

BC: Ben Muse

June 1, 1960

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

The first year of the Southern Leadership Project having ended, this is to request of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund the second installment of $40,000 for support of the project from June 1, 1960, to May 31, 1961.

We have sent you periodically copies of field reports, publications, and other materials reflecting the activities carried out under the project during its first year of operation. In order to avoid repetition, I am forgoing a further detailed report; however, I am enclosing a summary of activities by the project director, Mr. Benjamin Muse, which supplements one forwarded to you earlier. Also enclosed is an unaudited statement showing expenses of the project since the audited financial statement of January 1, 1960, previously transmitted.

In connection with finances, two points might be mentioned. First, the balance of May 31 does not reflect various outstanding obligations, not yet payable on that date, estimated at a total of approximately $1,000. Secondly, the project has been steadily gaining momentum during the past year, and the rate of expenditure has been increasing concomitantly. The amount of carryover resulting from the early months of less than full activity will be offset by the heightened demands on the project now being met and anticipated during the coming year.

We very much hope that you and your associates at the Fund share our belief that the Southern Leadership Project is meeting the expectations set forth in our original application. We consider ourselves fortunate to have the services of Mr. Muse, whose quiet and effective work among state and community leaders throughout the South has done much to facilitate orderly progress. I shall continue to see that you receive reports of his work in the field and of the project's accomplishments in general.

If further information will assist the Fund in considering this request for a second installment of the project grant, you have only to let me know. Meanwhile, I should like to re-emphasize the Southern Regional Council's appreciation for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund's support of a new and fruitful approach to the South's racial problems.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
encs 2 (Statement of expenses; Ben Muse Summary rept)

SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT
January 1, 1960 to May 31, 1960

INCOME

Balance, January 1, 1960		$ 21, 133.32

EXPENSES

Salaries	$ 3,333.40	
Travel and Communication	1,323.52	
Office Expense (project director)	659.00	
Printing & Distribution	4,144.51	
Consultants' Fees and Travel	957.27	
Total Expenses		10,417.70
Balance, May 31, 1960		$ 10,715.62

Finally
Wentfall
Mr Price.

T

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3 2 4.4 5

1.2 3 5.6 4 T

11,951.26
1,235.64

10,715.62

Laplee

715-49-

195.70 (stallings)

324.45 (HC77)

SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT
January 1, 1961 to May 31, 1961

INCOME

Balance, January 1, 1961	$ 30.920.43

EXPENSES

Salaries	$ 3,916.64	
Travel and Communication	1,769.07	
Office Expense	778.62	
Consultants' Fees	~~2,100.00~~	2,700.01
Consultants' Travel	~~1,217.01~~	1,560.58
Printing and Distribution	2,303.28	
		13,028.19
Total Expenses		~~12,084.62~~
Balance May 31, 1961		~~$ 18,835.81~~ 17,892.24

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. G. T. HAMILTON, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT Southern
January 1, 1960 to May 31, 1960

INCOME

Balance, January 1, 1960		$ 21,133.32

EXPENSES

Salaries	$ 3,333.40	
Travel and Communication	1,323.52	
Office Expense (project director)	659.00	
Printing and Distribution	~~2,908.87~~	4,144.51
Consultants' Fees and Travel	957.27	
		10,417.70
Total Expenses		~~[illegible]~~
Balance, May 31, 1960		$ ~~[illegible]~~ 10,715.62

Obligations outstanding - estimated
(consultants fees + travel + printing)

Balance - estimated $

cc sent to DFF

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

April 22, 1960

THE SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT

September 1, 1959 to April 1, 1960

This report is supplementary to my report of September 1, 1959, which described the nature of the Southern Leadership Project in practice and gave an account of my activities during the five months since its initiation on April 1, 1959. The two memoranda together represent a report on the first year of the project.

My activities during the last seven months of the project year were generally similar to those described in my earlier report, except in that a large part of my time was given to a writing undertaking, and in that since February 1 the student protest over lunch counter segregation has been our major concern.

Asked to write the story of massive resistance in Virginia, this project reached the proportions of a book, which we anticipate, will be published before the end of the year. All of my time was devoted to this writing during December, 1959, and about half my time during January and February, 1960.

I paid several visits each to Richmond, Norfolk, Washington, Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, Chattanooga, Knoxville, and Atlanta. I also spent one week in New Orleans and visited Arlington, Charlottesville, Petersburg and Williamsburg, Va. and Winston-Salem, N. C.

It is difficult to classify the new friends, or contacts made, but it may be noted that they included two state governors, two state attorneys general, four city managers, seven school board members and sixteen editors. Some of these were visited several times.

I have particularly enjoyed my widening acquaintanceship among Southern editors and believe these associations have been helpful in various ways. The Raleigh News and Observer published one editorial at my specific request and reprinted a helpful editorial from the Roanoke World-News which I sent

to it. Following a friendly visit to its editor, the Knoxville News-Sentinel reprinted the same editorial at my request, and I understand that it was helpful in that city.

In New Orleans I conferred with a number of prominent people. I believe I was particularly helpful to the liberal manager of a Radio-TV station and to Federal District Judge J. Skelly Wright who seemed glad to have information of various kinds. I may also have had some influence on school board members there. I gave the Council a comprehensive survey of the situation in New Orleans.

I discussed the school problem, and sought to stimulate liberal sentiment, among a number of people in Chattanooga and Knoxville and established a cordial relationship with a school board member in each city.

I developed a cordial relationship with Gov. Hodges of North Carolina and his staff assistants, discussing with them on different occasions both the school desegregation and the lunch counter problems. Before Gov. Collins' move in Florida, North Carolina seemed the most promising state for a break-through in the lunch counter situation and I spent much time with officials, editors and civic leaders in four North Carolina cities.

I discussed the lunch counter problem with Gov. Almond, Attorney General Harrison, Richmond City Manager Edwards and Petersburg officials. I found a discouraging lack of awareness of the seriousness of the protest movement in Virginia.

I paid two visits to J. J. Brewbaker, superintendent of schools in Norfolk, to discuss with him the work which he will undertake for the Southern Leadership Project, beginning next July 1.

The foregoing activities have been reported in fuller detail in memoranda submitted after each trip.

I also corresponded and conferred with our Atlanta office in developing the research phase of this project.

Respectfully submitted,

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

Dave Freeman
Rock Bros. Fund

June 1, 1960

Dave:

Here is a copy of the interesting letter of amplification which we received from the Internal Revenue Service, in response to our request for clarification. The numbered items 1 and 2 strike me as much more liberal interpretations than we have come to expect in the past from the IRS.

Wesley
etc. to:
Sec. w/
answer to
Jos. Nagy
Incl. ltr.

Regards,

June 7, 1960

Mr. Dana S. Creel
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Creel:

This is to acknowledge with appreciation your letter of June 3 and the accompanying check for $8,000 representing the third and final installment of the Fund's 1958 pledge to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

We have, in turn, transmitted this amount to the Arkansas Council. We are pleased that the Southern Regional Council can be instrumental in strengthening the work of the Arkansas Council through the generosity of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm
Enclosure - receipt

bc: Nat Griswold

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Office of the Director

June 3, 1960.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of May 27 in which you requisition the third installment of $8,000 on the Rockefeller Brothers Fund's pledge of February 28, 1958, to assist in maintaining and strengthening the program of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

CR
6/6/60
RHA

I am glad to enclose the Fund's check in the amount of $8,000, payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., as a contribution designated for the general budgetary activities of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations in 1960. It is our understanding that this payment discharges in full the Fund's obligation under the pledge referred to above.

Sincerely yours,

Dana S. Creel

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

cc: Mr. Nat R. Griswold

June 27, 1960

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This is to acknowledge most gratefully your letter of June 21 forwarding payment of the second instalment on the Fund's pledge to the Southern Regional Council. Our official receipt is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

June 21, 1960.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of June 1 to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund requesting payment of the second installment under the Fund's pledge dated June 20, 1958, and amended May 12, 1959. We have read with great interest the reports sent us from time to time by Mr. Benjamin Muse.

It is a pleasure to enclose the Fund's check for $40,000, payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., ~~and~~ designated for its Southern Leadership Project for the year ending May 31, 1961.

CR
6/27/60
RHA

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MF - Pls review before next NYC trip
H

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

August 3, 1960

Dear Harold:

The announcement of Brewbaker's appointment as Public School Consultant is fine with us.

Hope to see you later in the month if you are up this way.

Best,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

September 9, 1960

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

My projected August trip to New York never materialized, since the folks down here who keep race relations busy never seemed to notice it was summer. I hope you did better at escaping the rat-race.

It is now certain that I will be in New York September 19 - 21, during which time I hope we can get together. To that end, I'll be calling you Monday morning the 19th.

I'm hopelessly behind in everything but will soon be sending you Brewbaker's summer reports. They make rather interesting reading.

Sincerely

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

September 14, 1960

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Here are copies of Brewbaker's reports during the course of the summer. He put in a busy season for us, with good effect, I think. His Louisiana trip was especially effective.

Several clips are also attached. In addition to those on Brewbaker, there is one about the New Orleans visit of a Norfolk business leader. Although the latter wasn't flying our banner, we also arranged his appearance there.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

via air mail

October 25, 1960

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

We had a very good talk with Dan Pollitt last week and made a deal with him. He is eager to try his hand at drafting a memorandum on executive responsibility in the field of race relations, and his background equips him well for the job. He practiced law in Washington for some years (in Joe Rauh's firm), and is well acquainted with government activity in various appropriate areas.

The plan is this: Pollitt is to do such research and consult with such persons as he feels necessary. He is to deliver a draft memorandum to us by November 24 (Thanksgiving!). We are to circulate the draft to a selection of knowledgeable people, inviting their comments and criticism. Then we will convene for a head-knocking (here, or perhaps in Washington) a handpicked group of these "experts", hopefully in early December. Finally, we here at SRC will put the memorandum in final form for such key distribution as seems wise. It is understood that we, not Pollitt, will have the final word on form and content.

All of this will cost relatively little; we estimate not more than $2,000. Because of the pace at which we

are moving, Pollitt plans to do almost no travelling, so there will be no opportunity for him to meet Ottinger. If, despite this, you can turn up some funds for the project, I'll be grateful. If that's impossible, we'll scrape up the cost out of existing funds. The project seemed important enough to us to warrant going ahead at once without assurance of special financing.

In any case, I'm hoping we can count on your being one of the brain-trusters, on as confidential a basis as you like. This is the kind of thing on which your thinking would be most valuable to us.

I'm sending you separately a copy of Pollitt's article on the legal aspects of the sit-ins. It includes a brief biographical sketch of him.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

via air mail

December 27, 1960

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

My apologies for taking this long to answer your letter regarding the Arkansas Council's request. I have been laid up with a cold of more than normal virulence.

Griswold's estimate of income from SRC is pretty realistic. We have budgeted for the Arkansas Council in 1961 straight aid of $3,200, payable quarterly, and an additional sum of $2,000 on a matching basis; that is, we will match, dollar for dollar, all local funds raised above a minimum of $1,500 and up to a maximum of $3,500. This matching provision, which we first put into effect in 1960, is no doubt one reason for Griswold's raising his sights for local support. (Incidentally, this condition, which we are applying more stringently than the earlier ones, improved the fund-raising performance of all the state councils this year.)

In short, the Arkansas Council stands to get at least $3,200 from SRC, and a total of $5,200 if it raises $3,200 or more from local sources.

As for your other, off-the-record question, Griswold is clearly a man of limited capacity. He is

deeply committed and hard-working, but a plodder rather than an imaginative, innovating type. He is strongest in the Quakerish skills of quiet stimulation and coordination; he has made the ACHR an inconspicuous rallying ground for many good groups and individuals. He also has some astonishingly useful private relationships around the state. He is weakest as an organizer, promoter, fund-raiser, and "front man" for the movement. This is one (though by no means the only) reason why the ACHR has made such a poor showing in organizational and financial terms.

We have felt that the ACHR has earned some special consideration for its success in using bi-racial staff. It is the only state council that has made this early hope work effectively. Griswold and his principal lay leaders recognize the importance of bi-racial staff activity, and Griswold has shown the kind of tact and sensitivity that are required to make it work. This, I think, is the main argument for an Arkansas budget large enough to sustain two professionals. Beyond that, I can't honestly hold any brief for a greatly expanded program under Griswold's direction.

Naturally, we would be pleased if the RBF decided to give further aid to the Arkansas Council, since not much of a program would continue there otherwise.

I was very glad that you expended the time and effort to come to the Washington pow-wow. Les and I agreed afterward that your contributions to the discussion were among the ablest ones. We are now working over a first draft of our own report, and expect to submit it (hopefully in person) before inauguration day. When you get your copy, I hope you'll find it worthy of your original brain-trusting.

With appreciation and regards, as always, and best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

December 13, 1960.

Dear Harold:

In my enthusiasm at the meeting in Washington last week, I neglected to raise with you one business item - the new request to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund from the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Griswold has asked for an increase in the level of support for three additional years - he would like to have $10,000 a year, as against the $8,000 for the past three years.

The attached copy of his budget estimate based on such an increase from the Fund raises some questions in my mind. There has been no particular growth of income from Arkansas sources in the past three years, but he now budgets these sources for $1,000 a year more than in the past. Second, and more important, he budgets a total of $4,500 from the Southern Regional Council. I would appreciate your confidential estimate as to how realistic this is. I would also appreciate any off-the-record comments you might want to make as to Griswold's ability to operate a larger program, even if the funds were forthcoming.

I thought the meeting, or as much of it as I could stay for, was intensely interesting. I hope that you will all be successful in boiling down the various thoughts into something the new administration can effectively use. Since the trip was thoroughly educational to me, my expenses will be covered by sources other than your own worth-while organization.

Merry Christmas.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RBF

Rockefeller Brothers Fund

1960

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK

Northside Center for Child Development—$25,000 toward the cost of reconstructing and enlarging facilities used for the Center's child guidance program.

Phelps Memorial Hospital Association—$100,000 toward a special campaign to finance expansion of facilities to meet the growing need for hospital services in the Tarrytown area of Westchester County.

Planned Parenthood Federation of America—$25,000 for the Federation's Clinical Investigation Program involving statistical and research analysis of test data in the physiology of human reproduction.

Regional Plan Association—$37,500 toward the cost of preparing physical projections and other materials to be used in the interpretation of findings of the New York Metropolitan Region Study.

Riverside Church—$20,000 toward the Church's participation in the higher education capital funds campaigns of the American Baptist Convention and the Congregational Christian Church.

Robert College of Istanbul—$50,000 toward initial financing of a new School of Business Administration and Economics.

Southern Regional Council — $40,000 for the Southern Leadership Project, a special program offering consultative services to assist localities in Southern states meet practical problems arising from school integration. Grants since 1958 total $80,000.

In addition, the Fund contributed $8,000 toward the work of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, an affiliate of the Southern Regional Council, working toward better understanding in Arkansas of the issues involved in school integration. Grants for this purpose since 1958 total $24,000.

January 26, 1961

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave;

Here, with apologies, is a backlog of Ben Muse's December reports on trips in the Carolinas and Alabama. I am embarrassed and chagrined that I failed to send them to you sooner. Some of the Alabama items are goose-flesh producers.

We are pondering the Integration North & South question. I will let you know what we write Morris Ernst, shortly I trust.

The report on the Federal Executive has been released to the press for Monday, January 30.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

RECEIVED
FEB 9 1961

February 6, 1961

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This acknowledges with thanks your notice of assistance from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations for the years 1961 - 1963.

This will enable us to pursue immediately a number of projects including the securing of an associate director.

We will restudy carefully our budget estimate for possible adjustments with particular attention to additional sources of income. We feel that we are nearer the centers of influence in policy-making in communities of the state and on action-planning in Washington. So we do want to be able to pursue our purposes vigorously just now.

We appreciate this substantial help and the continuing interest in the problems of the South which it signifies.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director

NRG:ra

February 8, 1961

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

The copy of your letter to Nat Griswold was most welcome here. We are greatly pleased that the Rockefeller Brothers Fund decided to extend its assistance to the Arkansas Council for an additional three-year period.

I did get to New York, as threatened in my recent letter, but the unexpected need to lope a day off the three-day visit and the run-away schedule that resulted left me no worthwhile opportunity to call you. I do want very much to talk to you soon, for more than sociable purposes. It looks as though I will be back to New York within a matter of weeks and, if so, will hope to get together with you then.

The report to the President has done better than we expected. It not only got a first-rate press, especially in the New York Times and the Washington Post, but it has also created something of a stir within the Administration. One encouraging evidence of this is the impressive number of requests

we have received, by telephone and letter, from the agencies most closely concerned. The reaction from the top echelon is so far oral, informal, and indirect. But these emanations also sound hopeful. I will let you know if we get further noteworthy feed back.

Until I see you, the very best,

As ever,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS FUND
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK

COPY.

February 2, 1961.

Dear Mr. Griswold:

There has now been an opportunity for the Trustees of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund to consider the request of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations for a continuation of budgetary support. While it is not possible to increase the Fund's contribution as requested, the Trustees are glad to assist in maintaining and strengthening the program of the Council and have appropriated $24,000 for this purpose, to be paid over the three-year period 1961-63.

As the first payment on this pledge, I am enclosing the Fund's check for $8,000, payable to The Arkansas Council on Human Relations and designated for its general budget in 1961. Further payments of $8,000 annually will be made in 1962 and 1963 upon written requisition by a duly authorized officer of the Council.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

Mr. Nat R. Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

cc: Mr. Harold C. Fleming ✓

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

February 1, 1961

RECEIVED
FEB 3 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

Just had a call from George Dickinson, Arkansas Free Enterprise Association. He wanted the report which SRC sent to the President. You will be hearing from him about this. We of course did not give him our copy.

In his conversation he indicated they were interested in "individual freedom" in such matters as the right to work and were not concerned about the race issue as such. Jim Youngdahl, lawyer friend of Dan Pollitt and lawyer for AFL-CIO, indicates his opinion about this outfit.

"Dickenson is a complete crackpot, that ~~is, he~~ is not capable of reaching a logical conclusion given the facts." "Personally harmless, incapable of coming to grips with issues." "His frequent newsletter is a diatribe." The group, according to Youngdahl, has money now because they claim credit for defeat of the "minimum wage law" voted on in November and collected quite a sum to fight this issue. The organization first became active under the stimulation of some East Arkansas lawyers seeking passage of the "Right to Work Law" which Arkansas now has.

This was simply to alert you. Dickinson indicated he is interested in legislative action in Congress. My guess is he could quickly develop interest in aggresive administrative action from Washington!

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

April 6, 1961

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Dave:

Your letter of April 3, just received, makes me all the more grateful for your thoughtful call the other day. If the Rockefeller grant comes through -- as I deeply hope it will -- the Council will have yet another reason to praise the name of Freeman.

Your guess about the presidency is correct, of course, more later.

As ever,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N.Y.

ROOM 5600

April 3, 1961.

PERSONAL

Dear Harold:

Your note came in just in time - half an hour later I had a call from Ken Thompson, the Director of the Social Sciences Division, to whom Miss Rhind had sent your letter. I was, I hope, reassuring and sent off by hand Dunbar's piece for the Italian elite. While fingercrossing is still in order, I have the feeling that things should move along reasonably well.

By the way, now that you are Executive Vice President, who is the President? Or can I guess?

As ever,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

April 19, 1961

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

I just learned from Harold Fleming that you had not yet received a copy of my book, Virginia's Massive Resistance." I asked the Indiana University Press to send you a copy, as well as one to Harold, among the first review copies. I am sorry indeed that this oversight occurred in your case.

I am mailing a copy of the book to you now. Harold said that you raised the question of the possible effect of the book upon the work of the Southern Leadership Project. My hope, and belief, is that it will help me to gain access to responsible Southern leaders and enhance their interest in what I have to say. The little pre-release circulation which the book has had thus far has tended to strengthen this belief.

Most encouraging is a letter of April 11th received from former Governor James P. Coleman, of Mississippi, of which a thermofax copy is enclosed.

This is the release date for the book, and I am naturally in considerable suspense, but this has been a very pleasant experience and I appreciate the opportunity, and the prodding, given to me.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse, Director
Southern Leadership Project

BM/mf
Enclosure - 1.

May 26, 1961

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc.
30 Rockefeller Plaza - Room 5600
New York 20, New York

Dear Dave:

Confirming my telephone call, I'll see you at 10:00 a.m. on Wednesday, June 7th at your office.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:A

July 5, 1961

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This is to request of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund the third installment of $40,000 for support of the Southern Leadership Project for the period June 1, 1961 to May 31, 1962.

To supplement the periodic field reports and other materials that have been sent you during the year, the project director has prepared the enclosed brief summary of activities for the period April 1, 1960 to April 1, 1961. To this I would like to add the observation that Mr. Muse has been characteristically modest in his reports. The Southern Leadership Project has contributed uniquely to the largely unserviced area with which it has been concerned.

The nature of the project makes it necessary, of course, that the field work be carried on quietly. I trust, however, that the field reports have given to you and your associates an indication of the degree of success with which Messrs. Muse and Brewbaker have been able to reach and assist persons of influence and responsibility.

Also enclosed is an unaudited financial statement covering the period since December 31, the date of our last audit. You will note that there remains a balance of $17,678. During the past 12 months the project has operated at approximately the budgeted rate of $40,000 per year. This year-end balance is largely a reflection of the slower rate of expenditure during the first year of the project when consultant fees, publication costs, and related expenses were not at their present level.

We are hopeful that the major portion of this balance can be used in the management-labor area. In addition to publications

which are now in preparation, one activity we have in mind, assuming we can find the right person or persons, is to put a consultant in the field at least part-time to discuss questions of employment and discrimination with employers and unions. Interpretation of the President's Executive Order 10925 to southern managers and labor officials is worth a special effort. One or two people are now in sight who might adequately perform this function.

If additional information will assist the Fund in considering this request, we shall be happy to supply it.

The Southern Regional Council is deeply grateful to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund for the assistance which has made possible this program.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
Enclosures

May 2, 1961

THE SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT

April 1, 1960 to April 1, 1961

I visited in all the eleven Southern states, except Texas and Arkansas, during the year. I believe the effectiveness of the project has increased as my circle of acquaintances and friends has widened and as I have felt more and more at home in the various situations and in the work. Opportunities for useful correspondence and desk work have also increased.

I terminated my business activities, for which I had formerly reserved one fifth of my time and began giving my full time to this project on February 16, 1961.

Considerable time was given during the year to the completion of my book, Virginia's Massive Resistance. This is now off the press and will be released on April 19.

In partial offset for the project time spent in writing the book I am distributing several hundred copies at my own expense (discount price of $2.37) in quarters where I think it will be particularly helpful. If the book should prove profitable, further adjustment will be made. (Royalties are after publication cost.)

Copies were sent to all Southern newspapers in cities of 50,000 or more population and to certain other publications. These (177) copies were sent, on my instructions, direct from the publisher with request for review. Reviews were actually expected, only in rare instances, but this was considered a tactful way of bringing the book and its message to the attention of Southern editors.

Additionally, approximately 30 copies thus far have been presented to project friends in various sections of the South. Making a gift of an autographed copy, I find, both assures that the book will be read by certain key individuals, and helps my personal relations with them.

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker continues to serve as a part-time consultant under this project. His activities through December 31, 1960, were summarized in my report of that date. During the past four months he has visited the following school districts:

NORTH CAROLINA: Fayetteville

SOUTH CAROLINA: Sumter, Columbia, Charleston, and North Charleston

GEORGIA: Augusta, Atlanta, Carrollton, Gainesville, Thomasville and Savannah

FLORIDA: Tallahassee, Putnam Co., Clearwater, St. Petersburg, Tampa, Ft. Lauderdale, Miami, Palm Beach, Volusia Co., and Jacksonville.

In addition to Mr. Brewbaker, part-time help was employed briefly in the early stages of the lunch counter desegregation agitation. Prof. Kenneth Moreland, of Randolph-Macon Woman's College, made a quick investigation of the first break-through in Texas cities and furnished a report which was much in demand and signally helpful in other sections of the South. Mrs. Margaret Price prepared a general round-up a few weeks later. Dr. Clarence H. Patrick, of Wake Forest College, at our request and with partial support from us, prepared and published a comprehensive booklet on the illuminating experience of Winston-Salem, N. C., which is still in demand.

My personal travels and consultation with Southern leaders have been reported comprehensively in memoranda following each trip. There has been a substantial increase in desk work at my office in my home in Manassas, Va., which is currently taking about half of my time. In addition to the business of planning trips and contacts and reporting on this activity afterward, my office activities have included the following: correspondence with an increasing number of leader friends, dispatch of SRC literature of various kinds to individuals, suggesting topics to our research department and helping to guide the production of L-Reports, study and revision of mailing lists, continuing study of the desegregation problem throughout the South, and looking into special phases of the problem in which my contacts express an interest. Literature on law enforcement, private schools, etc. is sometimes dispatched in special situations which make it particularly pertinent. In following developments in certain states, before or after a trip to them, I subscribe for a brief period to a local paper. In the present instance, I am receiving the Jacksonville, Miss., State Times, in addition to the papers which regularly come to me.

I gave considerable time -- at least one week on balance -- to work in connection with the paper, "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," although my contribution to this splendid SRC production was very minor.

The effectiveness and value of the Southern Leadership Project must depend above all on the impact of the director's personality upon the scores of Southern leaders with whom he confers, a factor which it would be useless as well as distasteful for me to attempt to appraise. I do find that for my own part I am becoming increasingly attached to a number of individuals scattered over the South and these friendships are a matter of personal satisfaction to me. I may add that, in mingling with leaders outside the circle of committed integrationists and liberals, I am discovering that more Southern leaders are trying to deal conscientiously and patriotically with the desegregation problem than many imagine.

Benjamin Muse

Ruth's copy

SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT

January 1, 1961 to May 31, 1961

Income

Balance, January 1, 1961		$31,366.55

EXPENSES

Salaries	$ 3,916.64	
Travel and Communication	2,138.99	
Office Expense	778.62	
Consultants' Fees	2,850.00	
Consultants' Travel	1,690.84	
Printing and Distribution	2,303.28	
Total Expenses		13,688.37
Balance, May 31, 1961		$ 17,678.18

one activity we have in mind ~~depending~~ ~~[illegible]~~ assuming we can find the right person or persons, is to

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This is to request of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund the third installment of $40,000 for support of the Southern Leadership Project for the period June 1, 1961 to May 31, 1962.

To supplement the periodic field reports and other materials that have been sent you during the year, the project director has prepared the enclosed brief summary of activities for the period April 1, 1960 to April 1, 1961. To this I would like to add the obversation that ~~[illegible]~~ Mr. Muse has been characteristically ~~[illegible]~~ ~~remarkably~~ modest in his reports. ~~I am quite convinced that~~ The Southern Leadership Project has ~~produced a significant~~ contribution ~~[illegible]~~ ~~Particularly is this true because of the~~ unique ~~and heretofore~~ largely unserviced area with which it ~~is~~ has been concerned.

The ~~very~~ nature of the ~~work~~ project makes it necessary, of course, that the field work be carried ~~out~~ on quietly ~~and with a high degree of confidence. However,~~ I trust, however, that ~~[illegible]~~ the field reports have given to you and your associates an indication of the ~~the rather remarkable~~ degree of success with which ~~this project has~~ Freeman, Muse, Brembaker have been able to reach and assist ~~the people for whom the effort was intended.~~ ~~[illegible]~~ person, influence & responsibility.

Also enclosed is an unaudited financial statement covering the period since December 31, the date of our last audit. You will note that there remains a balance of $17,678. During the past ~~twelve~~ 12 months the project has operated at approximately the budgeted rate of ~~$17x~~ 40,000 per year. This year-end balance is ~~, therefore,~~ largely a reflection of the slower rate of expenditure during the first year of ~~operation~~ the project when consultant fees ~~and~~ publication costs, and related expenses were not at their present ~~and desired~~ level.

~~If it is satisfactory with the Rockefeller Brothers Fund,~~ We are hopeful that ~~in a major~~ the portion of this balance can be used ~~to provide additional services to~~ in the management-labor area. ~~There is a growing need for these highly specialized consultant skills with management, both private [illegible] and government contractors.~~ In addition ~~rapidly~~ to publication, which are now in preparation, ~~we shall, if we can find the right person or persons,~~ ~~[illegible]~~ But ~~make~~ a consultant ~~would also be~~ available in the field at least part-time to discuss question of employment

~~Also~~ + discrimination with ~~southern~~ employers + unions.
~~A special effort will be~~ Interpretation of President's Executive Order 10925 to Southern managers + labor officials

The same is true with state and municipal employers. And, labor in the South is increasingly asking for assistance in that special area of concern. We feel, therefore, that to provide these skills from this remaining balance will be ~~xxx xxxxxxxxx will~~ within the framework of the purposes of the project, and the wisest use of these funds.

If additional information will assist the Fund in considering this request we shall be happy to supply it.

~~Please know that~~ The Southern Regional Council is deeply grateful to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund for the assistance which has made possible this ~~important~~ program.

Sincerely, L.W.D.

it would a special effort
One or two people are now in
sight who might adequately
~~fill the~~ perform this function!

July 6, 1961

Mr. Dave Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

I greatly enjoyed my visit with you last month. I may have something to tell you about soon, regarding a field consultant on employment discrimination.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

July 11, 1961

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

I sent copies of this particular report of Ben's to Harris Wofford and Burke Marshall. I think they should be interested in it.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
Enclosure
(Report on Ala. visit)

August 9, 1961

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Dave:

I understand you have been talked to by Stephen Currier or someone regarding the possible combined voting drive. There is another meeting scheduled for August 23 in New York (I believe). If you are around, I would very much like to talk to you about this for a few minutes before going into the meeting. Tentatively, I have planned to come up on the dinner flight August 22, as the meeting is scheduled to begin around 10:00 a. m. the next morning. This would probably exclude anything but a breakfast with you, and I hesitate to suggest that. I could get a flight into New York some time Tuesday afternoon.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
Enclosure — LWD ltr on voting meeting to Exec. Com

BZ - See here

August 9, 1961

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

We acknowledge with deep gratitude the Fund's check for $40,000, which is the full and final payment under the grant of the Southern Leadership Project.

I think I do not need to state again either our sincere appreciation to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund for making this project possible, or our belief that this has been a highly successful undertaking.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
Enclosure - official receipt

B 2 — Ben Mays

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

August 2, 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of July 5 to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. We appreciate having the information which you enclosed concerning the Southern Leadership Project.

In accordance with your request, it is a pleasure to enclose the Fund's check for $40,000, payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. This payment is designated for the Southern Leadership Project for the year ending May 31, 1962, and discharges in full the Fund's pledge of June 20, 1958 as amended May 12, 1959.

CR
RHA
8/7/61

Sincerely,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File
Foundations
Rockefeller

August 16, 1961

Dear Dave:

I will see you at your office next Wednesday, August 23rd, at nine o'clock.

Certainly, it should be possible for me to speak with you after the meeting.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

(7)

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

August 11, 1961.

Dear Leslie:

Harold told me about the first meeting before it took place, and Vernon Eagle reported to me afterwards, so I am reasonably up to date on things, particularly after your kindness in sending me your memorandum to the Executive Committee. I would welcome an opportunity to talk to you before and after the next meeting and would be glad to spend an hour with you here on the morning of the 23rd before the Taconic meeting, if that would be more convenient for you. As you know, the Taconic office is only five minutes away from us, and if you and I were to meet here a little before 9 o'clock, we could have a quiet hour. Otherwise I would be glad to suit your convenience as to a meeting on the afternoon of the 22nd. Please try to save me a few minutes after the meeting at Taconic if it is at all possible.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Stamped envelope

Foundation
Rockefeller F
Rocef
Bros. F

August 30, 1961

Mr. David F. Freeman
Oyster Bay Drive
Rumson, New Jersey

Dear Dave:

Do fill in Max Hahn if you have not already done so, in your own discreet way.

I plan to talk to Morris Abrams here, perhaps next week.

We drafted something which got off yesterday to John Wheeler and as soon as he gives me his comments I will be sending it up to you and would appreciate your critique. In the meantime we have talked it over with Joe Haas, our legal counsel.

The letter from S.N.C.C. to Ottinger, which you enclosed, is of interest.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:MBB

3

OYSTER BAY DRIVE
RUMSON, NEW JERSEY

August 25, 1961.

Dear Leslie:

I had a call this afternoon from Max Hahn on a subject unrelated to your recent trip. I will be calling him back some time next week and could easily ask him whether he has heard about recent developments from his Trustees. If he has not, I could offer to fill him in. If you and/or Morris think this would be useful, let me know.

Meanwhile the attached may be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

197½ Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MUrray 8-0331

August 21, 1961

Ottinger Foundation, Inc.
11 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Sirs:

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee will hold its annual Fall Conference in Nashville, Tennessee, October 13-15, 1961. The Conference will bring together more than one hundred seventy-five student leaders from across the South and will serve to map plans for a major emphasis on employment of Negroes by Southern utilities companies, as well as other action projects that are now a part of our program.

In view of this, we submit to The Ottinger Foundation for its consideration, a grant in the amount of $2,000.00, to aid the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in providing room and board for student delegates.

Enclosed herewith you will find our proposed Conference budget, a copy of "This Is SNCC" and a recent copy of our official publication, "The Student Voice". This data should give to The Ottinger Foundation, some idea as to our organizational structure and leadership to and support of the Southwide student "sit-in" movement.

We thank you for your consideration.

Very truly yours,

Edward B. King, Jr.

EDWARD B. KING, JR.
Administrative Secretary

EBK
Enclosure

AIR MAIL

September 5, 1961

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Dave and Vernon:

Enclosed is a draft of our letter to the agencies regarding the Voting Project.

We are calling together a sub-committee of our Executive Committee to consider this draft either this Friday or next Monday. After the sub-committee goes over it and blesses it, it will be ready to get full committee approval. It seems to me desirable to proceed in this way so that when we finally put something before the other agencies it will be a definite commitment on our part.

I shall be delighted and grateful to get any comments, advice, or new ideas you may have. If it would be at all possible to hear from you, either by mail or by phone, later this week before our meeting, I shall be doubly grateful.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

File Copy

October 13, 1961

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Dave:

I enclose our request for a two year renewal of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund's grant. I am sorry it is so lengthy. The "Summary and Review" can be, if you think it unnecessary, for your personal files only.

There doesn't seem to be anything in particular to add to what is said in the enclosure. The letter to the Mayor is, of course, for your discreet use in any way you think desirable; I'll let you know as soon as there are further developments.

Please call me if you have questions or need added information. In the meantime, best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.
cc: Benjamin Muse

A Proposal
to the
ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS FUND
from the
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
October 13,1961

— file

The Present Situation

There are reasons to believe that the South has entered the fourth, more or less distinct, period in its response to the Supreme Court's decision of 1954. Following the May decision were a few months of generally mild and non-combative reaction. The second period began with the election campaigns in the Fall of 1954 and ended, as hindsight permits us now to see, in early 1959 with the collapse of massive resistance in Virginia. These were the years of harsh, south-wide defiance, expressed through reams of legislation, unending polemics, a sternly enforced conformity of speech, frequent violence, the bitter events in Clinton, Little Rock, and elsewhere, and the school closings. It was within this context that the Rockefeller Brothers Fund enabled the Southern Regional Council to establish the Southern Leadership Project.

Yet even during this time, some school desegregation had begun in Arkansas and Texas, and in cities of North Carolina and Tennessee. The border states - Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia - steadily abandoned segregation.

Since February 1959, the upper South-North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia - has been clearly moving toward release from the bondage of defiance. There has been progress in Arkansas and Florida. In 1960, the state government of Texas declined to enforce its own laws and Houston desegregated, followed this year by Dallas and Galveston. Resistance

in New Orleans abated in 1961, but an even more notable happening was the quiet desegregation of Atlanta's schools. All of these developments mean, in short, that the area of southern resistance is now confined to a few as yet intransigent states and to the rural Black Belt. School desegregation, measured in terms of the number of Negro children in schools with whites in the old Confederacy (less West Texas), has progressed geometrically the past two years: from about 400 in 1959-60, to over 800 in 1960-61, to nearly 1700 this year (or, depending on how counted, over 1800).

A perspective that is not as yet available may, however, reveal that the third period has already ended, and that for some months now, and largely as a result of the sit-in movement and changed federal policies, the upper and urban South have been engaged, not merely in strategic withdrawal from indefensible positions, but in an entirely new adventure toward realistic and just race relations. The minimum requirements of federal law may no longer define the maximum of southern change.

Problems of the Next Two Years

As the Southern Regional Council attempts to define the problems which it must address in the near future it does, in some measure, define at the same time the problems facing the region. In trying to look ahead, there seem to be six areas to which our resources and attention should be especially directed.

1. The states of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina remain overtly defiant of Constitutional rights. Each of these states is, moreover, already involved in some stage of a crisis situation. The University of Alabama is still under injunction to admit qualified Negroes; throughout the state there are, furthermore, recurring

crises in law-enforcement and in voting discrimination. Besides the not yet quiescent New Orleans situation, Louisiana is the scene of three extremely important school cases, the origin of the sit-in case now before the Supreme Court, and deeply involved in charges of voting discrimination. Mississippi has been the principal target of the drive for desegregation of bus and other carrier terminals, is under attack for voter discrimination, and is in the first litigious stages of a defense of segregation at the state university; the recent protests of high school Negroes of McComb reveal the intensity of Negro motivation for full rights. The Clarendon County ruling hangs over South Carolina, where student agitation has also been widespread; applications have been filed by Negroes for admission to Clemson College.

The above are immediate issues to be confronted. Others just as hard will, undoubtedly, develop. There exist today only the first stirings of a new climate within these states; there can be, therefore, no prudent expectation of reform or, for that matter, of prevalent respect for law and order. The weight of state authority remains committed to resistance.

During the past year, dramatic events wrenched the state government of Georgia out of the resistance camp of the Deep South. The business leaders of Atlanta, possessed of great state-wide influence, have seemingly committed themselves to orderly change. Yet one would be foolishly optimistic to overlook the strong possibility of recurring crises as pressure for change reaches the smaller cities and the rural areas of the state.

The Council will, therefore, in these Deep South states place considerable of its program emphasis on the theme of law and order, and on an effort to reach the business and politcal leadership.

2. Intertwined with the problem of the hard core states is the question of the rural Black Belt, where still so many of the nation's Negroes live. Statewide and urban political and business leadership may be brought into a compliant stance, as in Georgia, without assuring peaceful change within the rural areas. Indeed, throughout the South, even in Virginia and North Carolina, state leadership can be expected to act on the premise that the Black Belt is incurable. Unless, somehow, an access to the minds of its residents can be found, the premise may well hold true for a generation or more. There needs to be a more planned effort to reach the leadership elements of the rural South, and the most responsive of these are likely to be those committed to the church.

In the two above areas of concern - the rural Black Belt and the business and political leadership of the Deep South states - we believe there is need to continue along the lines of the original concept of the Southern Leadership Project; i.e., an appeal to so-called "moderates" largely in terms of law and order and the inevitability of change.

3. The growing separation of the upper and urban South from the Black Belt can mean the end of southern monolithism in national politics, and this would be a greatly welcome development. For the Southern Regional Council, the separation has other and difficult implications. Care and skill will be required to avoid conflicting postures. To be effective in the dense, slow moving currents of the hard core while, at the same time, working constructively in the fluid life of the rest of the South, will require flexible, imaginative programing. In addition, therefore, to its work in the Deep South, the Council will be engaged in advancing goals now obtainable in the upper and urban South, such as merit employment and the unfettered use of community facilities.

4. The federal administration is now supplying much needed leadership for the South out of its racial troubles. This gives the Council both the opportunity and the obligation

not simply to support federal initiative, but to do so in useful ways. Conversely, increased federal activity means an increased need for independent, objective evaluation of the government's aims and methods.

5. The chief stimulus of southern change is neither, however, federal and state governments or economic power: it is the Negro movement itself. Within the movement there is today an impressive unanimity regarding directions and ends, an unsettled consensus as to methods, and the real chance of organizational confusion serious enough to dissipate past gains and imminent opportunities. It is of the utmost importance to the nation and to the South that the health and practical unity of the Negro movement be maintained. The Council, as a bi-racial body of southern liberals, is uniquely capable of contributing to the stability of the movement, and recognizes its responsibility to do so, through counsel, through its press relations, and through objective reporting and interpretation of events.

6. The goal for the South needs to be finer human relations, not simply acknowledgement of civil rights. The realization of a true community of persons in the South requires the constant cultivation of bi-racial experiences through shared achievements and continuous discourse. The state and local Human Relations Councils, associated with the Southern Regional Council, are the only lay, bi-racial groups widely active. Their organizations must be strengthened and their outreach extended.

THE PROPOSED SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT 1962-1964

We have above discussed the range of what seems to be the problems to which we in the next several years should give priority. We have done so in order that the Rockefeller Brothers Fund can see how the requested extension of the Leadership Project fits within our whole planning.

Renewal of the Leadership Project will provide us with the needed resources to work effectively in the first of the areas discussed above: the penetration of political and business leadership of the hard core states. It will enlarge our search for methods to influence directly the thinking of the rural Black Belt, as discussed in paragraph 2 above. Finally, it will add to our ability to supplement and evaluate the activities of the federal government, as discussed in paragraph 4.

The three other focal areas fall outside the concept of the Leadership Project. These are not, however, air-tight compartments. The Leadership Project seeks to elicit the more active involvement of decision-makers in constructive social change; whatever is done under the Project will strengthen our program in the other areas.

We propose to carry on the Leadership Project as we have from its inception; i.e., through a combination of field activities, research, and publications.

Field activities, as in the past, will be directed by Col. Benjamin Muse, assisted on a part time basis by J.J.Brewbaker, our Public Schools Consultant, and by such other consultants as budget and opportunities may permit. Except that Col. Muse and his staff will concentrate more of their work in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, no change of approach is planned.

Research and publications supporting their work in these hard core states will emphasize the necessity for adjustment to the advance of Negro Americans and the preservation

of law and order.

Research and publications designed to aid and evaluate federal activities will, as presently foreseen, deal chiefly with three fields: (1) employment; (2) problems of urban life, including housing; (3) non-discriminatory police and judicial administration.

Programs designed for the rural Black Belt will have to be, in the beginning at least, experimental. One possibility, for example, is the preparation of material specially intended for press and other media serving rural areas, Another possibility is quiet, sustained consultation with church and municipal leadership.

Specific areas of concentration ought not, however, to be rigorously adhered to. The Leadership Project, both in the field work and its research, must be prepared to place its resources wherever shifting events and issues make them most needed. The accelerated pace of reform now existing, contrasted with the earlier periods, increases the obligations and opportunities for SRC to supply directions to a region in change.

The Southern Leadership Project was created following a grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund in 1958 of a total of $120,000 for a three year period. At the conclusion of the Project's third fiscal year, May 31, 1962 there will be an anticipated unexpended balance of $8,000.00, resulting almost wholly from initial delay of the Project until the services of Col. Muse could be obtained.

We request a renewal for two years, ending May 31,1964, at the same rate of $40,000.00 per year. We request further that we be permitted to hold and use until May 31, 1964 whatever unexpended funds there may be from the first grant, in order that other qualified and available consultants may be added to the staff, and in order that we may expand programs as events make it desirable to do so. A final accounting to the Fund will be made in 1964.

October 16, 1961
Air Mail

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Dave:

Enclosed is Ben's summary of J. J. Brewbaker's activities since January together with the copy of Ben's interesting report on his own latest foray into Mississippi.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
cc: Benjamin Muse

December 12, 1961
AIR MAIL

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Dave:

Need I say that your letter of November 29 was most welcome? There is both an official and a personal gratification in knowing that the trustees and you thought the Leadership Project worthy of continued support.

His Honor, you will be interested and I think pleased to know, has promised us at least twelve days a year.

Ben Muse is back on the job, looking about as he always has but seeming rested and with enthusiasm undimmed. He has, however, proposed, and I have concurred, that he go on three quarter time beginning December 1. I am apprehensive that he will not be meticulous in observing this, that he will probably work just about as hard and long for less pay. I have asked Mrs. Muse to police him and maybe that will work.

John Yungblut did, we think, useful work in Mississippi and Louisiana while with the A.F.S.C. As you probably know he circulated through the two states seeking out liberals and bringing to them surcease for their sense of isolation. You probably know also of Gene Cox of the Delta Foundation, and know that he has, for a longer time, been doing something similar in Mississippi. The two men's points of view differ considerably. Gene, a native Mississippian, does not believe that, at this time, any organizational effort is prudent and is considerably more persuaded than is Yungblut that work in Mississippi now must be quiet and virtually underground.

Since John has been in Atlanta he has found the means a couple of times to go back and maintain his contacts. We

are now working closely with him and perhaps, to some degree, have assumed a bit more leadership than he. Last fall John convened a group, 40 odd, at Waveland for a two day session which both he and Paul Rilling, our Director of Field Activities, attended. By all accounts the meeting was a fine success. In attendance were such staunch persons as Bishop Brunini, Rabbi Mantinband, President Beittel of Tougaloo, Chairman Murray Cox of the Mississippi Advisory Committee to CCR. Out of this meeting came a decision to move toward some sort of bi-racial human relations organization in Mississippi, though to move cautiously. No decision has yet been made as to whether the organization, when created, will be, or will be called a council of human relations.

A small steering committee was set up headed by, of all things, a Jackson businessman of respectability and moderate status: Power Hearn. Rilling regards Mr. Hearn as a great asset although a man who has a tendency toward indiscretion and who needs guidance. Both Rilling and Yungblut attended the first meeting of the steering committee last month. Rilling will probably attend the next; I am not sure about John's plans.

For the present there are two ways in which financial assistance could be of value, one modest and one larger. It would be most helpful to have some assistance with the cost of meetings and the cost of travel. I hope John will continue to take some part in organizational work in Mississippi. He hardly can do so without outside help. This can, and has, come from us in some small proportion, and from another source which John has but which is not assured; I don't see how John can continue to give organizational help unless some outside source aids him directly or indirectly with travel money.

But I am not altogether convinced that an occasional trip through Mississippi and/or Louisiana is either an effective or an economical way of doing anything more than what we are trying to do now with John's cooperation, i.e., to act as a catalyst for a group of people who already have a desire to league themselves together. In other words, I am dubious of the value of the occasional visit in order to maintain contacts or to provide counsel for beleaguered liberals. We wish, and this is the larger need, that we or the Friends or perhaps someone else had the funds to station a man in the area to serve Louisiana and Mississippi full time, with the eventual objective of forming human relations councils or their equivalent in each state, and thereupon becoming director of one of them.

My other reservation about John's enlargement of the time he gives to Mississippi is a conviction that he is doing

an excellent job at Quaker House in Atlanta and that this is an establishment of great usefulness which can well use him full time. I recognize, however, his organizational usefulness in Mississippi and I hope it can be continued.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date December 7, 1961

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Rockefeller Brothers Letter of November 29

I feel that John Youngblut's work in Mississippi and Louisiana one or two years ago was useful in developing sympathetic contacts and probing the possibilities for organizational activity. Unless we are prepared to carry through with some of the alternatives that would involved more significant representation by us or other agencies in the Mississippi-Louisiana area, I believe that it is useful to keep John in touch with these connections. His work has been quite helpful to me, as you know, and I think that John continues to orient groups and individuals in this area to our program and plans.

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

November 29, 1961.

Dear Leslie:

Just a line to let you know that the Trustees of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund acted favorably a few days ago on your request for renewal of the Southern Leadership Project. Formal notification will be along in a week or so.

On another topic entirely, John Yungblut has written us on behalf of Quaker House in Atlanta. I have told him that there is nothing the Fund can do to be helpful in the situation, but I might be able to give him a little assistance from another source for some continuation of the work he was doing for the AFSC a year or so ago in Mississippi and Louisiana. Do you have any impressions of how effective and useful that work was and whether it would be important to help him keep in touch with the connections he made in those two states? Perhaps Ben Muse might also have some thought on this. I would appreciate it if you would not mention my inquiry to Mr. Yungblut.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Room 5600
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

December 18, 1961.

Dear Leslie:

Many thanks for your most helpful letter of December 12.

I am delighted to hear that His Honor is going to join the Project and that Ben Muse is back on the job.

My warmest greetings for the Holiday Season to you and Ben,

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

December 28, 1961

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Please accept and convey to the Trustees our deep appreciation for the welcome news that the Rockefeller Brothers Fund will continue to support the Southern Leadership Project for an additional two year period, beginning June 1, 1962.

The unexpended balance for this project as of May 31, 1962 will be applied toward the Project's budget for the next two years. At that time, in addition to the regular end-of-the-year audit, an accounting for the Project fiscal year will be sent to you.

The staff and members of the Council believe that the Southern Leadership Project is one of our most valuable programs. We are most grateful to the Fund for making it possible to continue.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

December 19, 1961

Dear Leslie:

It is now possible to send you word regarding the request you presented on October 13th in connection with the Council's Southern Leadership Project.

The Trustees of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund recognize the importance of this Project and are glad to continue their support. Accordingly, they have authorized a grant of $80,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., designated for its Southern Leadership Project, to be paid over the two-year period beginning June 1, 1962. Payments under this pledge will be made on requisition by a duly authorized officer of the Council.

We understand that from the Fund's first grant you anticipate an unexpended balance of approximately $8,000 as of May 31, 1962, and we concur with your suggestion that these funds be applied toward the Project's budget for the next two years.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Review and Summary

The Southern Leadership Project

1958 - 1961

The Southern Leadership Project, financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, is now in its third year. The best review of the interests, activities, and effectiveness of this program can be had from reading the reports and memoranda of the Project Director, Benjamin Muse. Copies have been forwarded to the Fund. To supplement these there follows a brief summary of the program to date.

The Project has been conducted separately from the Council's general program, but in close relationship to it.

The emphasis and field activities of the Project have been largely planned by its Director. Mr. Muse has brought particular skills to this effort. Within the ranks of political leadership, for instance, he has been able to consult with Governor Hodges of North Carolina and more recently with Governor Sanford of that state; in Virginia with Governor Almond, former Governor Darden, and frequently with Attorney General Albertis Harrison, the Democratic nominee to succeed Mr. Almond; in Tennessee with Governor Buford Ellington; in Mississippi with J.P. Coleman, former governor and probable candidate for election again; with Governor Carvel of Delaware; Governor Faubus of Arkansas and former Governor McMath; in Georgia with former Congressman Erwin Mitchell, a likely candidate for governor in 1962, and ex-Governor Arnall; in Alabama with former Governor and present candidate for governor Jim Folsom; and in Florida with Governor Collins during his term of office. These conferences ranged from advising Governor Carvel on establishing a Delaware commission against discrimination to urging the use of a "law and order" theme with Mr.Folsom. In Florida, Mr. Muse spent considerable time with Governor Collins and his staff on that administration's approach to race relations. As an outgrowth of this, the Council was able to work closely with the Fowler Commission on Race Relations, established by the governor.

Mr. Muse's book, Virginia Massive Resistance, provided both a valuable program document and an added means of gaining access to Southern leaders. For instance, former governor Coleman of Mississippi, whom Mr. Muse had previously visited, wrote the author a complimentary letter on the book, of which he had purchased an early copy, and invited him to visit again.

In addition to its natural distribution, the book has been placed in the hands of several hundred leaders in the Deep South.

Of particular importance has been Mr. Muse's work with southern editors and publishers. To date he has conferred with over sixty. In his words, "I try to correct mis-information and misconceptions and promote at least acceptance of the inevitability of desegregation. To those who are liberal on the issue, of whom I find many among editors, I try to bring encouragement. To some who are standing up for the good cause in trying circumstances this appears to be particularly helpful."

A valuable part-time assistant is Mr. J. J. Brewbaker, who was engaged as a consultant on school desegregation by the Project upon his retirement as Norfolk superintendent of schools. Mr. Brewbaker had steered Norfolk schools through a sensationally difficult desegregation crisis, and from this experience as well as from his observations elsewhere is admirably qualified to advise with other superintendents. He has also cordial personal relationship with public school administrators throughout the South. He has visited with many of them in the course of this work, and he makes a point of conferring with school authorities in cities where school desegregation is imminent. In the Deep South, to his colleagues he quietly carries the message of the inevitability of desegregation and the need for planning, and is constant witness to the skeptical and timorous that it can be done. He advises on administrative and scholastic problems of desegregation. He has, we believe, contributed to the ease with which a growing number of Virginia school districts are desegregating; he has been a helpful adviser to school administrators in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Florida; and has worked at length in the difficult situations of New Orleans and Atlanta. We are particularly pleased that Mr. Brewbaker's services are increasingly being requested by superintendents and school boards, including even a few requests from the states of Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina.

The use of other, occasional consultants has been successful in most instances. Among those who have worked in this capacity are:

Business:

Mr. Boyd Ridgeway, Executive Director, Little Rock Chamber of Commerce

Mr. Everette Tucker, Jr. Chairman, Little Rock Board of Education

Mr. Julian Longley, retired textile manufacturer.

Education:

Dr. Omer Carmichael, Superintendent of Schools, Louisville, Kentucky. (deceased)
Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D. C.
Dr. John F. Fischer, Superintendent of Schools, Baltimore, Maryland (now at Columbia University)
Mr. William M. Lightsey, Executive Secretary, Virginia Committee for Public Schools

Research:

Mrs. Margaret Price, former Associated Press Reporter, now with Potomac Institute
Mr. George McMillan, free-lance writer
Dr. Clarence H. Patrick, Wake Forest College
Dr. Kenneth Moreland, Randolph-Macon Woman's College

One of the greatest obstacles to peaceful progress in race relations in the South is the prevalence of misconceptions and the wide currency of mis-information on the subject of race. This has been as true with leaders as with the general population. Research and information have, therefore, received considerable attention and this has been an area of fruitful cooperation between the Project staff and the other Council staff. "L (Leadership) Reports", brief and factual, have been issued at about three to six week intervals. Special mailing lists for these were prepared, built around Chambers of Commerce, selected business men, school superintendents, and the press, and supplemented with many other individual names. A list of all "L Reports" to date is attached.

More detailed Special Reports and publications have been prepared to meet specific needs. For instance, at a time when information was needed on the sit-in movement the Project arranged to have two studies documenting the methods and ingredients of successful solutions. In the crucial area of law enforcement and the control of violence, a study by Mr. George McMillan has been commissioned. Mr. McMillan, who has written on this subject for both Look and Life magazines, was the author of our pamphlet, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, published in 1960. This widely distributed study has been incorporated into the training courses of several southern police departments. In Atlanta, the Chief of Police had each of the department's 800 policemen read the study and submit a written report on it to him. Mr. McMillan's current study for us, unlike the first, is being carried out under the Leadership Project.

Attached also is a list of all publications financed by the Project.

In summary: With few exceptions the program has fulfilled expectations. This is in no small part due to the unique skills and abilities of the Director. It is due also

in part to the quiet and confidential manner by which these services have been offered. The need has existed for these services even more than might have been imagined; too, there is a considerably higher degree of receptivity than anyone might have hoped for.

Mr. Muse is finding an increasing number of moderate leaders in the Deep South - in business, journalism, and politics - who are actually eager to discuss their problems with him and who appear to receive encouragement from his visits.

It is our judgment that the Southern Leadership Project has been one of the most valuable parts of the Council's program during the past two and one-half years.

LEADERSHIP REPORTS

REPORT NO.		TITLE
L-1	-	The Southern Regional Council - Its Origin and Aims.
L-2	-	Excerpts from Speech of John P. Fishwick, Vice-President, Norfolk and Western Railway, to Rockingham Development Corporation, April 6, 1959.
L-3	-	How Could Shut Schools Affect State Economy?
L-4	-	Public Schools and Southern Industrial Progress: Statements from Leaders in Business and Industry.
L-5	-	Public Schools and the Economy of Virginia.
L-6	-	The "Davis Report" and the Truth about the Public School Situation in Washington, D. C.
L-7	-	Governor Almond (Virginia) on the Importance of Public Schools.
L-8	-	Race and Intelligence.
L-8A	-	IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED . . . A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan.
L-9	-	THE PRIVATE SCHOOL ANSWER TO THE DESEGREGATION CRISIS. The Virginia Experience.
L-10	-	Education and Income.
L-11	-	LITTLE ROCK REPORT. . . . What Has Happened since the School Crisis?
L-12	-	Voluntary Desegregation.
L-13	-	"Did you find that there was much Difference in the Ability of Negro Children to receive and profit by Instruction?"
L-14	-	A Report from Virginia.
L-15	-	Types of Desegregation Plans.
L-16	-	Atlanta and Washington - Racial Differences in Academic Achievement.

REPORT NO.		TITLE
L-17	-	Desegregation and Academic Achievement.
L-18	-	Negro Buying Power.
L-19	-	What Price Tag for "Massive Resistance"?
L-20	-	Problem Solving Through Race Relations Committees.
L-21	-	Public Schools and Community Development.
L-22	-	To Florida Leaders in Civic, Religious, and Business Affairs.
L-23	-	Desegregation in Higher Education.
L-23A	-	Desegregation in Higher Education. (Revised.)
L-24	-	Excerpts from addresses by Malcolm Bryan, President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta; Councilman Fred J. Cassibry of the New Orleans City Council; and the year-end report of New Orleans's Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison.
L-24A	-	New School Laws in Georgia.
L-25	-	New Census Look at Cities and Race.
L-26	-	Excerpts from an address by General Lucius D. Clay, Chairman of the Board, Continental Can Company, Inc., delivered before the Governor's Conference on Trade and Commerce in Atlanta, May 22, 1961.
L-27	-	The Hard or the Easy Way?

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PUBLICATIONS

of the

SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT

as of

October, 1961

W. M. Lightsey, Organizing to Save Public Schools (under imprint of Virginia Committee for Public Schools)

C. C. Tarplee, The Church in Areas of Racial Tension

LeRoy Collins, The South and the Nation

Kenneth Morland, Lunch Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston, and San Antonio, Texas (mimeographed)

Margaret Price, Toward a Solution of the Sit-In Controversy (mimeographed)

L-Reports 1-15,17,18,20,21,23,24A,26,27 (mimeographed)

L-Reports 16,19,22,25 (printed)

Note: Project funds used also to assist publications of H.O.P.E., Inc. in Atlanta.

RBF

Rockefeller Brothers Fund

1961

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK

Police Athletic League—$25,000 toward the cost of reconstructing and rehabilitating Wynn Center in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, a project given high priority by the National Recreation Association's study of the League's program and operation.

Puerto Rican-Hispanic Leadership Forum—$15,000 toward the initial financing of the ASPIRA project, aimed at assisting able young Puerto Ricans to complete their education and to assume community leadership responsibilities.

Radcliffe College—$100,000 for activities of the Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study, a program designed to enable women of advanced scholarly achievement to renew or intensify their formal academic concentration in their chosen fields of interest.

Regional Plan Association—$37,500 toward the cost of preparing physical projections and other materials to be used in the interpretation and wide discussions of the findings of the New York Metropolitan Region Study. Grants since 1960 total $75,000.

Sealantic Fund—$75,000 to inaugurate a program of grants to selected agencies in Maine, especially the Island of Mt. Desert, and in Westchester County, New York, these being areas in which the late Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., had a particular interest because of residence in Seal Harbor and Pocantico Hills. Sealantic Fund, the title being a contraction of these two place names, was established by Mr. Rockefeller in 1938 to provide for the continuation of his support of certain of these agencies and to administer gifts made by him for other special purposes.

Southern Regional Council—$40,000 as continued support for the Council's Southern Leadership Project, which offers consultative services to localities in Southern states as they seek to find practical solutions to the problems arising from school integration. Grants since 1958 total $120,000.

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

February 27, 1962.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am writing to thank you for your letter of February 16 enclosing the Director's Program Report and the Financial Statement of the Southern Regional Council.

I have read this material with interest and appreciate your keeping us informed in this way.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 16, 1962

Dave,

I'll be in New York next week, and will call you Monday afternoon or Tuesday morning in hopes that you may have some time Tuesday or Wednesday. If you do, I'd like to unburden a couple small worries.

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

May 25, 1962.

RECEIVED
MAY 28 1962

Dear Leslie:

Thanks for yours of the 21st with its enclosures. You will be hearing from us soon on the matter of payment for 1962-63.

Herewith my quick reactions on the three items you mentioned:

1. The Ed Randall project sounds like an interesting possibility, but I have always been somewhat skeptical about the impact he achieves with his programs, despite their excellent quality.

2. The proposal to add a Protestant minister to the Leadership Project to work with Will Campbell puzzles me considerably. I am a great admirer of Will's and know from my experience with the Presbyterians how important this work is, but I am not quite sure whether it fits into the concept of the Leadership Program itself.

3. On the book idea: I think I can be 100% enthusiastic, particularly since nothing seems to have come of Mr. Ernst's idea about updating the Fleming-Loth volume.

I will look forward to seeing you on the 31st after 3 p.m. If at all possible, it might be helpful for Ben Muse to come too, so that we can have a good chat about the minister project.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

May 21, 1962

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

I am enclosing a copy of Ben Muse's report on three years of the Southern Leadership Project. If satisfactory, I would like for you to regard this as the Project's annual report submitted at this time each year.

I am enclosing also for your files a brief statement, which I had reason to request from Ben, of activities since the first of the year.

If convenient for you, we request at this time payment of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund grant for the Project year 1962-63.

There are three matters which I would like to tell you about. They have to do with the trend of the Southern Leadership Project, and the first two deal with the interest in rural leadership which we outlined in our request for renewal.

(1) We are trying to find out whether Ed Randall and the Friendly World Broadcasting Company (the two are synonymous) can develop radio program which will find an audience in the Black Belt. We

gave Ed $1,000 and sent him down to Alabama. He put together ten 15-minute tapes in a series which had as a theme Alabamans talking about their problems to other Alabamans. As of a week ago 22 Alabama stations had auditioned the tapes, 11 had begun running them, and only one so far had rejected them. (The tapes are free.) On these first ten Ed, who believes in the gradual approach, hardly allowed anybody to talk about race. His idea, and ours, is that he first has got to get his programs accepted. We are probably going to stake him another $1,000 and this time he will get to THE question.

The beauty of radio is that we can know, roughly, how many people we reach because of the ratings, etc. Needless to say, we shall be keenly interested in results on the next go round, and shall let you know.

(2) Ben is deeply convinced of the desirability of enlarging work with the rural ministry and I agree, providing the right program can be devised. We have talked about this at great length with Will Campbell. The idea which we have formulated is that an effort be made to recruit a Protestant minister to work under the direction of Will Campbell and the auspices of the National Council of Churches, with the rural churches of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi. We would pay salary and travel expenses from RBF funds, with the expectation that the total would not exceed $10,000 or $11,000 a year for two years. The remaining problems are two-fold: the discovery of the man, which Will Campbell is attempting; agreement of the National Council to absorb or to overlook overhead and administrative costs.

(3) Much in our minds and hopes has been the possibility of SRC doing a book for publication two years hence on ten years of the Supreme Court's decision. Ben Muse is keenly interested in directing and largely writing it. A similar plan which Southern School News long had has apparently collapsed, and we do not now have the element of possible competition to consider.

I would hope that a book done by us and under the leadership of Ben Muse would be an attractive proposition for a trade publisher or a university press. My primary interest is not in subsidization, because I think we would need little, if any, on the plan we now have. Our interest is publication, distribution, and promotion.

I am in New York on May 31, with free time, as of now, before 10:00 a.m., and after 3:00 p.m. I'll give you a call, because I would like to know how this book idea strikes you. If you (or Stephen Benedict) have any advice as to a likely publisher whose interest I might ascertain either on the 31st or some subsequent trip -- fine. But chiefly, I would like your reaction to the idea itself and to its relationship to the Leadership Project.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

cc: Mr. Benjamin Muse

file
Freeman
Rock Bros

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Campbell, Rev. Will D.
National Council of Churches

REGARDING:

Cooperative effort of National Council of Churches and SRC in Rural Church Program (ltr. confirms agreement with) (Ltr from L.W.D. to Campbell)

DATE
June 12, 1962

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Folder marked: "~~SRC Program~~ S.L. Prey - Rural Church Program"

August 14, 1962

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

On behalf of the Council I acknowledge receipt of your check in the amount of $40,000 which is the first payment under the December 1961 pledge of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. Our official receipt is enclosed.

We shall, within the next few weeks, be informing you as to plans for the Southern Leadership Project during the next year. Until then, please accept our renewed expression of thanks for your assistance and support.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

August 6, 1962.

Dear Les:

I am writing further in reply to your letter of May 21 on behalf of the Southern Regional Council in which you requisition the first payment under the December 19, 1961 pledge of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. It was most helpful to have the comprehensive reports from Ben Muse on the Southern Leadership Project.

In accordance with your request, I am glad to enclose the Fund's check for $40,000, payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and designated for its Southern Leadership Project for the fiscal year ending May 31, 1963.

$ 40,000.00
CR
8/8/62
RHA

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1962

August 31, 1962

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc.
30 Rockefeller Plaza, Room 5600
New York 20, New York

Dear Dave:

I am enclosing an application to the Ottinger Foundation. I trust that we are correct in assuming that this should be submitted through you.

I expect to be in New York the last week of September, and I hope there may be a chance for us to get together to talk about the Voting Project. I'll be bringing documentation of work and progress to date with me.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:bp
Enclosure:
Ottinger Foundation Letter

September 21, 1962

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Ins.
30 Rockefeller Plaza - Room 5600
New York 20, New York

Dear Dave:

I am enclosing a copy of the first status report of the Voters Education Project. I hope you will use your accustomed discretion in showing this to others.

I'll call you as soon as I get into town Monday, which will be about noon, in hopes that you may have some time. I could get in that afternoon at about 2:30 for an hour or so, or would have more time either Wednesday morning or afternoon; if none of these are convenient, I am sure that I'll be able to suit your timing.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosure, #12

October 5, 1962

Mr. David Freeman
The Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Dave:

I enjoyed our talk, and look forward to hearing from you further. The more I think about it, the more desirable it seems, from our standpoint, to try to get an early decision regarding the voting project, but we shall be guided by whatever your judgment is as to the best timing and the general lay of the land.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

November 1, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Dave:

I am enclosing a copy of J. J. Brewbaker's most recent report; I thought you might find it interesting, especially the Alabama portions.

I am enclosing also a clipping from the Birmingham News of last Friday. The facts are not wholly straight. O'Dell was in charge of SCLC's voter work and worked here in Atlanta. He is a likeable and seemingly competent guy. Some weeks ago we learned that he was in fact Hunter Pitts O'Dell. We thereupon had some conversations with SCLC, and perhaps some other people did too. We were notified by SCLC on October 5 that he had been withdrawn entirely from voting work in the South and reassigned to fund raising in New York. On October 29 Martin told Wiley Branton that O'Dell was now terminated from SCLC.

A good many of us here and in other agencies have been concerned for a while by what seems to us the naivete within SCLC and SNCC about this whole problem of, to put it in the vernacular, infiltration; the naivete itself would not be so bad if it were not accompanied by a seeming disdain for the validity of the caution of more experienced agencies. A brief telephone conversation I had yesterday with Wyatt Walker was not on this point encouraging.

I send the clipping and these remarks to you for any worry you may want to devote to them. I have the feeling that great good might be gained if the SCLC leadership could have impressed on it the absolute seriousness of all this by someone

whose credentials for giving them advise they have to acknowledge. It is presumptious, perhaps, for me to say also that, judging from some items I have seen in the press or heard, the governor might have some interest himself in seeing that this organization is not defamed.

Well, all this is dirty linen. I suspect that you will read between the lines that we and some others down here are casting about for ways of cleaning it up.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

P.S. Since dictating the above, American Jewish Committee in New York informs us that today they called the SCLC's New York office and asked for O'Dell; was told that he was out to lunch???

RBF

Rockefeller Brothers Fund

1962

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK

Radcliffe College—$75,000 toward the program of the Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study, which assists mature women scholars in renewing or advancing their academic or creative interests. Grants since 1961 total $175,000.

Research Foundation of State University of New York—$37,758 for support of the activities of the Conference on Metropolitan Area Problems during the period of its introduction into the State University's program. Including support of the Conference when it was a part of the Institute of Public Administration, grants since 1959 total $90,758.

Robert College of Istanbul—$66,539 toward the establishment of a School of Business Administration and Economics. Grants since 1960 total $116,539.

Sealantic Fund—$25,000 for its program of grants to selected agencies in Westchester County, New York, and in the State of Maine, particularly in the area of Mount Desert Island. Through this program, members of the Rockefeller family seek to express their residential citizenship interest in these localities. Grants since 1961 total $100,000.

Southern Regional Council—$40,000 as continued support for the Council's Southern Leadership Project, a special program offering consultative services to assist localities in Southern states to meet practical problems, particularly those arising from school integration. Support since 1958 totals $160,000.

Spelman College—$705,000 as initial contributions under a Fund grant of $1,000,000 made in memory of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to finance construction of a Fine Arts Building at Spelman, and to assist this College and three other member institutions of the Atlanta University Center with a joint land-acquisition program.

Temple University School of Medicine and Hospital—$7,915 for the work of the Institute for the Study of Psycho-

cc reg.

January 2, 1963

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Dave:

I will be at the Chicago meeting January 15 and 16. This works beautifully for me.

Happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

December 28, 1962.

Dear Les:

Just a word to let you know that I plan to attend the January 15 and 16 meetings of the National Conference on Religion and Race. I hope that you'll be there around the same time, and am looking forward to seeing you.

With best wishes for the New Year,

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS FUND
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK

COPY

RECEIVED
JAN 15 1963

PA ✓
MA ✓
MI-file

Cr. ref.

January 14, 1963.

Dear Mr. Griswold:

Thank you for your letter of December 31 to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and for the Council's quarterly report, which I have read with interest.

In accordance with your request, it is a pleasure to enclose the Fund's check for $8,000, payable to The Arkansas Council on Human Relations. This payment is designated for general budgetary needs in 1963 and discharges in full the Fund's obligation under the terms of its pledge of February 2, 1961.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

Mr. Nat R. Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

cc: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar ✓

WB/
MJ-file

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

January 25, 1963.

RECEIVED
JAN 28 1963

Dear Les:

Thanks for your letter of January 23. I am not surprised about the reaction from Bill Pincus - I just hope he proves to be correct.

When we talked in Chicago about getting together after your meeting at Ford, I am sorry that I did not have in mind the date of that meeting. Unfortunately (or fortunately, depending on the weather) I will be in Florida for ten days beginning February 1, so I guess we will have to postpone a get-together on the Voters Registration Project until a later date. Since I have already met Wiley and have read with care and admiration the very complete progress report on the Project, I feel pretty well up to date on it, but would be glad to talk to one or both of you the next time you are in town.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

January 23, 1963

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

I finally, today, reached Bill Pincus. He said that he had not known of the prospective conference with Mr. Heald although he had heard a rumor. He said that, as I described it to him, it could do no harm and might do some good. He encouraged us to take part.

I wonder if I could follow-up on our discussion in Chicago and try to see you the next morning, February 7? As I may have told you, I have to be in South Bend, Indiana later that afternoon and according to present plans I should begin moving toward Newark Airport about 11:00 a.m. This possibly could be moved up a little bit, but I wonder if you might be free to see Wiley and me sometime around 9:00 or 9:30 on February 7? If you would like for us to meet Mr. Creel that would, of course, be fine and either for this purpose or to suit your convenience I could trim my time a bit and Wiley, who does not have to leave when I do, could be available most any time during the 7th.

It was good seeing you in Chicago.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD/mmj

March 22, 1963

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

We don't send you, regularly, reports on Mr. Brewbaker's work, but I thought you might like to have for your files copies of the enclosed letters which indicate some of his present activities.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dumbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

via air mail

April 29, 1963

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

This may be of some interest and value to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Encl: Copy of P.A.'s report on Little Rock, Apr. 10-12, 1963

May 14, 1963

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Got your note of May 10 regarding the Arkansas Council. Good news. The reference to "Branton's role" has to do with responsibility for further legal action in the Little Rock school case. I can tell you about it more adequately some time when we are talking.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter just received from Nat Griswold which may be of interest to you.

I am glad that you had a chance to see Frances Pauley. We think that she is doing a remarkably good job with the Georgia Council.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

PAV
MJ. file

May 10, 1963.

Dear Les:

Just a note to say thanks for the excellent report by Paul Anthony on the Arkansas Council, which I have just gotten around to reading.

For your information and Paul's only, we plan to recommend a descending-scale grant this time, which should help to get the message across about the need for stronger local financing. I will send, as promised, a copy of our transmittal letter, when and if.

I am very puzzled about the reference on the second page of Paul's report to "Branton's role." Some day when you have time, perhaps you can enlighten me about this, as it may come up in another context.

Doris Goss and I had a most interesting half hour yesterday morning with Mrs. Pauley - I was much impressed by the lady herself and what she had to report about activities in Georgia.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

May 16, 1963

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

On December 19, 1961 the Rockefeller Brothers Fund granted to us $80,000 for continuation of the Southern Leadership Project during the two-year period June 1, 1962 to May 31, 1964.

During the past year, several events and decisions have somewhat altered the nature of the Project. These, together with the imminent retirement of Mr. J. J. Brewbaker, the Project's School Consultant, suggest the value of outlining now the status and plans of the Project.

* * * *

1. As of our December 31, 1962 audit, the Southern Leadership Project had a cash balance of $40,643.51. Disbursement during the first four months of 1963 were $19,164.78, leaving a balance on April 30 of $21,478.73. We estimate that an additional $4,800 will be spent by the end of the

Project's fiscal year, leaving a balance of approximately $16,675 as of May 31, 1963. Payment of the 1963-64 grant would add $36,000 ($40,000 less $4,000 for SRC overhead), making an approximate total of $52,675 available during the last fiscal year of the present grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

2. Because of Ben Muse's withdrawal from field activities during the writing of our book -- to be published by Viking Press -- the planning and direction of the Project field program has been shifted to our Director of Field Activities, Mr. Paul Anthony. Mr. Muse's salary, office expenses, and travel, while working on the book, will continue to be charged to the Project, per our understanding. For administrative purposes, however, it is desirable to give him a new title, and not now use for anyone the title Director of the Southern Leadership Project. Assuming that he return to field work when the book is completed in late '63 or early '64, the title may be used again.

3. In our October 13, 1961 submission for renewal of the Project we set out its objectives for 1962-1964 as follows:

> Renewal of the Leadership Project will provide us with the needed resources to work effectively in.... the penetration of political and business leadership of the hard core states. It will enlarge our search for methods to influence directly the thinking of the rural Black Belt.... Finally, it will add to our ability to supplement and evaluate the activities of the federal government....
>
> We propose to carry on the Leadership Project as we have from its inception; i.e., through a combination of field activities, research, and publications.

Field activities, as in the past, will be directed by Col. Benjamin Muse, assisted on a part-time basis by J. J. Brewbaker, our Public School Consultant,* and by such other consultants as budget and opportunities may permit. Except that Col. Muse and his staff will concentrate more of their work in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, no change of approach is planned.

Research and publications supporting their work in these hard core states will emphasize the necessity for adjustment to the advance of Negro Americans and the preservation of law and order.

Research and publications designed to aid and evaluate federal activities will, as presently foreseen, deal chiefly with three fields: (1) employment; (2) problems of urban life; including housing; (3) non-discriminatory police and judicial administration.

Programs designed for the rural Black Belt will have to be, in the beginning at least, experimental. One possibility, for example, is the preparation of material specially intended for press and other media serving rural areas. Another possibility is quiet, sustained consultation with church and municipal leadership.

Specific areas of concentration ought not, however, to be rigorously adhered to. The Leadership Project, both in the field work and its research, must be prepared to place its resources wherever shifting events and issues make them most needed. The accelerated pace of reform now existing, contrasted with the earlier periods, increases the obligations and opportunities for SRC to supply directions to a region in change.

---

*As noted above, Col. Muse is now out of the field and Mr. Brewbaker intends to retire in May 1963. We are hopeful that when his writing is completed, Col. Muse will again be available for field work.

4. During the past year, we have, as you know, attempted through cooperation with the National Council of Churches the sort of "quiet, sustained consultation with church" leadership of rural areas that is mentioned above. We have, through the Friendly World Broadcasting Company, sought to reach rural and semi-urban people (in Alabama and, to a lesser extent, in Georgia) through the media of radio. Two publications, in addition to L-Reports, were carried out: one was a joint endeavor with the Potomac Institute and the International City Managers' Association, titled, "The City Government and Minority Groups"; the other was a Special Report on the federal government's equal employment program, titled, Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey.

5. For the fiscal year 1963-64, we are estimating the following expenditures:

Mr. Muse's salary, office, and travel	$12,800*
L-Reports, mimeographing and distribution	4,000
Other publications	5,000
Church project	10,000
	$31,800

This would leave an estimated balance of $20,875 for other field activities.

6. We are, at this time, tentatively reserving $3,000 for continued radio programming through the Friendly World Broadcasting Company. Funds already expended will carry this program some months into the 1963-64 fiscal year. Before new funds would be needed, we shall make a decision as to renewal. That decision

*During the two fiscal years, 1962-64, Mr. Muse will spend an estimated 12-14 months on the book. During this time he is serving also as a member of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces; service to that Committee is compensated on a per diem basis, and such time as he has put in is adjusted for in his SRC salary.

will be based, in part, on the evaluation of two outside specialists who have consented to listen to the tapes and appraise the station response: they are Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg, Director of Public Affairs, Radio Station WHAS, Louisville (Ky.); and Harry Fleischman of the American Jewish Committee.

7. The remainder of the funds we intend to reserve for work with save-our-schools groups in communities facing desegregation for the first time.

This is a decision which grows from the Council's experience over the last five years. We have observed that, with but rare exceptions, a save-our-schools group has been seemingly an indispensable instrument in the peaceful desegregation of schools in an atmosphere of controversy and resistance. We have during the last several months worked quietly to assist local people in Jackson, Birmingham, Huntsville, and Mobile to form such groups. We intend to work with these groups during their period of activity, and to help form and support similar groups elsewhere. To these groups we want to offer the consultative service of veterans from other communities; e.g., we have already sent an Atlanta lady to help the Jackson group, and she has now a continuing advisory role. We want to offer to the groups and, through them, the local school officials the consultative services of experienced school-men from other parts of the South. We want to be prepared to offer, if there should be local interest, law enforcement officials (e.g., Chief Jenkins of Atlanta or Chief Hale of Lexington, Ky.) to consult with local police officials; again, this would be done through the save-our-schools group.

8. Costs involved in this program would include sums for materials and their distribution; the travel of our Director of Field Activities or other staff when concerned with this specific endeavor; travel costs for S.O.S. veterans; honoraria and travel costs for school and, possibly, law enforcement consultants.

9. We believe, as I said above, that this effort with save-our-schools groups is required by past experience. The same reasoning suggests that we be

enabled to do this as long as there is need. The outlays for the save-our-schools effort may well be modest, especially considering the value of the work. Our hope would be that the RBF funds not committed to other things might be reserved for this program and used for it during and beyond the fiscal year 1963-64. We shall, of course, keep this program of work with and through S.O.S. groups under continuous review, and would be prepared to reallocate the funds reserved for it if other compelling program opportunities appeared, consistent with the Leadership Project.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Bc: Ben Muse

ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS FUND
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK

COPY

PA ✓
MJ-file
cr. ref.

May 24, 1963

Dear Mr. Griswold:

There has now been an opportunity to consider the request of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations for a renewal of budgetary support from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

While it is not possible to provide the increased support you suggested, the Trustees are glad to be helpful again and, accordingly, have approved a contribution to The Arkansas Council on Human Relations of $24,000 over a three-year period. Recognizing the need for salary adjustments and replacement of equipment, this sum will be payable as follows: $10,000 in 1964, $8,000 in 1965 and $6,000 in 1966. I should add that, if the Fund were to consider an additional grant at the end of this period, it would most likely be in a reduced amount. We hope that your local fund-raising and membership campaigns will underwrite a larger share of the Council's budget in the future.

Payments on this pledge will be made annually upon written requisition by a duly authorized officer of the Council. Best wishes for the continued development of your work.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

Mr. Nat R. Griswold, Executive Director
The Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

bc: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar ✓

Cr-Ref
S&P

June 4, 1963

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

On behalf of the Council, I acknowledge your letter of May 29, 1963 and the enclosed check for $40,000 in full payment of the Fund's pledge of December 19, 1961; our official receipt is enclosed.

To express thanks yet another time seems redundant. And to blink at the brute fact of the words "final payment" is (not "seems") spine-stiffening, or something.

Coincidentally, we have just prepared a synopsis of Project activities for the past year, and are sending it enclosed. It gives, I believe, a picture of considerable activity; hopefully, it represents some achievements also.

See: SLP "Field Reports-Brewbaker" 1962-63

Enclosed also is a summary report by J. J. Brewbaker of his three years as schools consultant for the Project. As you know, Mr. Brewbaker has now retired.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
enclosures

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

May 29, 1963

Dear Les:

Thank you for your letter of May 16th describing the activities being carried out by the Council's Southern Leadership Project. It is helpful to have this information along with the other reports about the program we have received during the year.

The Trustees of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund are glad at this time to make the second and final payment to the Council discharging in full the Fund's obligation under its pledge of December 19, 1961. Accordingly, I am enclosing the Fund's check for $40,000, payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and designated for its Southern Leadership Project in the fiscal year ending May 31, 1964.

OR
5/31/63
RHA

Best wishes for the Council's continued success.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

SUMMARY REPORT OF THE SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT
FOR THE YEAR JUNE 1962 - MAY 1963

Benjamin Muse, project director, devoted a major portion of his time to work on a ten-year history of the region's reaction to the 1954 Supreme Court public school decision. Approximately three-fourths of the first draft of this work has been completed and publication is scheduled for May 1954 by Viking Press. We believe this book will be a contribution of long-term value, and of particular use during the next few years as all of the Deep South and rural areas face the necessary and overdue transition from segregation to desegregation of the public schools.

In October 1962, Mr. Muse was presented the James J. Hoey Award for Interracial Justice. At the time of the award, Mr. Muse was touring U. S. military installations in West Germany for the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Services, on which he serves as a member.

J. J. Brewbaker, project public schools consultant, completed his final year of work with the Project. Because of the need and because of Mr. Brewbaker's particular skills almost complete emphasis was given superintendents and school boards in the Deep South, and especially to the medium and smaller cities in that area. It has been especially encouraging to

note the increased degree of acceptance and number of invitations extended to Mr. Brewbaker during this third year as compared with many of his initial experiences in the same Deep South areas. We think this is indicative,not only of the quality of Mr. Brewbaker's work, but also of the increased awareness on the part of school officials of the necessity for change.

The Reverend Elbert Jean will shortly complete his first year of work with the Southern Office of the National Council of Churches. This program of work with ministers in rural areas of the Deep South is partly financed for a period of two years by a grant of $10,000 per year from the Project. In addition to his field consultations, Mr. Jean is developing a special program for seminary students in their senior year. Ministers in difficult situations are brought to seminaries to talk at some length with students about problems they will soon face and how best to handle them. The initial program with three seminaries, using minister consultants from Mississippi has been very successful.

The experimental project with Friendly World Broadcasting to develop a series of programs for Alabama radio stations has produced good results for the modest funds expended. To date, 56 programs have been produced and have been or are being carried by 52 stations in Georgia and Alabama. The

The Project is considering another modest grant to Friendly World Broadcasting. The programs are now being evaluated by two competent media specialists. Their findings will largely determine whether or not further assistance is given.

The preparation of "L" Reports and their distribution to selected leadership groups in the region continues. During the Project year eight "L" reports were issued. A special report Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey was conducted under the auspices of the Project. This study of the degree of compliance by Plans for Progress signers with operations in the Atlanta area has had a great impact with employers and with the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. A selected number of reprints, such as the article "Business-Next Target for Integration?" from the March-April 1963 issue of the Harvard Business Review have been mailed to appropriate persons.

Considerable work of an experimental nature has been conducted in the area of assisting local groups in preparing their communities for school desegregation. This program will receive major attention from the Project during the coming year and our initial efforts are encouraging. With specific help from project consultants, groups have been started in Jackson, Mississippi, and Mobile and Huntsville, Alabama, and

assistance is being provided to groups in Jacksonville, Daytona Beach and Tallahassee, Florida, and in Savannah, Rome, and Macon, Georgia. One of the organizers of the Atlanta H.O.P.E. movement maintains regular liaison with the Jackson group. Experienced persons from New Orleans and Little Rock have visited Mobile. Arrangements have been made to have Atlanta attorney James D. Dorsey, Chairman of the Republican Party of Georgia, speak to the Jacksonville group and counsel with business men of that community. While it is anticipated that consultant fees as well as travel expenses will be paid, it is interesting to note that the overwhelming number of these persons are happy to serve without fee.

- : -

6/4/63

Rockefeller Bros. Fund 1963

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

ROOM 5600

File

August 21, 1963

Dear Les:

This is to confirm the word given you on the phone about David Rockefeller, Jr.'s expected Southern junket. David and his sister will be arriving in Atlanta by car in the early afternoon of Friday, September 6. They will be leaving for Birmingham around noon on the 7th. Could you and/or Paul Anthony spend some time with them around 3:30 on the 6th? Would there be any possibility of their seeing Judge Tuttle, or would that be too much of an imposition on him?

We will also be trying to set up appointments for David and his sister for Saturday morning with Dr. Manley at Spelman and with someone at Emory, but we will handle those from here.

Among other stops on their tour is Mobile, Alabama, on the afternoon of the 8th. I have two names from Wiley Branton--Vernon Crawford and C. H. Montgomery--both of whom I will contact directly. Wiley suggested that Paul might have a name or two to suggest on the Mobile school picture. If so, I would appreciate hearing from him.

I hope things are not proving to be too awkward in terms of the loan of Wiley's services to Weld. My apologies for having dreamed up that idea--I hope it will turn out to be a useful one.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

room
7 in evening
Tuesday
be 7 here
1501 Chatage Dr
Mrs Hollis Freeman
473-6485

File
Rockefeller Bros. Fund
1963

September 4, 1963

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Room 5600
New York 20, New York

Dear Dave:

Just a word about arrangements.

We are expecting David and Neva Rockefeller here Friday afternoon, whenever they arrive. Jake Ward is planning to have them for dinner Friday evening. Dr. Manley has asked Mrs. Brazeal (whom you met at my home) to show them about Spelman College on Saturday morning, in his absence.

Judge Tuttle regrets very much that he will not be in town, but he and Mrs. Tuttle had to decide that if they are going to get any vacation this summer, it has to be this week. He asked me to tell you, however, that he would be in New York October 1 and 2 in case you wished to discuss with him the matters you have previously talked about.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

bc: Mrs. Brazeal, Judge Tuttle, Dean Judson Ward

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

Room 5600

August 28, 1963

Dear Les:

Just a note to confirm the arrangements made for David Rockefeller, Jr. in my telephone chats with you and Dr. Ward of Emory.

Mr. Rockefeller and his younger sister, Neva, will be driving from Gatlinberg and will come to your office as early in the afternoon as possible. From then on, they will be available for any appointments you and Dr. Ward decide upon. They will make their own hotel or motel reservations.

Many thanks for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Foundations
1963

September 20, 1963

Mr. David Rockefeller, Jr.
c/o Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear David:

Thank you for your letter of September 12. We very much enjoyed having you and Neva here, and will be glad if either or both of you were able to return sometime. I hope that you both enjoyed your trip.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

9/12/63

RECEIVED
SEP 16 1963

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

Nell and I are grateful to you for giving us an afternoon of your time (and the SRC's) to discuss civil rights problems as reflected in the organizations which have sprung up to meet the situation. It is often difficult for people only informally involved in civil rights to comprehend the complex of councils and committees, and their relationships, and you did a great service in clearing up many of our foggy conceptions.

We were fortunate to be on hand in Mobile on the Monday when the troops prevented the negro children from entering Murphy High, and we spent some time talking with the negro lawyer and preacher involved in the subsequent demands and accusations.

I am grateful to Dave Freeman for having referred us to you and hope to see you again sometime – perhaps with an improved situation. Let's hope so!

Very sincerely,

Dave Rockefeller Jr.

Lee
Rockefeller Bros. Fund
1963

October 14, 1963

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

With the enclosure you may re-open a lamentably closed file, at least for a while.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Ben Muse's report on Danville, Va. September 28 - October 4, 1963)

-File
Foundations - Rock. Bros.
1964

February 25, 1964

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

I am enclosing a copy of a manual we have prepared which I thought you might like to have for your files. This has not been given a general circulation; indeed, we are being rather careful as to who receives it. It was intended as a manual for ad hoc and other lay groups.

Will Monday, March 23, at any hour convenient to you, be an all right time for me to come in? If not, could you give me an appointment later in the week. I have not yet made any other definite appointments. As things look now I shall be arriving Monday, the 23rd and staying through Wednesday or Thursday.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Transition Without Tragedy)

File
Foundations -
Rock. Bros. Fund
1964

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

March 12, 1964

Dear Les:

Thank you for yours of March 9th. Obviously I must have known you were going to change your mind. I will be glad to see you on the afternoon of April 13th - why don't we say 2:30.

Thank you also for the various enclosures to your letters and for the fascinating reports from Muse. The last one went to me at the Field Foundation but still arrived promptly.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File: Foundations - Rock. Bros.

ENCLOSURES: Financial Statement, 1963
1963 Annual Report
"Rrogram Review and Evaluation"

via air mail

March 9, 1964

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

I haven't yet had an answer from you to my letter of February 25, so that gives me time to change my request.

My plans have had to be changed, and I shall not be coming to New York this month. I intend to come up April 13, and stay several days that week. Would you have some time free on the 13 or, if not, later in the week?

I am enclosing for your records our financial statement and my annual report for 1963.

Also enclosed is a "Program Review and Evaluation" which we did last year,,and which is now guiding our efforts.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

File: Foundations

March 20 1964

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Dave:

Thank you for your letter of March 12. I'll see you at 2:30 on April 13.

In addition to giving you then a status report on the Southern Leadership Project, I want to talk to you about possible future support from RBF; that won't surprise you, I am sure.

The fact is that the Leadership Project, unlike other projects, represents a program we ought to be doing simply because we are the Southern Regional Council. Other projects can be taken up and put down, but we can't put this one down without shortening our reach.

We do not contemplate, however, asking for a renewal of the Project, because it has substantially lost its nature as a "project" by being absorbed into our normal operations. Maybe you will be able to see that as a mark of the success you and we hoped for.

What we would like to do is ask you to consider either (a) general support; or (b) project support to do well something that we shall do feebly anyhow, while permitting us at the same time to shift necessary resources to keep alive and active the influence built up through the Leadership Project.

Let me explain (b) a little more:

If you will look at Recommendations 15 and 16 of the enclosed "Program Review and Evaluation" (please believe me: this was written before the war on poverty was declared) you will see something of what we have in mind. Also enclosed is a memorandum titled, "Some Thoughts on the Civil Rights Campaign" which I am still working on; perhaps before I come up I'll have it further along. Some passages of it I have marked in red.

These things we can't do well with our present resources. They need doing. With what we have now, we can only scratch at them, and are doing so. We have in the works, and will publish this year, a study of rural emigrants to a city and a study of the educational dilemma of certain rural Black Belt counties. But these are only side-swipes. The matters referred to in the paragraph above could be put into a sound package.

The heavy enclosure you will recognize as having been prepared (in a very limited edition) for people who know us but slightly. It contains, however, things we regularly submit to you about this time: annual report and financial statement for 1963 and budget for 1964. I hope you won't mind the rest of it.

This is all so much you may not be able even to glance through it by April 13. I'll probably repeat it all anyhow.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

Fund-raising notebook on SRC
"Program Review..."
LWD Memorandum on "Some Thoughts on the Civil Rights Campaign"

File: Foundations - Rock. Bros. Fund 1964

cr. ref. Southern Leadership Project - SRC

April 28, 1964

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This is to put before the Rockefeller Brothers Fund a request for a four year program of general support to the Southern Regional Council.

On March 20, 1964 we transmitted to you a notebook of materials which we now ask to be incorporated with this request. Included among these were data on the finances and program plans of the Council. These, as well as my conversation with you in your office on April 13, do, we trust, show the extent of our requirements.

Enclosed with this letter is a summary report covering the nearly five years of operation of the Southern Leadership Project.

Please let us know if additional information is required.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

April, 1964

THE SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT
1959 - 1964

1. Benjamin Muse, Project Director, led the field activities from the Spring of 1959 through the Summer of 1962. During this time he travelled extensively throughout the South, conferring with a large number of the region's leaders regarding racial issues and the requirements of law and order. He met with seven governors, and four ex-governors, almost 20 mayors and city managers, over 75 editors and publishers, and scores of businessmen as well as other opinion leaders and state officials. Many of these conferences led to continuing consultations. Mr. Muse filed remarkable field reports after each of his trips. These were regularly shared with certain federal officials, and occasionally with other involved persons, as well as news reporters.

2. Two books were written, both by Mr. Muse. Virginia's Massive Resistance (University of Indiana Press, 1961) received favorable reviews in the New York Times and elsewhere; several hundred copies were distributed by the Project in resistant states. Ten Years of Prelude (Viking, 1964) will be published May 16, 1964. It is an ambitious attempt to depict the political history of the South since May 17, 1954.

3. Since completion of the manuscript of Ten Years of Prelude in late 1963, Mr. Muse has returned to part-time field work,

in such places as Danville (Va.) and Mississippi; he is planning another lengthy field trip in Mississippi later this Summer.

4. From the Summer of 1960 to the Summer of 1963, Mr. J. J. Brewbaker served the Project as Public Schools Consultant. Mr. Brewbaker had retired as superintendent of schools in Norfolk, having been in that post during the city's school crisis of 1958-59. Mr. Brewbaker's assignment was to confer with school officials across the South on the problems of school desegregation. This he did, with upwards of 200 visits with superintendents or assistant superintendents and with nearly 40 school board members and state education officials. He met also occasionally with state and city political officials and with civic groups.

5. From June 1, 1962 to May 31, 1964, the Project cooperated with the National Council of Churches in a program which grew from our assessment that a large element in the opinion leadership of the rural Deep South was the Protestant ministry. The Project contributed a total of $20,000 to enable the National Council to assign a full-time person to visitation work with these rural and small town clergymen. The Reverend Elbert Jean, who filled this post, while administratively under the National Council has worked in close cooperation with us.

6. Both Mr. Muse and the Rev. Mr. Jean have played active roles in helping mediate or conciliate several crisis

situations. Mr. Muse, for example, assiduously worked in Florida and North Carolina during the 1960 sit-ins, and again in Danville in 1963. The Rev. Mr. Jean was similarly engaged in Albany (Ga.) in 1962, and in the Mississippi Delta during 1963.

7. As a further effort to influence the rural South, the Project sponsored, at a total cost of $7,300.00, a regular broadcast in Alabama. The program was produced by Edwin Randall (Friendly World Broadcasting Company), and was titled "A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie." Seventy-six tapes were made, and were carried regularly -- usually weekly -- by 50 - 60 radio stations. Since termination of Project support, the program has continued and its use throughout Alabama increased, paid for now by local sources. "Yankee" does not constantly deal with racial issues, but, having obtained listener interest, it does frequently and skillfully take them up.

8. Edwin Randall has produced and distributed throughout the South one other program for the Project, a half-hour tape on progress in Macon (Ga.).

9. During the Summer of 1963, the Project concentrated on work with so-called "save-our-schools" groups in places where desegregation was impending: Mobile, Huntsville, and Birmingham (Ala.) and Jacksonville (Fla.). The Project

was especially active in the first two cities. Consultants, including veterans of crises in other cities, were sent in, local organizations were assisted, and materials were provided.

10. Based on this experience, and in contemplation of 1964 and later critical days, the Project has prepared a large manual of guidance for civic groups organized to work for orderly desegregation. The manual, titled Transition Without Tragedy, has been distributed to selected other human relations agencies as well as being presently used as a guide in 15 localities. Its use and usefulness will increase.

11. The Project's occasional use of consultants can be exemplified by its bringing of Mr. Everett Tucker, businessman and school board chairman of Little Rock, to speaking engagements in Atlanta during Atlanta's year of decision; and Mr. James Dorsey, attorney and Georgia Republican Party chairman, to Jacksonville to speak in the Summer of 1963. Messrs. Carmichael, Fischer, and Hansen, school superintendents respectively of Louisville, Baltimore, and Washington, were brought South to speak on school desegregation issues.

12. Project publications (see also paragraphs 2 and 10 above) have been:

LeRoy Collins, The South and the Nation

George McMillan, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement

William Lightsey, Organizing to Save Public Schools (Under imprint of Virginia Committee for Public Schools)

C. C. Tarplee, The Church in Areas of Racial Tension

Kenneth Morland, Lunch Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston, and San Antonio, Texas (mimeographed)

Margaret Price, Toward A Solution of the Sit-In Controversy (mimeographed)

Danial C. Thompson, The Case for Integration

"Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey" (mimeographed)

"The City Government and Minority Groups" (prepared in cooperation with the Potomac Institute, and published by the International City Managers' Association)

The Project also assisted in the preparation of and publication of several other items, such as Clarence H. Patrick, Lunch Counter Desegregation in Winston-Salem, and Wallace Westfeldt, Settling A Sit-In (a report about Nashville). The Project, in several instances, paid for the printing of materials distributed by other groups, such as the Georgia Council of Churches and Alabamians Behind Local Education (the Mobile s-o-s group -- ABLE). Reprints of several magazine articles were ordered and distributed; e.g., John Perry, "Business -- Next Target for Integration?", Harvard Business Review, March-April, 1963; and Harold C. Fleming, "A Southern View of the South," New York Times Magazine, April 3, 1960.

The principal publication effort of the Project has been a series of so-called Leadership Reports, of which there have been to date 47. These have been widely, heavily distributed. They were directed at the practical, as distinct from the moral, advantages of racial reform. For the most part they have been brief, and are not, because of their number, listed here in full. A few have been pieces of substantial preparation; these include:

L-6	"The 'Davis Report' and the Truth About the Public School Situation in Washington, D. C."
L-9	"The Private School Answer to the Desegregation Crisis - The Virginia Experience"
L-11	"Little Rock Report - What Has Happened Since the School Crisis?"
L-16	"Atlanta and Washington: Racial Differences In Academic Achievement," by Frank H. Stallings
L-20	"Problem Solving Through Race Relations Committees"
L-23-23C	"Desegregation in Higher Education"
L-34-34A	"Desegregation of Southern Parochial Schools"
L-35	"State Commissions on Race Relations"
L-45	"Public Education in Mississippi"
L-47	"The Question From Jacksonville"

13. In progress now is a series of five municipal studies, being prepared by Mr. Muse and SRC's Director of Information, Pat Watters. The cities selected are ones which seem to have

recently met their problems honestly: Louisville, Charlotte, Memphis, Brunswick (Ga.), and Baton Rouge. It is hoped not only to call attention to local self-sufficiency but to illustrate at the same time the immensity of problems ahead.

14. Other pending Project plans center about a renewal of the work for orderly school desegregation. On March 30, 1964 a meeting of all human relations agencies active in the South was convened to discuss community resources and agencies' plans The Project itself will be active chiefly in Mississippi, where work is being coordinated with that of the American Friends Service Committee. There will be Project work in other places as well, however, and this field of activity -- community support for school desegregation -- will be a continuing chief interest of the Project.

15. As of April 15, 1964, the Project's unexpended funds were $26,454.06. By May 31, 1964 the balance should be approximately $20,000, which will be reserved for program consistent with the purposes of the Project.

-END-

File - Foundations: Rockefeller Brothers Fund

May 8, 1964

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed memorandum.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

(PAnthony's field report of May 5, 1964: "Present Status of Save the School efforts in Mississippi.")

PA
WB
LD

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

May 11, 1964

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your note of the eighth and the interesting attachments. They were particularly timely in view of my impending visit to your office this Friday to listen in on the united civil rights leadership meeting.

The reference in the memo about the Mississippi Human Relations Council meeting to a large participation by Catholic clergymen prompts me to suggest to you and Wiley that perhaps there should be more Catholic involvement in the planning for COFO's summer programs. My own impression is that the NCC has not been very effective in reaching out across faith lines. Perhaps this could be done through the MCHR or through Matt Ahmann and his organization. I think it might be very useful if there were some priests and nuns in attendance at the briefing sessions and participating in some of the actual field programs this summer. Unless they were brought in pretty quickly or have already been involved, it may be too late to do anything about it.

I'll look forward to seeing you, at least briefly, on Friday.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

LAD:

Have discussed this with Jack Sisson & Matt Ahmann's staff.

I think we will find continuing & increased involvement with Catholic clergymen. Sisson assures me he will give complete support to HHC efforts —

PK

File
Grants Interest - Rockefeller Brothers
June 23, 1964

June 23, 1964

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Dave:

On behalf of the Council I acknowledge your letter of June 17 and the enclosed check for $75,000 as a contribution from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund to our general support over the three-year period 1965-1967; our official receipt is enclosed.

I began my own working association with the Council when Harold asked me to come in for the summer of 1958 to help plan the Southern Leadership Project. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund, therefore, is pretty much responsible for my being here, because after that summer I got too deeply involved to be anything but affirmative when Harold asked me to come back and stay; on the positive side, the RBF got us Ben Muse also. I don't know what similar happenings, if there could be such, will come from this new grant, but I feel awfully reassured to have still the company of RBF.

I usually write more formal acknowledgements than this, but I don't think I need to labor for your or your associates what this action means to us.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

June 17, 1964

Dear Leslie:

There has now been an opportunity for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund to consider the request you presented on behalf of the Southern Regional Council.

The Trustees recognize the importance of the work done by the Council and would like to be helpful with its operating needs over the next three years. Accordingly, it is a pleasure to enclose the Fund's check for $75,000, payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., as a contribution to be applied to its general budget over the three-year period, 1965-67. We will look forward to receiving the program and financial reports which have been so informative in the past.

RHA
6/19/64

The Trustees have asked me to send you their best wishes for continued progress in the Council's activities.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Files
Rockefeller Bros. Fund

July 22, 1964

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

I am enclosing a copy of the ad of Mississippians for Public Education, and some related clips.

We are very proud of this group of ladies (and their husbands, too). We have worked with them from the beginning , months ago, as an activity of the Leadership Project.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

File: Rockefeller Bros. Fund 1964 Cr. ref V.E.P.

bc: Wiley A. Branton

September 4, 1964

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Confirming our telephone conversation of this afternoon, the Voter Education Project has distributed nearly all of the funds made available to it for field grants. There are still, in several southern states, specially attractive opportunities for work during the summer and fall. If we could undertake these, we would be able both to realize registration results from earlier organizational work and first-rate research findings.

It is respectfully requested, therefore, that the Rockefeller Brothers Fund review its file on the Voter Education Project and our earlier conversations about it. If you would find that you could grant support to the project, we would be most appreciative.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

See Rockefeller Bros Fund

September 22, 1964

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

On behalf of the Council I acknowledge your letter of September 16, 1964 and the enclosed check for $25,000 as a special contribution to our Voter Education Project; our official receipt is enclosed.

This grant assists what we sincerely believe to be one of the basic reforms underway today in the nation. It is especially gratifying to us to have the support of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund in this program, and the contribution will be of immeasurable help in this final period of the project.

We shall, of course, report to you from time to time on progress. The final report of the project will be prepared and published after completion of the field work.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)
cc: Mr. Wiley A. Branton

Rec'd 9/18/64

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

September 16, 1964

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of September 4th to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund in connection with the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

The Trustees appreciate the importance of this effort to broaden the southern electorate and would like to be helpful toward program costs in its terminal year. Accordingly, it is a pleasure to enclose the Fund's check for $25,000, payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., as a special contribution to its Voter Education Project.

9/18/64
RBA

The Trustees send their best wishes for the continued success of this program.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Rec'd 11/9/64

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

ROOM 5600

CONFIDENTIAL

November 6, 1964

Dear Les:

It seems to me that you have little choice if the problem you raise in your memorandum of November 2nd is as acute as you indicate it to be. To answer your questions in order:

1. It seems to me there would be a continuing need for a private agency--in some ways perhaps even more need as federal and state activities increase.

2. Without knowing more about your success in meeting the budget deficit which you projected at the beginning of 1964, I can't make any really useful comment about whether you can finance the proposed increase. Assuming, however, that you have been able to pretty well balance your books for this calendar year, a $20,000 increase in your over-all budget should not be impossible to meet, particularly if your new Development Committee is able to get a foot in the door at some Southern-based corporations.

My only real question is whether, even assuming you can raise the $20,000 during 1965, you would be wise to budget a flat across-the-board salary increase which seems to be what you are suggesting. I assume your problems relate chiefly to the senior staff members and, unless the salary schedules are a matter of common knowledge throughout the office, I would think you might be wise to budget for a lower across-the-board increase and be prepared to "meet the competition" at the more senior levels, either on a case-to-case basis or by increasing fringe benefits for the senior staff more liberally. In any case it's obvious that you should concentrate as you always have on quality, even if at some future date it might prove necessary to retrench in terms of number of senior staff positions.

I hope this will be of some help to you in dealing with a problem which is in a very direct sense a compliment to the SRC and its reputation for excellence.

Sincerely,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

January 29, 1965

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc.
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Dave:

I thought this might interest you.
All best wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm
Enclosure

Foundations

April 2, 1965

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

I have been asked by LCDC to drop you a note. It has never been my practice to offer to foundations any comments not solicited by them on the proposals before them from other agencies. I don't intend to depart from this practice.

I think I have almost the responsibility to say, however, that there is every likelihood of a need for legal assistance in the South this year which will approximate, and could exceed, the need of 1964. This represents not only a requirement for defense counsel, but for sound and imaginative desegregation suits in behalf of aggrieved plaintiffs. Our observation was that LCDC did a good job last year in Mississippi under most trying circumstances and with little time for organization and preparation. The men LCDC now have in Mississippi seem to me to be professionally competent; equally important they look like the kind of people who can adjust to the peculiar needs out there and in the Black Belt generally. I understand also that ACLU will

give this year even closer support to the LCDC operation, and I am sure that that is good.

I well recognize that foundations have many things to consider, some of them competing. I hope that these remarks may be of small help to you and if you would wish any further comment from me, please let me know.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Bc: Henry Sewall Schild

Foundations - Rockefeller Bros Fund 1965

via air mail

April 27, 1965

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Would it be just as convenient for you if I came in on Wednesday, May 12 -- or Monday? Any time at your convenience.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

April 30, 1965

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Dave:

I'll see you at 10:00 a.m., on May 12. Many thanks for making the change.

Let me use this letter as occasion for submitting our annual best-sellers; enclosed.

Paul will, as you request, speak with John A. and Bob Cousins regarding BEE, and we'll let you know. When you and I talked earlier this week, I did not know, or had forgotten, that BEE has submitted its proposal only to you. I am not clear whether that was wise and it may be a bit hard on you, because it introduces a note of urgency if the program is to get off on schedule. I am, of course, not suggesting that RBF has to act favorably, but only that if BEE must go elsewhere they ought to get started.

We have a strongly positive attitude about this program. We admired the way they went about the job last year, and, having got into it again sincewwe talked, I admire as well their goals and

plans for this year. Among other things, I like the way BEE uses and harnesses other organizations.

Our own role, as I hope you have had made clear to you, is strictly service. We have agreed to provide office space, clerical help, and administrative supervision for a staff person whom BEE will select and direct; we are willing to do it at cost, and I believe the budget estimate reflects that.

Our own good opinion of BEE's value and effectiveness is strengthened by knowing that it is shared by Benjamin Mays, Steve Wright, and Lucius Pitts. What BEE accomplished last year was pretty impressive.

Will get back to you after talking with John and Bob, and we can discuss it further in your office.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 3.:
Audit, 1964
Budget, 1965
Program Report, 1964

Bc - Frank A. Millspaugh - Books for Equal Educ. N.Y.

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

April 29, 1965

Dear Les:

Wednesday, May 12th would be fine for me. I'll expect you at 10 o'clock.

I've heard again from Books for Equal Education and would appreciate it if Paul Anthony could check with John Griffin or Bob Cousins for their views.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Encls: 1. Delta Democrat-Times, May 4, 1965, Ad - The Greater Greenville Foundation (Merchants); Industrial Foundation (Industries) and Chamber of Commerce Bd. of Directors.

2. Delta Democrat-Times, May 5, 1965, "Council Supports Equal Employment Policy Statement."

3. Delta Democrat-Times, May 5, 1965, "Local Group Supports Statement"

4. Delta Democrat-Times, May 7, 1965, "Unity Pleas Abound at 'Freedom Rally'"

5. Delta Democrat-Times, May 5, 1965, "An Epochal Joint Declaration"

6. Delta Democrat-Times, May 4, 1965, "City Groups Back Equality in Jobs"

File
Foundations -
Rockefeller Bros. Fund

May 18, 1965

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Enclosed are some clips on the Greenville, Mississippi affair.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

file

July 16, 1965

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

I had two things to speak to you about the other day, and, to my dismay, I let slip from mind, while we were talking, the more important of the two.

I had wanted to tell you that Paul Anthony will succeed me as Executive Director of the Council. We shall effect a gradual change-over, but he will take office no later than October 1. Rather than describe Paul, whom you already know anyhow, I am enclosing a copy of John Wheeler's communication to the other members of the Council.

We were in the midst of exchanging plans with the Field Foundation for public announcements when news came of Governor Stevenson's death. I do not know now when the Foundation may consider it appropriate to make an announcement, and we shall also hold back for a while.

All best wishes. I am still waiting to hear from Taconic on the N.I.L.E. matter; many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

File - Fds:
Rockefeller Bros Fund

August 5, 1965

Mr. David F. Freeman
The Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

We have finally had some word from Taconic on the Labor Education proposal. Quite unexpectedly, and for reasons I do not know, the grant comes from Mr. and Mrs. Currier, who, as always, request anonymity, and not from the Foundation. The grant is $15,000 a year for two years, with the simple term that it is "to be matched." Also for reasons I do not know, but can surmise, the grant has been made to us and not to NILE.

I had discussed with Jane Lee the tentative and oral agreement you and I had reached, and she seemed satisfied. For the time being, however, I would suggest that we put it on the shelf for two reasons. First, we get the $15,000 in cash. Second, we have been given strong encouragement lately as to the prospects of our Ford proposal. Nobody, of course, can be sure. We have the Labor Education thing in the proposal.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 22, 1965

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Enclosed herewith is a memorandum we have put together, under stimulus from Dave Hunter, which we think may be of interest to you as a contributor to VEP, as well as because of your general concern. The various suggestions for various ideas in the memorandum obviously require more developing if they are to be implemented.

It was good seeing you last week.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Bc: David Hunter
Encl: Programming for Civic Education

via air mail

October 19, 1965

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Next week, from the 28-30, I shall be in New York. If your schedule permits I would very much appreciate an opportunity to meet with you. My only commitment at this point is at 11:00 a.m., on the 29. If I do not hear from you to the contrary, I shall call your office on the morning of the 28 to determine if you are available.

It has been a long time, and I look forward to seeing you again.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File — Rockefeller Bros. Fund —

October 29, 1965

Mr. David P. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Thank you for your help and hospitality. It was good to get to know you better, and I very much appreciate your assistance and guidance.

It was not possible for me to make an appointment with Milton Rector, because the people at the Rockefeller Foundation kept me considerably longer than I anticipated; this simply was not a meeting I could break off.

I have talked with one of Mr. Rector's assistants, and will follow through on asking for suggestions about staff and determining what other program interests we might work out.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Make folder

January 19, 1966

Dr. Leland DeVinney
Associate Director
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DeVinney:

As you probably know, in the January issue of Harper's there is an article, "An Open Letter to the Ford Foundation," by Phil Stern. I was concerned to see the statement that the Rockefeller Foundation had given no support to the Southern Regional Council.

We don't care to make an issue out of this, but I would be happy to write a letter to the editor correcting this statement if you feel it necessary and desirable. At your convenience I would appreciate your reaction.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

March 7th.

Dear Paul,

How very thoughtful you were to send me the lovely candle! Thanks you so very much. I can hardly wait to try it out - candles being a favourite idiosyncracy of mine.

Those children who made

Yiee
Rocky Brass Fend

~~Mrs. David F Freeman~~

them are indeed experts. I can see. I'll be trying too as my boys were so interested that I was explaining the process with the promise of an experiment.

Again so many thanks. I enjoyed so much meeting you that evening.

Very sincerely, Hazel Freeman.

RUMSON, N.J.
MAR 7
PM
1966
07760

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Rockefeller Fund Continues to Grow

NYT 3/13/66

By HENRY RAYMONT

Twenty-five years ago the heirs to the Rockefeller fortune searched for an effective way to direct and coordinate their substantial personal philanthropy.

The bulk of the family's giving "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world" had been channeled up to that time by John D. Rockefeller Sr., through the vast Rockefeller Foundation.

The foundation, whose $1-billion assets make it the world's second largest private philanthropic agency, surpassed only by the Ford Foundation, is controlled by an army of trustees, administrators and experts. But Mr. Rockefeller's fine grandsons wanted to retain a more personal supervision over their private spending. To do this, they quietly established the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc., which began by disbursing a relatively modest $50,000 a year among local charities.

A quarter of a century later, the fund has grown into a robust enterprise with a capital of $210 million, the 14th largest private foundation in the United States.

The fund, through its support of cultural, educational and international causes, has had a major impact on many phases of American life. It was instrumental in starting the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, the expansion of the Museum of Modern Art, conservation of the Palisades Park and other urban development projects and for a series of celebrated studies on foreign policy, economics and other current issues.

Disbursements have already totaled more than $60-million and now run at the rate of about $7-million a year. Fund money is used to support such established institutions as the Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center and the National Urban League in addition to starting new projects and testing ideas that the Rockefeller brothers feel to be of vital interest to the community.

"From the very beginning we were oriented by a family sense of purpose and dedication to pool our resources and make them more effective in terms of action," said Governor Rockefeller, who was the fund's first president. "Our principal goal has been to provide creative leadership and act as a catalyst for constructive initiatives that otherwise might not have been carried out."

Current projects are directed toward the development of better international understanding and to meet local and national needs. Among them are plans to organize a Latin America House in New York City, the formation of an interracial council for job opportunity, an ambitious summer arts festival at Saratoga Springs in upstate New York, and a comprehensive study of the role of labor in American society.

The Latin America House, [illegible] will be at 680 Park Ave- of the Chase Manhattan Bank, who will head the survey, considers it "a vital role in a democracy" for objective experts to help develop "a sound, informed public opinion." The study will be conducted by leading academic authorities in the labor-management field.

In the selection of projects, the fund closely reflects the style and interests of the five Rockefeller brothers: John D., 3d in Asian affairs, culture and population control; Nelson A. in international affairs, particularly inter-American relations; Laurence S., the current president of the fund, in natural conservation, medicine and space research; Winthrop in the preservation of historic sites and mental health, and David in economics and modern art.

This wide interest of the brothers, and their restless search for new activities, made almost inevitable the rapid transformation of the fund from a purely administrative office into an agency that exercises considerable influence in public affairs. The fund was helped financially by an additional $75-million left in his will by their father, John D. Rockefeller Jr., who died in May, 1961.

Laurence Rockefeller, a trim, scholarly looking man of 56 who enjoys a seminar in aerodynamics more than a Park Avenue cocktail party, speaks eagerly of the family's tradition in charting new paths in philanthropy.

"I like this," he declared a few days ago in his modern, book-lined office on the 56th floor of Rockefeller Center. "I think it is good to have a tradition of continuing responsibility and experience that we can pass to our children."

He acknowledges, however, that philanthropy has undergone a substantial change since his grandfather established the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, a Negro women's college, at the turn of the century.

To Laurance Rockefeller more than just money and a good cause is required today to make a successful foundation. Discussing his philosophy of private funds, he said:

"My grandfather gave like a forward pass—he threw the ball out and it was up to the others to make a go of it. We feel you must give with the heart as well as the head. There must be a deep personal commitment along with an intellectual understanding of the importance of the project."

Charge Is Disputed

Some critics have seen in this emphasis on family tradition a danger of creating a "dynastic reservation" that would exclude any ideas that are not of direct interest to the brothers. This concern was reflected in a recent Treasury Department proposal to curb family membership on foundations to one-fourth of the board after a 25-year period.

"This strikes us as ridiculous, objected Dana S. Creel, the fund's director. "It is immensely helpful to have trustees so intensely interested in the projects. Their leadership and their cooperation with the staff in searching for new ideas has made this a pretty dynamic shop."

The fund has many more advocates — in government, the universities and the cultural community—than critics. Even though its resources are below that of the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, many believe that because it has not developed the imposing bureaucratic superstructure of the bigger corporations, the fund has been more flexible and sometimes more ready to experiment with new ideas.

The processing of applications, which last year totaled almost 900, is conducted by a staff of 13 who occupy the spacious, sunny southwest wing on the 54th floor of Rockefeller Center, two stories below the offices of the brothers themselves. The Rockefeller imprint is sharply in evidence in the colorful abstract paintings of Latin-American and Asian artists that decorate the long, carpeted corridors and add to the easy going, thoughtful mood of this "think tank" towering above the bustle of midtown Manhattan.

Most of the applications turned down were personal appeals for charity from places as distant as India. A New York woman who asked for help in her song-writing career and a girl who wanted a scholarship in English literature at Columbia University were advised to turn to other institutions.

One of the most recent grants was a $500,000 gift for the redevelopment of the 25th Street pier to house a building and playground for the United Nations school. In making the grant, it was recalled that the Rockefellers had presented the present Manhattan site to the international organization as a gift for its headquarters in New York; the pier grant was, therefore, "in the tradition of the family's interests."

Just as each brother has brought the experience of his special field to bear on the activities of the fund, they are prepared now to see a widening of its activities, as their children become active in the corporation.

Larence Rockefeller's daughter, Marilyn, has become a fifth-generation participant on the board of the Spelman College and his son, Steve, has assumed personal responsibility for pressing ahead with the Hudson River Valley project. Rodman, Nelson Rockefeller's oldest son, is active in several inter-American economic and cultural development programs while David Rockefeller's 18-year-old daughter, Peggy, has "adopted" a self-help development project in the slums of Rio de Janeiro, where she has already spent two summers.

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"From the very beginning we were oriented by a family sense of purpose and dedication to pool our resources and make them more effective in terms of action," said Governor Rockefeller, who was the fund's first president. "Our principal goal has been to provide creative leadership and act as a catalyst for constructive initiatives that otherwise might not have been carried out."

Current projects are directed toward the development of better international understanding and to meet local and national needs. Among them are plans to organize a Latin America House in New York City, the formation of an interracial council for job opportunity, an ambitious summer arts festival at Saratoga Springs in upstate New York, and a comprehensive study of the role of labor in American society.

The Latin America House, which will be at 680 Park Avenue, has been designed—as a center for Latin-American art and music as well as an informal forum for business, financial and government leaders. It has been modeled after Asia House, also sponsored by the fund, and should meet a long-time aspiration of many prominent Latin Americans for a private center to acquaint the hemisphere's biggest city with the problems of the Latin nations.

The labor survey is part of the fund's special studies project, which produced six influential reports between 1956 and 1960 on foreign policy, the economy and other national issues, and last year devoted a far-ranging study to the performing arts.

While the fund has generally selected current and often controversial issues—such as the foreign policy report of 1959 recommending that American newsmen and scholars be allowed to travel to Communist China—the main emphasis has been on a hard look into the future to discern the shape of problems to come.

Thus one of the gravest warnings of the foreign policy panel was against the possible development of a split more alarming than that between Communist and non-Communist nations—a division of the world into blocs of white and colored people.

The fund's own role as a monitor that likes to retain a hard view of social and political history was reflected in a report that criticized the Eisenhower Administration for "jolting along from crisis to crisis" without developing a long-range policy better adapted to dealing with the deep economic and social changes of a revolutionary age."

"The reports have had a tremendous effect on the political debates and on policies during the subsequent 10 years," Governor Rockefeller maintains—and few people will disagree with him.

The labor study, which is still in its initial stage, is almost certain to generate a sharp controversy between progressives and conservatives in labor and management circles.

David Rockefeller, president of the bigger corporations, the fund has been more flexible and sometimes more ready to experiment with new ideas.

The processing of applications, which last year totaled almost 900, is conducted by a staff of 13 who occupy the spacious, sunny southwest wing on the 54th floor of Rockefeller Center, two stories below the offices of the brothers themselves. The Rockefeller imprint is sharply in evidence in the colorful abstract paintings of Latin-American and Asian artists that decorate the long, carpeted corridors and add to the easy going, thoughtful mood of this "think tank" towering above the bustle of midtown Manhattan.

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"I like this," he declared a few days ago in his modern, book-lined office on the 56th floor of Rockefeller Center. "I think it is good to have a tradition of continuing responsibility and experience that we can pass to our children."

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Charge Is Disputed

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"This strikes us as ridiculous,

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York 10020

May 3, 1966

Dear Paul:

Dana Creel and I would like you to have lunch with us on May 12th. If convenient, could you come by here about 12:15. Unless we hear from you, we'll look forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

David F. Freeman

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

May 5, 1966

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

file

Dear Dave:

Lunch on May 12 is fine. I shall be at your office about 12:15. Should any changes occur, I'll be staying at the Roosevelt.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

The Rockefeller Bros. Fund
1966

May 23, 1966

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 10020, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This will acknowledge the contribution of $10,000 from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund to the Southern Regional Council for the purpose of enabling us to work with and share the expenses of the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights."

We are grateful for this support, and shall in due course provide the Fund with a report of the expenditures of these funds.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt: $10,000)

Xerox'd copy to RHA mj

(2)

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York 10020

May 16, 1966

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Confirming our recent telephone conversations, the Trustees of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund would like to be helpful in connection with the expenses of The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" which are not fundable from government sources, and we understand that the Southern Regional Council is prepared to accept a grant for that purpose. Accordingly, I am enclosing the Fund's check for $10,000, payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and designated for the White House Conference.

We would appreciate receiving in due course a report on the expenditure of these funds.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman

$10,000.00 ck 5-19-66 rh

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

cc: Mr. James A. Linen

Free
Rockefeller Bros.
1966
Cr. ~~to~~ V.E.P.

June 13, 1966

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York 10020

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This will acknowledge with appreciation the grant of $50,000 from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund for the Council's Voter Education Project.

We will send you from time to time program reports of this project, a year-end program report, and an audit.

We continue to be deeply grateful for the interest and support of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

copy to Pha 6/13/66 -cy.

file

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York 10020

June 9, 1966

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Rockefeller Brothers Fund was interested to learn of the Council's plans to reactivate its Voter Education Project. As you know, the Fund was helpful two years ago in support of the Project, and we feel that it played an important role in increasing voter registration in the South.

At a recent meeting of the Trustees, it was decided to make a further contribution of $100,000 to the Council for this purpose, payable over a two-year period. As the first installment, it is a pleasure to enclose the Fund's check for $50,000, payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and designated for its Voter Education Project in 1966. The balance of $50,000 will be paid in 1967 on requisition by a duly authorized officer of the Council.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 2, Georgia

6-13-66 rh
ck. 50,000.00

File
Foundations
Rockefeller Bros.
1966

November 23, 1966

Mr. Raymond H. Wilkens
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York 10020

Dear Mr. Wilkens:

Should it be of value for your records, enclosed is a copy of our broker's receipt relative to the sale of 32 shares of Chrysler Corporation stock, the gift to the Southern Regional Council from Mr. and Mrs. William J. Strawbridge, Jr.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure - copy of receipt

file

RBF

Rockefeller Brothers Fund

1966

Regional Plan Association — $75,000 toward the preparation of a new regional development plan for the 22-county New York metropolitan area. Grants for this purpose since 1964 total $225,000.

Saratoga Performing Arts Center — $100,000 as a special contribution toward operating costs of the Center's first season. The Fund contributed $500,000 in 1964 toward construction costs.

Sealantic Fund — $23,000 toward a program of grants to selected agencies in Westchester County, New York, and in the State of Maine, particularly in the area of Mount Desert Island.

Southern Regional Council — $50,000 toward the Council's reactivated Voter Education Project, which supports voter education and registration work in the South. Grants for the Project since 1964 total $75,000.

The Fund also contributed $10,000 toward the expenses of the White House Conference on Civil Rights held in June, 1966.

State Charities Aid Association — $25,000 toward the 1967 Centennial Anniversary Program of the New York State Board of Social Welfare which will focus on public understanding and support for important welfare programs.

Tanzania National Parks — $40,000 toward the development and maintenance of the Mkumi National Park. Grants for the Tanzania National Parks since 1963 total $210,000, of which $155,000 has been for the Mkumi Park.

Theatre Incorporated — $25,000 toward the 1966-67 season of the APA-Phoenix Repertory Company, the first at the Company's permanent home, the Lyceum Theatre in New York City.

Tri-Faith Chapels Building Fund — $15,000 applied equally toward the construction costs of the Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish chapels at John F. Kennedy International Airport in New York City.

January 31, 1967

file

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York 10020

Dear Dave:

I will be in New York on February 7th and 8th and would enjoy an opportunity for a brief visit with you. I will call your office on the morning of the 7th to see if this is possible.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 2/3/67

File

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York 10020

February 2, 1967

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In Mr. Freeman's absence from the office on vacation, I am writing to acknowledge your note of January 31st. He will be out of town until the middle of February and I know he'll be sorry to have missed seeing you when you're in New York.

Sincerely yours,

Winifred T. Gallagher
Secretary to
Mr. David F. Freeman

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Recorded in Money Book
File
Rockefeller Bros Fund
1967
MJ

March 6, 1967

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York 10020

Dear David:

Thank you again for the Fund's support of the Voter Education Project, and indeed for all of your support.

We shall check our mailing list and try to weed out the duplications; though sometimes I wonder if we won't have discovered ways to integrate the whole South before we develop a plan for an accurate mailing system.

While I know the problems of fast schedules, I do hope sometime when you are in Atlanta that you will be able to drop by the office for a visit and to meet some of our people here.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York 10020

Check
Dana Crul plate

February 28, 1967

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your note of the 15th enclosing the complete and encouraging 1966 report of the SRC and its Voter Education Project. As you requested, it is a pleasure to enclose the Rockefeller Brothers Fund's check for $50,000, payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and designated for the Voter Education Project for 1967. This payment discharges in full the Fund's pledge as set forth in my letter of June 9, 1966.

3-2-67
C.F.

We will look forward to receiving final financial and program reports on the Project in 1968. Meanwhile, you might want to check your mailing lists for "New South" and the Special Reports--we seem to get several duplicates, and one copy of each is really sufficient for our purposes.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

See Rockefeller Bros. Fund
Not Rockefeller Fd.

June 2, 1967

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York 10020

Dear Dave:

We do plan a continuing exploration of the possibility and desirability of SRC influencing business leadership and the role, if any, we can play in stimulating regional economic development. Actually, given the resources and the right person, I would be most interested in a somewhat updated version of the leadership project. That was a remarkably successful program, and the method seems equally applicable now.

I have talked with both David Hunter and Charles Weltner about their leadership program, though I am somewhat confused about what has happened to it since Weltner went with the Democratic National Committee.

The other evening I did express to John Griffin my dismay that SEF has become a competitor. Actually, I am delighted you have these funds and hope you can get even more.

We, the staff, and the Executive Committee have begun the process which will probably go on for a year of analysis and very serious consideration of SRC's future and emphasis after 1968. This is stimulated in part by the fact that our Ford grant ends then. It would, however, be necessary I think regardless of the funding schedule. In the fall, either here or in New York, I would very much appreciate an opportunity to get your reaction to some of the tentative plans.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 5/19/67

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York 10020

May 18, 1967

Dear Paul:

I read with great interest the report by Apter and Kytle on the Southern businessman and SRC. Remembering some of the fascinating dialogues supported under the leadership project, particularly with newspapermen, I wonder whether one way to move ahead a little in the business area might not be to have some one conduct a similar series of dialogues, not pinpointed to SRC's own role.

I also wonder whether there might not be some useful collaboration possible with the National Urban League, which has on its various boards and committees a pretty good representation of national corporation heads. Perhaps a jointly sponsored meeting to discuss some of the possibilities mentioned in the report would be fruitful. The regional planning concept suggests itself as a likely topic, which might pave the way to discussions on more pinpointed and controversial subjects.

On a somewhat analagous topic, development of young political leadership in the South, I hope Dave Hunter has shared with you the memorandum prepared for the Stern Fund by former Congressman Weltner. If he hasn't, don't hesitate to ask him for a copy, as I think you'd find it of great interest.

I hope our paths will cross soon. Meanwhile all the best.

Sincerely,

David

David F. Freeman

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

P.S. In case John Griffin hasn't boasted to you, the Southern Education Foundation is now in competition with SRC with respect to the Ford Foundation - we just obtained a grant of $300,000-odd.

File
Rockefeller Bros
Fund

December 27, 1967

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Enclosed is a memorandum about organizational interests in the Southwest.

The proposals for SRC general support and voter education are nearly completed and I hope to have them in the mail by the end of the week.

Every good wish for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
(Memo from Ed. Sloufield to P.A. dtd - Dec. 4, 1967
Re: Possibility of An Sroteppe Agency in Southeast)

File: Rockefeller Bros. Fund 1967

December 28, 1967

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Room 5600
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Enclosed is our proposal requesting continued support from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. You will note the introduction is ambiguous as to whether or not this is a one-year or multiple year request.

The proposal is perhaps somewhat unorthodox, but I felt something in addition to regular program reporting was necessary. If it is not satisfactory, let me know and I will try again. Also, I hope you will have by late January our regular annual report.

Thanks to you again -- and very sincerely -- for your help.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

File Rockefeller Bros. Fund 1967

A PROPOSAL TO THE ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS FUND

from the

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

December 28, 1967

This is to request the consideration of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund of renewal of its support to the Southern Regional Council in the amount of $25,000 per year.

For a number of years the Council has received the support and confidence of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and we cannot adequately express our appreciation of, and the importance of, both. This is all the more true since the Fund has been willing to provide support for our general operations, the heart of and most valuable part of the Council.

The Council is now nearing completion of the second year of this three-year program operation developed and funded in 1965. These programs include the substantial Voter Education Project and specialized work in such areas as community organization, prison reform, prevention of delinquency, urban planning, and others; all operated within the Council's traditional methods. We have attempted to keep the Fund informed of the details of these programs, and hesitate to go into further detail here. However, attached are detailed six-month reports of the major efforts prepared in July 1967, should there be an interest in them. However a year-end report will be provided early in 1968.

Under any circumstances it would be appropriate, indeed necessary, to begin an evaluation and review of current programs and priorities, especially in planning for the future should funds be available for those plans. Given the current situation in the region and in the nation, this review is all the more

imperative. For this reason the agency has been going through one of the most exhaustive evaluation periods in its history.

We feel we cannot ask the Fund for continued support without making an attempt to briefly outline our description of current conditions and the philosophy and thinking which will be reflected in the Council during the period of the requested support. In doing so, it should be noted that this comes at a time of great confusion, disagreement, misunderstanding, pessimism, and alarm in the region as well as in the nation. Too, we have approached our plans for the future with an essential ground rule of accepting per se nothing for the future simply on the basis that we have done it in the past and it was in the past of value.

Last year at the Council's Annual Meeting the Executive Director reported in his statement to the Members: "...forewarning... I feel the single important qualification I bring to the position you allow me to hold is that of directing this new and expanding Southern Regional Council into the mold and philosophy of all the Council has been to date. I cannot express to you too strongly my dedication to the Southern Regional Council as I have known it over the past decade and as I have seen it evolve."

That statement is emphatically reaffirmed at this moment even as there is the need for questioning the past while thinking and planning for the future. But the statement was made, and is reaffirmed, with the idea that the Council is a flexible organization; one capable of changing with the times in an attempt to meet, serve, indeed sometimes influence, the course of the times. In short, the continued most valued characteristic of the Council is its flexibility.

If the Council has been anything in the past -- and it has been much -- it has been not simply a source

of information but an interpreter of uniquely valuable and reliable information. It has been, too, not simply the voice of woe over injustice, but rather that voice that challenged injustice. The Council has directed a challenge to the best that was in man and the best that was in society. The challenge has been moral and it has been intellectual. It has drawn from the highest ideals of the society, but has not hesitated to document the most elementary factors of self interest. Ideas, information, challenge, sound goals, this has been the best of the Council. There is another important characteristic of the Council. At times of insanity in this region the Council has tried to speak sanely. At times of confusion, the Council has tried to offer direction. (And certainly, insanity and confusion have been typical, not atypical, of this region during the Council's life.)

Now, in late 1967, in the region and the nation we are told there is a growing disillusionment and bitterness among Negro Americans. We are told Negroes are increasingly questioning all the institutions of this society. They are institutions of the white man, we are fold, and the white man has become suspect. We are told there is a widening gulf between white and black and that if we gauge progress in terms of a unified society then we are retrogressing.

Thos who speak these things are correct we believe.

We are told, too, that the day of the backlash has arrived. Perhaps it has. More importantly, among whites in this country there is now undoubtedly a considerable overt expression of the prejudice of white America. Of equal importance, there is now among whites, fear, disgust, misunderstanding.

We are told the white liberal establishment in this country is in disarray. There is great confusion, we are told, among liberals and none of the unity of

old when all the good guys and the bad guys were lined up in neat order against each other. Perhaps so.

All these things we are now told, or have ourselves concluded, have a large measure, if not the whole measure, of truth in them.

If these events are thus we of the Southern Regional Council have two ways in which to react:

(1) We can cry "Oh, Lost," we can dream of the good old days when it was all so neat and promising. We can crawl into our lair and enjoy great measures of self-pity as we lick our wounds luxuriously.

(2) We can recognize that the society in which we live and for which we have concerns has never been beautiful, just, or well ordered. The institutions of our society have never been perfectly responsible or perfectly responsive. The men of this society have always been capable of nobility while committing or allowing to be committed the most despicable of acts. Recognizing this we can be disappointed and concerned, but realistically maintain our faith and our objectives.

The Southern Regional Council shall choose the second alternative. In doing so we can only hope that we have learned something, of particular value, in speaking sanely and offering direction.

If we are correct in our evaluation of the times and the agency, as we feel we are, we feel, too, there was never a time to be more grateful for this role or ever a time when it was more necessary to perform it.

In fact, while trying hard to avoid the role of Pollyanna, and certainly not accepting the mantle of the optimist, we feel there may be good in the tragedy of America 1967.

In 1956 we began to witness what we called "the tragedy of Little Rock." It was the beginning of an era just as two years ago we began the era of "the tragedy of Watts." But Little Rock, as tragic as it was, had another element -- an important element -- standing out very clearly if only it could be seen through the spectre of troops, mobs, innocent children. That element was the element of a society in convulsion. That was, too, the indisputable evidence of a society in the real process of change.

As pitifully inadequate as it was, when the handful of Negro children went to the "white" school, history was made and there was the slight beginning of an old and rigid pattern being cracked if not shattered. As pitiful as it was, when Orval Faubus and the white mobs, young and old, spat, screamed, cursed and kicked, the ugly face of bigotry and hatred came from behind the closed doors recognizing that the quiet efficient patterns of automatic separation were threatened. Bigotry started to fight openly because it was seriously challenged. As pitifully late and inept as it was, when federal troops marched into Little Rock, the federal government finally indicated there was a "law of the land" and a national government to enforce it.

Now, throughout the nation, there are convulsions and tragedies that make Little Rock almost look insignificant. But, we suggest there are parallels. And, perhaps there are parallels of hope.

There is value in what we have seen, heard and experienced. Churches stir, the poor become articulate, whatever their reactions, affluent America is at last confronted with the other America.

These items of possible significance are not offered as predictions of an immediate happy future. Rather, they are offered to suggest that these events have caused some, including the Council, to conclude that goals, beliefs, ideals, and methods are reaffirmed not shattered.

This request to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund is presented not only with sincere gratitude for past support, but also understanding of present demands on the Fund. It is offered, too, with a sincere sense of modesty. It is depressing to us all that the past so nearly continues. But, perhaps the summary of this request is our attempt to say to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund we feel our accomplishments justify the request for your consideration, and we plan our programs without a sense of depression about the future.

- o -

December 29, 1967

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Room 5600
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

This is to request the continued support of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund for the Voter Education Project during 1968 in the amount of $50,000.

Enclosed is a report of the Project for the year, including reference to our hopes and needs for 1968.

I recall your comments about this, and shall simply be grateful for any consideration which can be given to this.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

DRAFT

Dear Mr. Freeman:

On December 19, 1961 the Rockefeller Brothers Fund granted to us $80,000 for continuation of the Southern Leadership Project during the two year period June 1, 1962 to May 31, 1964.

During the past year, several events and decisions have somewhat altered the nature of the Project. These, together with the imminent retirement of Mr. J. J. Brewbaker, the Project's School Consultant, suggest the value of outlining now the status and plans of the Project.

* * * * *

1. As of our December 31, 1962 audit, the Southern Leadership Project had a cash balance of $40,643.51. Disbursement during the first three months of 1963 were $15,454.54, leaving a balance on March 31 of $25,188.97. We estimate that an additional $9,400 will be spent by the end of the Project's fiscal year, leaving a balance of approximately $16,500 as of May 31, 1963. Payment of the 1963-64 grant would add $36,000 ($40,000 less $4,000 for SRC overhead), making an approximate total of $~~525.00~~ 52,500 available during the last fiscal year of the present grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

2. Because of Ben Muse's withdrawal from field activities during the writing of our book -- to be published by Viking Press -- the planning and direction of Project field program has been shifted to our Director of Field Activities, Mr. Paul Anthony. Mr. Muse's salary, office expenses, and travel will continue to be charged to the Project, per our understanding.

For administrative purposes, however, it is desirable to give him a new title, and ~~&&~~ no longer use for anyone the title Director of the Southern Leadership Project.

3. In our October 13, 1961 submission for renewal of the Project we set out its objectives for 1962-64 as follows:

> Renewal of the Leadership Project will provide us with the needed resources to work effectively in ~~the first of the areas discussed above,~~ the penetration of political and business leadership of the hard core states. It will enlarge our search for methods to influence directly the thinking of the rural Black Belt~~, as discussed in paragraph 2 above~~. Finally, it will add to our ability to supplement and evaluate the activities of the federal government~~, as discussed in paragraph 4.~~
>
> We propose to carry on the Leadership Project as we have from its inception; i.e., through a combination of field activities, research, and publications.
>
> Field activities, as in the past, will be directed by Col. Benjamin Muse, assisted on a part time basis by J. J. Brewbaker, our Public Schools Consultant,* and by such other consultants as budget and opportunities may permit. Except that Col. Muse and his staff will concentrate more of their work in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, no change of approach is planned.

Insert paragraph here

---

* As noted above, Col. Muse is ~~at least temporarily~~ now out of the field & Mr Brewbaker intends to retire ~~this year~~ in May 1963. We are hopeful that when his writing is completed, Col. Muse will again be available for field work.

Research and publications supporting their work in these hard core states will emphasize the necessity for adjustment to the advance of Negro Americans and the preservation of law and order.

Research and publications designed to aid and evaluate federal activities will, as presently foreseen, deal chiefly with three fields: (1) employment; (2) problems of urban life, including housing; (3) non-discriminatory police and judicial administration.

Programs designed for the rural Black Belt will have to be, in the beginning at least, experimental. One possibility, for example, is the preparation of material specially intended for press and other media serving rural areas. Another possibility is quiet, sustained consultation with church and municipal leadership.

Specific areas of concentration ought not, however, to be rigorously adhered to. The Leadership Project, both in the field work and its research, must be prepared to place its resources wherever shifting events and issues make them most needed. The accelerated pace of reform now existing, contrasted with the earlier periods, increases the obligations and opportunities for SRC to supply directions to a region in change.

4. During the past year, we have, as you know, attempted through cooperation with the National Council of Churches the sort of "quiet, sustained consultation with church" leadership of rural areas that is mentioned above. We have, through the

Friendly World Broadcasting Company, sought to reach rural and semi-urban people (in Alabama and, to a lesser extent, in Georgia) ~~through~~ through the media of radio. Two publications, in addition to L-Reports, were carried out: one was a joint endeavor with the Potomac Institute and the International City Managers' Association, titled, ~~&~~ The City Government and Minority Groups; the other was a Special Report on the federal ~~GOVERNMENT&S&EQUAL&EMPLOYMENT&PROGRAM&&TITLE~~ government's equal employment program, titled, "Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey.

5. For the fiscal year 1963-1964, we are estimating the following expenditures:

Mr. Muse's salary, office, and travel	$12,800
L-Reports, mimeographing & distribution	4,000
Other Publications	5,000
Chur Church Project	10,000
	$31,800

This would leave an estimated balance of $20,700 for other field activities.

6. We are, at this time, tentatively reserving $3,000 for continued radio programming ~~work~~ through the Friendly World Broadcasting Company. Funds already expended will carry ~~this program~~ some months into ~~with~~ the 1963-64 fiscal year. Before new funds would be needed, we shall make a decision as to renewal. That decision will be based, in part, on the evaluation of two outside specialists who have consented to listen to the tapes and appraise the station response: they are Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg, Director of Public Affairs, Radio Station WHAS, Louisville (Ky.); and Harry Fleischman of the American Jewish Committee.

7. The remainder of the funds we intend to reserve for work with save-our-schools groups in communities facing desegregation for the first time.

This is a decision which grows from the Council's experience over the last five years. We have observed that, with but rare exceptions, a save-our-schools group has been seemingly an indispensable instrument in the peaceful desegregation of schools in an atmosphere of controversy and resistance. We have during the last several months worked quietly to assist local people in Jackson, Birmingham, Huntsville, and Mobile to form such groups. We intend to work with these groups during their period of activity, and to help form and support similar groups elsewhere. To these groups we want to offer the consultative service of ~~the~~ veterans from other communities; e.g., ~~i.e.~~, we have already sent an Atlanta lady to help the Jackson group, and she has now a continuing advisory role. We want to offer to the groups and, through them, the local school officials the consultative services of experienced school-men from other parts of the South. We want to be prepared to offer, if there should be local interest, law enforcement officials (e.g., Chief Jenkins of Atlanta or Chief Hale of Lexington, Ky.) to consult with local police officials; again, this would be done through the save-our-schools group.

8. Costs involved in this program would include sums for materials and their distribution; the travel of our Director of Field Activities or other staff when concerned with this specific endeavor; travel costs for S.O.S. veterans; honoraria

~~AND&T&~~

and travel costs for school and, possibly, law enforcement consultants.

9. We believe, as I said above, that this effort with save-our-schools groups is required by past experience. The same reasoning suggests that we be enabled to do this as long as there is need. The outlays for the save-our-schools effort may well be modest, especially considering the value of the work. Our hope would be that, ~~subject to a later re-evaluation of program opportunities,~~ the RBF funds not committed to other things might be reserved for this program and used for it during and beyond the fiscal year 1963-64. We shall, of course, keep the program of work with & through S.O.S. groups under continuous review, & would be prepared to ~~review & adjust the~~ reallocate the funds reserved for it if other compelling program opportunities appeared, consistent with the feasibility I expect.

Sincerely yours,

LWD

St. Andrews, N.B.
Canada

Dear Miss Gallagher:

Hope you enjoyed your vacation as much as I'm enjoying mine--no paperwork at all, and lots of sun and golf.

The enclosed from Harold Fleming brought me back to the worries of the world. Please show it to DSC, if he's there and ask whether he thinks Winthrop might be interested. There are two tax-exempt entities that might receive a grant -- the Virginia Council of Churches, and the Virginia Council on Human Relations (branch of SRC). I would guess that $1,000 - $1,500 would be adequate. If feasible, the grant might be made directly by Winthrop, rather than through the RBF, thus avoiding the necessity of going through the exec. comm. or publishing a report of it. I think it would be desirable to keep publicity on Northern financial support to an absolute minimum.

If, as I suspect, DSC feels this is hardly worth the complications involved, or too difficult to work out in the time available, please call Mr. Fanelli at the Norman Fund and see whether Frank Weil is in town. If so, send the letter from Harold, plus this one, over to Mr. Weil by hand to see what his reaction is. On way it might be handled with him would be to authorize an expenditure of up to say $1,000 from the Norman Fund grant to SRC, with the informal understanding that such an expenditure would be taken into consideration in connection with any renewal application from SRC to Norman Fund.

Failing all this, please drop Mr. Fleming a note, saying we tried, and suggesting that he himself try the Field Foundation or the New World Foundation, <u>by phone</u>. He'll know who to call.

Will see you all on Tuesday after Labor Day. Meanwhile, all the best.

DFF

cc. Harold Fleming

OPERATION "LAW AND ORDER"

By stressing law and order we do not imply, as some have, that advocacy of desegregation on moral and democratic grounds is useless or should be abandoned; on the contrary, it should be increased, especially by our religious leaders. We do feel that the "moderate" segment of white leadership is not likely to be moved by such advocacy in the short run. These are influential people who show some willingness to consider pragmatic arguments for change, and the tangible consequences of one alternative as against another. Thus the inevitability of desegregation, the need to maintain law and order, and the practical workability of proposed changes are most likely to influence them. The techniques which the Council is best fitted, by experience and skills to use with the "moderate" group include:

1. Consultation. -- We have had experience with bringing respected practitioners together with their counterparts in Southern communities. We have enabled eight local school superintendents and several school board members to draw on the experiences of school superintendents from districts which have successfully carried out desegregation. This technique would be equally useful in the fields of law enforcement, transit desegregation, and changes in other public facilities.

The usefulness of the method, of course, lies in exposing doubtful officials to the reassuring counsel of a professional equal who has actually done the job. The difficulty lies in developing enough local interest and receptivity for the consultant's visit to be worthwhile. It is at this point that more staff effort is needed than the Council has yet been able to provide. The Council's role as an unpublicized middle-man is essential, for two reasons: most local officials are unfamiliar with qualified consultants; also they dare not risk the premature controversy that appropriation of public funds for such a purpose might arouse.

The extent to which this technique can be useful depends entirely on successful prior cultivation of the community leaders in question. The Council needs aid to enlarge its field work for this purpose, and to bear the cost of the services requested.

2. Visitation. -- This is an unsatisfactory term for the reverse of the consultant method -- that is, giving key local officials the opportunity to visit other communities where facilities have been successfully desegregated. This alternative technique has several advantages: (a) It is more palatable to the official who is uneasy about the adverse consequences of bringing an "outsider" into the community to talk about desegregation; (b) it puts the local official into a total setting where the change in question is an accepted reality; (c) it stimulates the local pride -- and thus the "consultant" performance -- of leaders in the community visited; and (d) on a quite practical level, it eliminates the consultant fee.

The Council has had only a limited experience with this technique, principally in the field of law enforcement, but we feel it holds great promise. The demands on Council staff are approximately the same as those mentioned under "Consultation."

3. Conferences. -- We hold no great brief for general-purpose conferences, in which the subject matter or the group itself is diffuse. However, the proposed effort might well call for occasional special-purpose conferences, in which the group is carefully selected, homogeneous in interest, and focused on specific questions of common concern. In most cases, conferences of this sort, whether of educators, police officials, or others, would require the presence of one or more specialists in the field under consideration.

The Council's recent conference experience has mainly involved religious leaders, organizational personnel, union leadership, and social scientists with special skills and interest in community and human relations.

4. Preparation of Special Materials. -- All phases of the proposed program need supporting materials especially prepared or assembled. There is, of course, much existing material on desegregation, including that prepared or distributed by the Council itself. Again, however, the job is to assemble what is available, supplementing it as necessary, in order to support the appeal to practicality and law and order discussed earlier. Examples:

(a) Materials illustrating the economic stake in compliance with law. There is a growing body of statements by influential Southerners on the danger to the economy of defiance and disorder. There is also documentation on damage to industrialization and marketing of school bonds, disruption of transit services, boycotts and counter-boycotts, loss of national conventions, waste of manpower, loss to the consumer market, and the like. What is needed is the preparation of special publications presenting these facts in persuasive fashion for use in conjunction with consultation, conferences, and in special mailings.

(b) Popular material on principles of police work with minority groups, prevention and handling of mob action. As the Clinton, Nashville, and Little Rock episodes demonstrate, the quality of police action is a vital factor in successful adjustment to desegregation. Southern police forces are generally untrained and inexperienced in the handling of intergroup tensions. Nevertheless, the police are usually responsive to community opinion. Material of the kind here proposed could usefully be directed both at police officials and community leaders.

(c) Illustrative case material. In border cities (e.g., Baltimore, Louisville, St. Louis) the factors that made for successful school desegregation have been carefully studied and described. The primary factors were educational planning, police procedures, and community preparation. Similar evaluation of the recent experiences in Nashville, Little Rock, and the three North Carolina cities is needed. In this way, other Southern cities can learn by concrete example both the positive and negative lessons of these early experiences. We should like, if possible, to consultation specialists who would study the evidence and prepare the final reports.

(d) Finally, some of the articles appearing in periodicals are very effective as program material. (For example, see the enclosed items from the New York Times and the Alabama Journal, Montgomery, Alabama.) We should like to reprint and give selective distribution to the best of this material.

MJ - file

"There is so much to do, so many engrossing challenges, so many heartbreaking and pressing needs..."

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

"She would rather light a candle than curse the darkness, and her glow has warmed the world..."

ADLAI E. STEVENSON

"The Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation will provide a fitting and effective way to carry on the programs to which Mrs. Roosevelt so ably dedicated her life"

JOHN F. KENNEDY

TO KEEP THE CANDLE BURNING

...the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foun ation

On April 23, 1963, a grateful nation honored a great lady. When the President signed the bill, which the Congress had just passed, creating the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation, he completed the nation's official tribute to the woman whose tireless efforts on behalf of humanity had made her the First Lady of the World. "I am sure," the President declared, "that the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation will reflect the wisdom, energy, concern for the poor, and advancement of public health, economic welfare and international good will that Mrs. Roosevelt showed throughout her life."

"I know that no defeat is final," Mrs. Roosevelt wrote in her autobiography. This faith kept her working endlessly for causes that sometimes seemed hopeless. Some victories she lived to see...others she has made possible for the future. Human rights...world understanding...elimination of disease and poverty...the rights of labor ...improvement of race relations...opportunities for our young people...these, and others, were her concern. And now they are the concern of the Foundation created to honor her.

The Foundation was created by the Congress. ***But its financial resources must come from the people.*** Mrs. Roosevelt would have wanted it that way. Already, a group of men and women from all walks of life, under the leadership of Adlai Stevenson, have accepted the President's request to serve as trustees. They are giving generously of their time and effort. Careful and thoughtful study is being given to develop programs which will serve vital and unmet needs. [illegible]al major programs actively supported by Mrs. Roo[illegible]lt at the time of her death have already been pledged support by the Foundation for the immediate period ahead.

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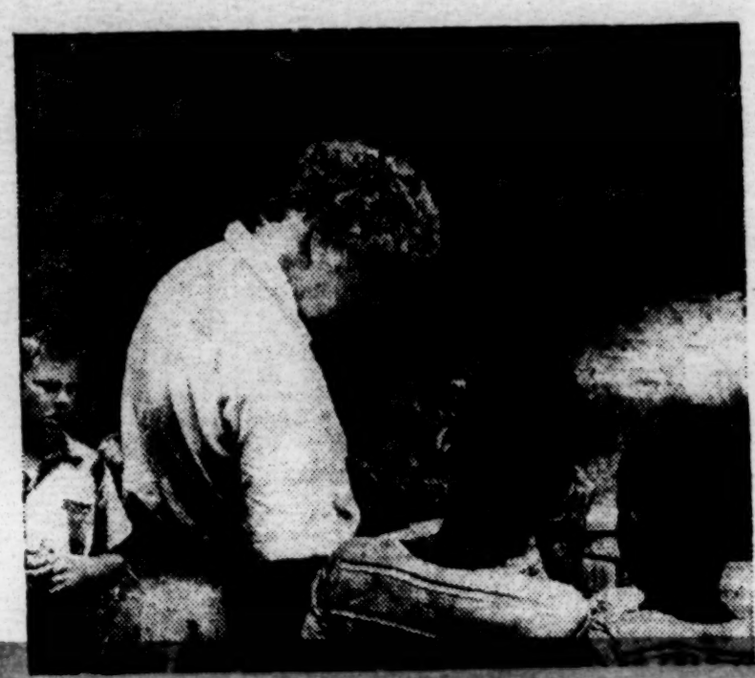
President Kennedy signs Congressional Act creating Foundation.



Mrs. Roosevelt comforts underprivileged boys.

Foundation trustees hold initial meeting at White House.

Will You Help Keep the Candle Burning?

Since the day Mrs. Roosevelt died last November, people everywhere have been asking "What can I do to show how much she meant to me? What can I do to help carry on her interests?"

This message has been prepared by the Foundation as a response to this spontaneous and universal desire to honor Mrs. Roosevelt—to tell about the creation of the Foundation as the central instrument designed to carry on her good works.

To carry out the Foundation's program, a minimum capital fund of $25,000,000 is being sought in a one-time public campaign. The campaign for funds is now being organized, and the help of all individuals and groups is welcomed. For those who wish to participate in this effort, the form below will provide the means by which you may identify your interest.

Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation

Empire State Building, New York 1, N.Y.

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The cost of this announcement has been contributed by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, AFL-CIO.

To Adlai Stevenson, Chairman
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL FOUNDATION
Empire State Building, New York 1, N.Y.

☐ How can I help the Foundation?

☐ I wish to contribute $_____

☐ I wish to pledge $_____

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

CONTRIBUTIONS ARE TAX DEDUCTIBLE

Wh folder

July 5, 1963

The Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson
Chairman
Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation
Empire State Building
New York 1, New York

My dear Mr. Stevenson:

This is to acknowledge your letter of June 26 to Mr. Dunbar who is presently away from the office until the 15th. Immediately upon his return your letter will be brought to his attention, at which time I'm sure you will hear from him.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

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EMPIRE STATE BUILDING, NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

PHONE: LW 4-0440

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DIRECTOR

June 26, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

On April 23, 1963, President Kennedy signed the Act of Congress creating the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation. By this action, he completed the nation's official tribute to Mrs. Roosevelt. Now the American people are called upon to build the Foundation.

The President expressed his hope that the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation "will reflect the wisdom, energy, concern for the poor, advancement of public health and economic welfare, and international good will that Mrs. Roosevelt showed throughout her life."

The initial reactions have been most encouraging. Hundreds of people, humble and prominent, have volunteered their help. The Trustees have given selflessly of their time and energy. Former Ambassador Philip M. Klutznick has put aside other important activities to assume the general Chairmanship of the campaign to raise a capital fund for the Foundation.

We are now in the process of building the leadership of our Foundation. To guide us as we develop our program and activities, we are forming a National Council

"SHE WOULD RATHER LIGHT A CANDLE THAN CURSE THE DARKNESS, AND HER GLOW HAS WARMED THE WORLD".

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of distinguished leaders in American life. We hope you will consent to join the National Council, and that I will have the pleasure of receiving your acceptance at your earliest convenience.

On the very last page of her autobiography, written not many months before she became ill, Mrs. Roosevelt wrote these words:

> "Back to work... There is so much to do, so many engrossing challenges, so many heartbreaks and pressing needs..."

The Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation is our opportunity to pay tribute to Mrs. Roosevelt in the only way she would approve - - by doing things that need to be done.

Sincerely yours,

Adlai E. Stevenson

Adlai E. Stevenson
Chairman

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

EMPIRE STATE BUILDING, NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

PHONE: LW 4-0440

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HYMAN H. BOOKBINDER
DIRECTOR

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JUL 24 1963

July 19, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Just a word to express my personal satisfaction that you have agreed to serve on the Foundation's National Council. I look forward to your suggestions for making this testament to a great lady truly meaningful.

We are only now beginning to prepare materials about our plans and our hopes. Meanwhile, here are a few items which may be of interest.

Sincerely,

Hyman H. Bookbinder

Hyman H. Bookbinder
Director

HHB:la
Encl.

"SHE WOULD RATHER LIGHT A CANDLE THAN CURSE THE DARKNESS, AND HER GLOW HAS WARMED THE WORLD".

123

"SHE WOULD RATHER LIGHT A CANDLE THAN CURSE THE DARKNESS, AND HER GLOW HAS WARMED THE WORLD. "

ADLAI E. STEVENSON

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

THE ELEANOR ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

Ambassador Stevenson and Eleanor Roosevelt

FIRST LADY OF THE WORLD

At the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City, on Saturday, November 17, 1962, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson spoke these words...

"One week ago this afternoon, in the Rose Garden at Hyde Park, Eleanor Roosevelt came home for the last time. Her journeys are over. The remembrance now begins.

"She lived 78 years, most of the time in tireless activity as if she knew that only a frail fragment of the things that cry out to be done could be done in the lifetime of even the most fortunate. Yet how much she had done—how much still unchronicled!

"There was no sick soul too wounded to engage her mercy. There was no affront to human dignity from which she fled because the timid cried "danger." And the number of occasions on which her intervention turned despair into victory we may never know.

"Her life was crowded, restless, fearless.

"... there is so much to do, so many engro

"She walked in the slums and ghettos of the world, not on a tour of inspection, nor as a condescending patron, but as one who could not feel complacent while others were hungry, and who could not find contentment while others were in distress. This was not sacrifice; this, for Mrs. Roosevelt, was the only meaningful way of life."

A STATEMENT OF PURPOSES

The ELEANOR ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL FOUNDATION is a charitable and educational organization to extend her humanitarian endeavors.

To assure the worth and dignity of each human being, the Foundation shall devote itself to continuing certain major interests to which Eleanor Roosevelt dedicated her life...

- the relief of the poor and distressed and the underprivileged
- promotion of economic welfare
- the promotion of public health
- the furtherance of international good will

PRIORITIES...AND "UNFINISHED BUSINESS"

At the time of her death, many worthwhile activities depended upon Mrs. Roosevelt and her efforts for a substantial part of their income. These include:

- The Eleanor Roosevelt Cancer Foundation.
- The Wiltwyck School for Boys, a demon-

ssing challenges, so many heartbreaking and pressing needs..."

stration project for underprivileged, emotionally disturbed children.

- The American Association for the United Nations and the U.S. Committee for the U.N.

Mrs. Roosevelt frequently voiced an interest in a proposed new wing to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park. Plans have now been developed for creating this proposed wing in her name. It is here that the documented story of Mrs. Roosevelt's efforts on behalf of mankind will be placed and made available for all to see and study.

The Foundation has pledged support to these programs for the immediate period, and is developing long-term programs which can most effectively and appropriately carry out the basic purposes of the Foundation.

KEEP THE CANDLE BURNING

The financial goal of the Foundation has been initially determined to be a minimum of

Eleanor Roosevelt with Wiltwyck School Boys

$25 million. This is the sum needed to yield the income essential to carry on a meaningful program designed to meet the primary aims of the Foundation.

October 11, 1964, will mark the 80th anniversary of Mrs. Roosevelt's birth. It is hoped

President Kennedy and Eleanor Roosevelt

that the basic task of financing the Foundation program will be largely completed so that a practical and meaningful program can be launched. The initial pledges should be made by such time but payments may be made over a longer period, if desired by the donors.

* * *

Through the ELEANOR ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL FOUNDATION all people will be afforded an opportunity to participate in a program aimed at advancing international good will, human rights and the endless fight against disease. It offers people, great and small, the world over, through their efforts and contributions, an opportunity to keep burning those "candles" Mrs. Roosevelt lit in the darkness.

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THE ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
MEMORIAL FOUNDATION
EMPIRE STATE BUILDING, NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

By Adlai E. Stevenson

A eulogy delivered by Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, United States Representative to the United Nations, at a Memorial Service for Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York City, Saturday, November 17, 1962.

"Her journeys are over. The remembrance now begins."

One week ago this afternoon, in the Rose Garden at Hyde Park, Eleanor Roosevelt came home for the last time. Her journeys are over. The remembrance now begins.

In gathering here to honor her, we engage in a self-serving act. It is we who are trying, by this ceremony of tribute, to deny the fact that we have lost her, and, at least, to prolong the farewell. And — possibly — to say some of the things we dared not say in her presence, because she would have turned aside such testimonial with impatience and gently asked us to get on with some of the more serious business of the meeting.

A grief perhaps not equalled since the death of her husband 17 years ago is the world's best tribute to one of the great figures of our age — a woman whose lucid and luminous faith testified always for sanity in an insane time and for hope in a time of obscure hope — a woman who spoke for the good toward which man aspires in a world which has seen too much of the evil of which man is capable.

She lived 78 years, most of the time in tireless activity as if she knew that only a frail fragment of the things that cry out to be done could be done in the lifetime of even the most fortunate. One has the melancholy sense that when she knew death was at hand, she was contemplating not what she achieved, but what she had not quite managed to do. And I know she wanted to go — when there was no more strength to do.

Yet how much she had done — how much still unchronicled! We dare not try to tabulate the lives she salvaged, the battles — known and unrecorded — she fought, the afflicted she comforted, the hovels she brightened, the faces and places, near and far, that were given some new radiance, some sound of music, by her endeavors. What other single human being has touched and transformed the existence of so many others? What better measure is there of the impact of anyone's life?

There was no sick soul too wounded to engage her mercy. There was no signal of human distress which she did not view as a personal summons. There was no affront to human dig-

nity from which she fled because the timid cried "danger." And the number of occasions on which her intervention turned despair into victory we may never know.

Her life was crowded, restless, fearless. Perhaps she pitied most not those whom she aided in the struggle, but the more fortunate who were pre-occupied with themselves and cursed with the self-deceptions of private success. She walked in the slums and ghettos of the world, not on a tour of inspection, nor as a condescending patron, but as one who could not feel complacent while others were hungry, and who could not find contentment while others were in distress. This was not sacrifice; this, for Mrs. Roosevelt, was the only meaningful way of life.

These were not conventional missions of mercy. What rendered this unforgettable woman so extraordinary was not merely her response to suffering; it was her comprehension of the complexity of the human condition. Not long before she died, she wrote that "within all of us there are two sides. One reaches for the stars, the other descends to the level of beasts." It was, I think, this discernment that made her so unfailingly tolerant of friends who faltered, and led her so often to remind the smug and the complacent that "There but for the grace of God . . ."

But we dare not regard her as just a benign incarnation of good works. For she was not only a great woman and a great humanitarian, but a great democrat. I use the word with a small "d" — though it was, of course, equally true that she was a great Democrat with a capital "D." When I say that she was a great small - d democrat, I mean that she had a lively and astute understanding of the nature of the democratic process. She was a master political strategist with a fine sense of humor. And, as she said, she loved a good fight.

She was a realist. Her compassion did not bebecome sentimentality. She understood that progress was a long labor of compromise. She mistrusted absolutism in all its forms — the absolutism of the word and even more the absolutism of the deed. She never supposed that all the problems of life could be cured in a day or a

year or a lifetime. Her pungent and salty understanding of human behavior kept her always in intimate contact with reality. I think this was a primary source of her strength, because she never thought that the loss of a battle meant the loss of a war, nor did she suppose that a compromise which produced only part of the objective sought was an act of corruption or of treachery. She knew that no formula of words, no combination of deeds, could abolish the troubles of life overnight and usher in the millennium.

The miracle, I have tried to suggest, is how much tangible good she really did; how much realism and reason were mingled with her instinctive compassion; how her contempt for the perquisites of power ultimately won her the esteem of so many of the powerful; and how, at her death, there was a universality of grief that transcended all the harsh boundaries of political, racial and religious strife and, for a moment at least, united men in a vision of what their world might be.

We do not claim the right to enshrine another mortal, and this least of all would Mrs. Roosevelt have desired. She would have wanted it said, I believe, that she well knew the pressures of pride and vanity, the sting of bitterness and defeat, the gray days of national peril and personal anguish. But she clung to the confident expectation that men could fashion their own tomorrows if they could only learn that yesterday can be neither relived nor revised.

Many who have spoken of her in these last few days have used a word to which we all assent, because it speaks a part of what we feel. They have called her "a lady," a "great lady," "the first lady of the world." But the word "lady," though it says much about Eleanor Roosevelt, does not say all. To be incapable of self-concern is not a negative virtue; it is the other side of a coin that has a positive face — the most positive, I think, of all the faces. And to enhance the humanity of others is not a kind of humility; it is a kind of pride—the noblest of all the forms of pride. No man or woman can respect other men and women who does not respect life. And to respect life is to love it. Eleanor Roosevelt loved life — and that, perhaps, is the

most meaningful thing that can be said about her, for it says so much beside.

It takes courage to love life. Loving it demands imagination and perception and the kind of patience women are more apt to have than men — the bravest and most understanding women. And loving it takes something more beside — it takes a gift for life, a gift for love.

Eleanor Roosevelt's childhood was unhappy — miserably unhappy, she sometimes said. But it was Eleanor Roosevelt who also said that "one must never, for whatever reason, turn his back on life." She did not mean that duty should compel us. She meant that life should. "Life," she said, "was meant to be lived." A simple statement. An obvious statement. But a statement that by its obviousness and its simplicity challenges the most intricate of all the philosophies of despair.

Many of the admonitions she bequeathed us are neither new thoughts nor novel concepts. Her ideas were, in many respects, old fashioned — as old as the Sermon on the Mount, as the reminder that it is more blessed to give than to receive. In the words of St. Francis that she loved so well: "For it is in the giving that we receive."

She imparted to the familiar language — nay, what too many have come to treat as the cliches — of Christianity a new poignancy and vibrance. She did so not by reciting them, but by proving that it is possible to live them. It is this above all that rendered her unique in her century. It was said of her contemptuously at times that she was a do-gooder, a charge leveled with similar derision against another public figure 1,962 years ago.

We who are assembled here are of various religious and political faiths, and perhaps different conceptions of man's destiny in the universe. It is not an irreverence, I trust, to say that the immortality Mrs. Roosevelt would have valued most would be found in the deeds and visions her life inspired in others, and in the proof that they would be faithful to the spirit of any tribute conducted in her name.

And now one can almost hear Mrs. Roosevelt

saying that the speaker has already talked too long. So we must say farewell. We are always saying farewell in this world — always standing at the edge of loss attempting to retrieve some memory, some human meaning, from the silence — something which was precious and is gone.

Often, although we know the absence well enough, we cannot name it or describe it even. What left the world when Lincoln died? Speaker after speaker in those aching days tried to tell his family or his neighbors or his congregation. But no one found the words, not even Whitman. "When lilacs last in the dooryard bloomed" can break the heart, but not with Lincoln's greatness, only with his loss. What the words could never capture was the man himself. His deeds were known; every school child knew them. But it was not his deeds the country mourned: it was the man — the mastery of life which made the greatness of the man.

It is always so. On that April day when Franklin Roosevelt died, it was not a President we wept for. It was a man. In Archibald MacLeish's words:

"Fagged out, worn down, sick
With the weight of his own bones,
the task finished,
The war won, the victory assured,
The glory left behind him for
the others,
(And the wheels roll up through
the night in the sweet land
In the cool air in the spring
between the lanterns)."

It is so now. What we have lost in Eleanor Roosevelt is not her life. She lived that out to the full. What we have lost, what we wish to recall for ourselves, to remember, is what she was herself. And who can name it? But she left "a name to shine on the entablatures of truth, forever."

We pray that she has found peace, and a glimpse of sunset. But today we weep for ourselves. We are lonelier; someone has gone from one's own life — who was like the certainty of refuge; and someone has gone from the world — who was like a certainty of honor.

THE ELEANOR ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

Empire State Building New York 1, N. Y.
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"She would rather light a candle than curse the darkness and her glow has warmed the world"

PHOTO BY WALTER

"There is so much to do, so many engrossing challenges, so many heartbreaking and pressing needs..."
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

"She would rather light a candle than curse the darkness, and her glow has warmed the world..."
ADLAI E. STEVENSON

"The Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation will provide a fitting and effective way to carry on the programs to which Mrs. Roosevelt so ably dedicated her life"
JOHN F. KENNEDY

TO KEEP THE CANDLE BURNING

...the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation

On April 23, 1963, a grateful nation honored a great lady. When the President signed the bill, which the Congress had just passed, creating the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation, he completed the nation's official tribute to the woman whose tireless efforts on behalf of humanity had made her the First Lady of the World. "I am sure," the President declared, "that the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation will reflect the wisdom, energy, concern for the poor, and advancement of public health, economic welfare and international good will that Mrs. Roosevelt showed throughout her life."

"I know that no defeat is final," Mrs. Roosevelt wrote in her autobiography. This faith kept her working endlessly for causes that sometimes seemed hopeless. Some victories she lived to see... others she has made possible for the future. Human rights... world understanding... elimination of disease and poverty... the rights of labor ...improvement of race relations... opportunities for our young people... these, and others, were her concern. And now they are the concern of the Foundation created to honor her.

The Foundation was created by the Congress. *But its financial resources must come from the people.* Mrs. Roosevelt would have wanted it that way. Already, a group of men and women from all walks of life, under the leadership of Adlai Stevenson, have accepted the President's request to serve as trustees. They are giving generously of their time and effort. Careful and thoughtful study is being given to develop programs which will serve vital and unmet needs. Several major programs actively supported by Mrs. Roosevelt at the time of her death have already been pledged support by the Foundation for the immediate period ahead.

President Kennedy signs Congressional Act creating Foundation.

Mrs. Roosevelt comforts underprivileged boys.

Foundation trustees hold initial meeting at White House.

Will You Help Keep the Candle Burning?

Since the day Mrs. Roosevelt died last November, people everywhere have been asking "What can I do to show how much she meant to me? What can I do to help carry on her interests?"

This message has been prepared by the Foundation as a response to this spontaneous and universal desire to honor Mrs. Roosevelt—to tell about the creation of the Foundation as the central instrument designed to carry on her good works.

To carry out the Foundation's program, a minimum capital fund of $25,000,000 is being sought in a one-time public campaign. The campaign for funds is now being organized, and the help of all individuals and groups is welcomed. For those who wish to participate in this effort, the form below will provide the means by which you may identify your interest.

Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation

Empire State Building, New York 1, N.Y.

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Director
Hyman H. Bookbinder

To Adlai Stevenson, Chairman
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL FOUNDATION
Empire State Building, New York 1, N.Y.

☐ How can I help the Foundation?

☐ I wish to contribute $_____.

☐ I wish to pledge $_____.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
ON SIGNING HR 4715 INCORPORATING THE
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

It gives me great pleasure to approve today, an Act to incorporate the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation. This legislation will, I believe, provide a fitting and effective way to carry on the programs to which Mrs. Roosevelt so ably dedicated her life. I am grateful to the Congress for enacting this legislation and to the distinguished men and women who agreed to serve on the Foundation Board.

It has been said that an institution is the lengthened shadow of a great individual. I am sure that the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation will reflect the wisdom, energy and concern for the poor and advancement of public health, economic welfare and international good-will that Mrs. Roosevelt showed throughout her life. The Foundation should cast a long shadow indeed.

I hope that the American people will rally to the support of this Foundation with the same generosity for which Mrs. Roosevelt was known and loved. The Foundation, in perpetuating the ideals of Mrs. Roosevelt, thereby also fosters the ideals of all Americans.

April 23, 1963

Mk treeler

July 20, 1963

The Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson
Chairman
Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation
Empire State Building
New York 1, New York

My dear Mr. Stevenson:

I thank you for your invitation of June 26, to join the National Council of the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation. I am indeed very happy to accept.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm

Mr. Fuller

July 22, 1963

Mr. Hyman Bookbinder
Executive Secretary
Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation
Empire State Building
New York 1, New York

Dear Mr. Bookbinder:

I must first apologize for being so slow in writing to you following our conversation in Washington last month. I went immediately on vacation for two weeks, and have been slowly digging my way out of the accumulated backlog.

Because I have ample opportunity to observe and to experience the need for well-qualified people in the human relations field, I am greatly interested by the prospect that the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation may devote substantial effort to encouraging their training. I think every informed person must realize that even after the civil rights crisis starts to move downward, we shall have enormous problems of racial relations in this country, and a pressing national need for the integration and utilization of our human resources. There will be a continuing need for people who understand the problems, and for the skills with which to resolve them.

We shall be most pleased to be of any help that we can in further development of your plans.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

INFORMATION BULLETIN

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

EMPIRE STATE BUILDING, NEW YORK 1, NEW YORK

Telephone LW 4-0440

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, Chairman PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK, National Chairman

"SHE WOULD RATHER LIGHT A CANDLE THAN CURSE THE DARKNESS, AND HER GLOW HAS WARMED THE WORLD..."

Bulletin No. 2 August, 1963

RECEIVED AUG 12 1963

VJ
PA
MJ-file

TRUSTEES APPROVE FAR-REACHING HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRAMS; ALSO GIVE GREEN LIGHT TO CONSTRUCTION OF TWO NEW ELEANOR ROOSEVELT WINGS TO F.D.R. LIBRARY AT HYDE PARK

At a press conference which attracted national attention, Chairman Adlai E. Stevenson announced the decision of the Foundation's Board of Trustees to develop a program in Human Rights and Race Relations "as an appropriate and enduring memorial to Eleanor Roosevelt." At its July 30th meeting, the Board received an Interim Report on such a program from Hyman H. Bookbinder, Director of the Foundation, and Trude W. Lash, Acting Chairman of its Purposes Committee. Authority was given to the Chairman and Executive Committee to approve projects and expend funds along the lines of the report, pending the development of a comprehensive national and international Human Rights program.

The Board also voted to assume responsibility for the construction of two Eleanor Roosevelt Wings to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park. To be built at a cost estimated at $1,000,000, one Wing will serve as a museum and repository for Mrs. Roosevelt's memorabilia and the other will serve as a research facility. It is here that thousands of people from all over the world will come to examine and gain inspiration from Mrs. Roosevelt's efforts in behalf of mankind. It is hoped that a groundbreaking ceremony can take place on November 7th, the first anniversary of Mrs. Roosevelt's passing.

The initial emphasis in the Human Rights program will be in intergroup work. Through close cooperation with the government, industry, labor, civil rights and other organizations, the Foundation plans to develop a series of training and educational activities which will contribute to the maximization of equal opportunities for minority groups.

President Kennedy heartily endorsed the action of the Trustees in terms of its Human Rights program. Said the President: "I approve with enthusiasm the intention of the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation to devote its resources to human rights and race relations. I can think of no more appropriate and enduring memorial to Eleanor Roosevelt. The world associates her life and work with these causes. And surely no problems are going to occupy the attention of people everywhere more than these for years to come. I am confident that the Foundation, calling on the intellectual and leadership resources of the world, could greatly help us all to reduce racial tensions and expand the rights of human beings. And progress toward these historic goals grows more urgent every day. Please congratulate the Board of Trustees and call on me whenever I can be of assistance to the Foundation."

The vital Human Rights program, the new Eleanor Roosevelt Wings at Hyde Park, plus the initial Foundation commitments to continuing Mrs. Roosevelt's support of the American Association for the United Nations and the U.S. Committee for the United Nations; the Cancer Foundation, and the Wiltwyck School for Boys, now constitute the core of objectives for the Foundation during its campaign.

* * *

SPECIAL EVENTS TO BRING PROGRAM OF FOUNDATION TO MILLIONS OF AMERICANS DURING OCTOBER - NOVEMBER

Many commemorative events are being sponsored or encouraged by the Foundation during the period October 11th to November 7th (the 79th birthday date of Mrs. Roosevelt, and the first anniversary of her death). During this period of remembering and dedication, the Foundation will seek to provide

(more)

a broad base for the Foundation created in Mrs. Roosevelt's name, and an intensive program of fund-raising activities will take place; at the same time that precautions are taken to assure an impressive and appropriate tribute to one of mankind's noblest human beings. Highlights of the special events:

· On October 11th, a Commemorative Stamp Ceremony will take place at the White House, with President Kennedy and other dignitaries expected to take part in rites marking the issuance of the new 5¢ Eleanor Roosevelt Stamp. (Simultaneously a number of foreign governments have already announced their intention to issue Commemorative Stamps hailing Mrs. Roosevelt for her efforts as the architect of Human Rights. It is anticipated that some 50 governments will issue commemorative stamps this year.)

· "An International Tribute to Eleanor Roosevelt" on October 21st, at Lincoln Center will be featured by tributes from United Nations Secretary General U Thant, Ambassador Stevenson, and a number of the world's outstanding artists. Mrs. John Roosevelt is chairman of the Arrangements Committee mapping plans for a banner event in which an audience of 2,600 outstanding international and American friends and admirers of Mrs. Roosevelt will participate.

· On November 7th, ground-breaking ceremonies at Hyde Park for the two new wings to the F.D.R. Library will bring together Trustees, National Council members and many prominent dignitaries. Pilgrimages to Hyde Park are also being planned by the organized labor movement and the National Conference of Women's Organizations.

* * *

PROMINENT AMERICANS ADD SUPPORT TO FOUNDATION

In addition to its 34 Trustees giving active guidance and support, an impressive number of prominent individuals from all areas of American life have joined the groundswell of support for the Foundation by becoming members of the National Council. The Foundation's National Art Committee, headed by Trustee Dore Schary, also constitutes a virtual Who's Who of television stars, writers, actors and leading show personalities.

Dr. Ralph Bunche will chair the Foundation's International Advisory Committee while Mrs. Glayds Tillett is heading the National Conference of Organizations with Mrs. India Edwards assisting in this effort to enlist the support and cooperation of the nation's leading organizations in behalf of the Foundation.

* * *

LABOR PLAYS VITAL ROLE IN BEHALF OF FOUNDATION

When President Kennedy initiated the Foundation shortly after Mrs. Roosevelt's death, he recognized the important role that the labor movement plays in the life of our nation by appointing AFL-CIO President, George Meany, and Vice-Presidents Walter Reuther, David Dubinsky and Jospeh Keenan as Foundation Trustees.

Appointed by Mr. Meany as Chairman of the AFL-CIO Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Fund Chairman, Mr. Keenan has already enlisted the cooperation of a committee of 11 Presidents of International Unions to push vigorous campaigns within the unions in support of the Foundation. At its Executive Council meeting last February, the AFL-CIO endorsed the Foundation and urged its affiliates to call upon members to contribute one hour's pay or $1 to the Fund. A number of national unions have already demonstrated their support of the Foundation through advance "down payment" gifts ranging from $25,000 to $50,000 each. The kick-off for the AFL-CIO Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Fund campaign this year will take place August 13th when Ambassador Stevenson addresses the AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting at Unity House.

* * *

(More)

WIDE COVERAGE IN NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, TELEVISION AND RADIO SET TO SPREAD THE FOUNDATION STORY

During the October 11th - November 7th period, an unprecedented coverage will be given the Foundation and the inspiring life of Mrs. Roosevelt in all the mass communication media.

Some of the highlights on television include:

"The Age of Eleanor Roosevelt," an hour spectacular now being prepared by Trustee Dory Schary and Hi Brown; Biography of Eleanor Roosevelt, narrated by Mike Wallace, which will be shown on 200 stations; NBC - TV coverage on "Brinkley's Journal," "Today," "Sunday," "Dialogue," "Open Mind" and "Eternal Light." CBS, ABC, the Metro-Media network, WOR - TV and others are also planning to carry special material during this period. Spot announcements and appeals in 50 of the nation's major cities will directly urge support of the Foundation. A national telecast of the October 21st "International Tribute" is being considered.

A score of radio programs have already arranged interviews with leading spokesmen of the Foundation. Radio stations WQXR and WNEW have scheduled an entire week of interview features with representatives of the Foundation telling our story.

A number of magazines with large national circulation will carry material about the Foundation in their October issues. McCalls Magazine and the Ladies Home Journal are among these multi-million reader publications. The New York Times Sunday Magazine has expressed interest in a retrospective article by Trustee Archibald MacLeish. A number of newsmagazines have indicated their intention to cover the special events on October 11th; October 21st; and November 7th. Similarly, news syndicates, leading newspapers and newreels plan to cover these important events.

* * *

FUND-RAISING ACTIVITIES START TO GAIN MOMENTUM TOWARDS FOUNDATION'S GOAL

After months of preliminary preparations, the fund-raising efforts in behalf of the Foundation's program are starting to gather momentum. National Campaign Chairman Philip M. Klutznick has announced that staying carefully within the budget, Regional Offices have been set up in San Francisco under the direction of Langdon Post; Washington, D.C. with Mae Oliver as director, and Chicago with Herbert Lipson as director. George O. Tamblyn, Jr. and his fund-raising staff arranged a successful fund-raising luncheon in Philadelphia on August 1st with Ambassador Stevenson as principal speaker and Richardson Dilworth as host; plan a Chicago Dinner for Mr. Stevenson on September 5th and have planned many fund-raising events throughout the nation, including 8 informal gatherings in North Carolina. A number of Trustees have also scheduled informal gatherings at which support for the Foundation will be enlisted. Campaign strategy calls for intensive efforts to obtain large "pace-setting" gifts and $25,000 Founder contributions during the immediate period; and a nation-wide "grass-roots" effort during the October 11th - November 7th period.

* * *

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ORGANIZATIONS IS FORMED

To widen support for the Foundation by national organizations throughout the country, a National Conference of Organizations has been organized with Mrs. Gladys Tillett serving as Chairman and Mrs. India Edwards as Vice-Chairman. Already, more than 40 organizations, such as the Institute of International Education; National Council of Negro Women; Pan Pacific and South East Asia Women's Association; National Conference of Christians and Jews; National Advisory Committee on Agricultural Labor; Collegiate Council for the United Nations, the Women's National Democratic Clubs and others have accepted membership.

(More)

Shortly after the October 21st Lincoln Center "International Tribute", a conference will be held to define a program of support by these organizations. To be proposed: responsibility for raising the $1,000,000 needed tor construction of the new Eleanor Roosevelt Wings at Hyde Park.

* * *

FIVE TRUSTEES RECEIVE NATIONAL HONORS

The Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian award, has been awarded to five members of our Board of Trustees. The First Annual Independence Day honors list named by President Kennedy totaled 31 distinguished Americans. The five Foundation Trustees honored were: Marian Anderson, Ralph J. Bunche, Herbert H. Lehman, John J. McCloy, and George Meany.

* * *

NEW TRUSTEES APPROVED BY PRESIDENT KENNEDY

Five new Trustees of the Foundation were approved by President Kennedy last week. The prominent Americans added to the Board are: Richardson Dilworth, former Mayor of Philadelphia; Armand Hammer, California industrialist and art dealer; Ralph E. McGill, Pulitzer Prize-winning publisher of the Atlanta Constitution; Henry Morgenthau, Jr., former Secretary of the Treasury, and Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director of the National Urban League.

Trustees and members of the National Council are urged to inform our Executive Director of their speaking dates so that material about the Foundation may be prepared for them.

* * *

Prepared by: Eli Jaffe, Director of Public Relations

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

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John A. Roosevelt

Hyman H. Bookbinder
DIRECTOR

September 12, 1963

To Members of the ERMF National Council:

Because our Council members are such busy people, I thought I should send you advance word of two invitations that you will soon be receiving. It is my hope you will block out the required time.

1. An International Tribute to Eleanor Roosevelt will be held on October 21 at Lincoln Center's Philharmonic Hall. This invitational affair is being produced by Sol Hurok and John Houseman and will include appearances by Adlai Stevenson, Madame Pandit, and U Thant.

2. A memorial pilgrimmage to Hyde Park on November 7, anniversary of Mrs. Roosevelt's death. Events that day will include a ground-breaking ceremony for new wings to the FDR Library and a luncheon meeting of the Trustees and Council.

Those of you who do not live in the East may find it difficult to attend these functions, but I am hopeful that as many as possible will be able to arrange schedules to permit participation.

Our campaign for funds is now actively underway and will reach a crescendo in the period starting October 11, the birth date of Mrs. Roosevelt. At the same time, we are preparing to launch the first of the human rights projects of the Foundation.

Sincerely,

Hyman H. Bookbinder

Hyman H. Bookbinder
Director

"She would rather light a candle than curse the darkness, and her glow has warmed the world."

The New York Times.

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935
ORVIL E. DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1963

PUBLISHED EVERY DAY IN THE YEAR BY THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY

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ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, *President and Publisher*
HARDING F. BANCROFT, *Vice President and Secretary* FRANCIS A. COX, *Treasurer*

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1963.

Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation

After careful study, a distinguished committee under the chairmanship of Adlai E. Stevenson has wisely decided that the main work of the Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation will be in the field of national and international human rights. These are endeavors that match Mrs. Roosevelt's wide interests and vision.

The foundation, which was granted a Federal charter last spring, is now beginning its appeal for public funds. All its income will come from private, not government, sources. There are several of Mrs. Roosevelt's own unfinished tasks ahead: cancer research, a new Wiltwyck School for emotionally disturbed boys, support for the American Association for the United Nations and the U.S. Committee for the U.N. The committee is also concerned with building two wings on the Hyde Park Roosevelt collection for her papers. After these will come major projects in the human rights area, including leadership training in civil rights and international higher education. The Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation, with headquarters in New York's Empire State Building, hopes for accomplishments that will add luster to an already great name.

October 2, 1963

The Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson
Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation
819 Empire State Building
New York 1, New York

Leslie

My dear Mr. Stevenson:

Mrs. Dunbar and I are deeply honored by your invitation to attend the International Tribute to Eleanor Roosevelt on October 21. I am afraid that it will not be possible for us to be in New York then. This, of course, in no way diminishes our enthusiasm for the occasion honoring our greatest lady.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

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Hyman H. Bookbinder
DIRECTOR

October 11, 1963

TO MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL:

The purpose of this letter is threefold:

1) To present you with this first-day issue of the Eleanor Roosevelt commemorative stamp. I hope you did not destroy the envelope in opening it!

2) To express the hope that you will be with us on October 21 at Lincoln Center -- for which tickets are going out separately.

3) To transmit the formal invitation to you for the Hyde Park ceremonies on November 7. A return card and envelope is included. (If you would like special bus transportation from New York City at 8:30 a.m. on November 7, please indicate this on the card.)

Hyman H. Bookbinder

Hyman H. Bookbinder
Director

"She would rather light a candle than curse the darkness, and her glow has warmed the world."

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Hyman H. Bookbinder
DIRECTOR

December 10, 1963

TO: Members of the National Council

FROM: Adlai E. Stevenson

Today, Human Rights Day, is an appropriate day for reporting to you on the progress of the Foundation created to honor the author and architect of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights -- Eleanor Roosevelt. But, first, a word about her and President Kennedy.

In the short space of little more than a year, America and the world have been deprived of two remarkable human beings -- each so different from the other, yet both so similar in their basic commitment to the public interest, in their concern for human dignity, in their quest for universal peace and understanding. Eleanor Roosevelt departed after a rich and useful life of service to humanity; John Kennedy was snatched from us before he could realize his ambitions and make his full contribution to humanity.

Despite his countless responsibilities, President Kennedy gave generously of his time to the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation. It was at the White House a year ago that the Foundation was conceived; it was at the White House that it was born when the President signed the bill granting

the Charter to the Foundation; and it was at the White House that Eleanor Roosevelt's 79th birthday was observed with the issuance of a commemorative postage stamp. Only weeks before his tragic death, President Kennedy took the time to see Mr. Philip Klutznick and me about the campaign for funds and he was generous in his comments about our developing program.

I believe, therefore, that it is accurate and appropriate to say that completing the task of building the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation will now constitute a testimonial not only to that unusual former First Lady but also to President Kennedy, who wanted so much to see the Foundation succeed.

In a series of commemorative events during the period between October 11th and November 7th, the Foundation brought to millions the inspiring story of Eleanor Roosevelt and the program of the Foundation to carry on her works. On November 7th, about 200 Trustees, National Council members, members of her family and personal friends endured a heavy rain to honor her memory at Hyde Park. We used the occasion to break ground for the Eleanor Roosevelt Wings to the FDR Library.

You will find enclosed some materials which will give you further details about our program and about our campaign for funds.

It has not been easy to determine how best to honor a woman whose interests were so broad. But I believe we are on the right track. We will complete some major programs which Mrs. Roosevelt was backing at the time of her death. We will build library wings for her papers. Above all, however, we will develop important programs in the field of human rights, for this was her underlying concern. On October 21, 1963, President Kennedy wrote:

> "The world associates Mrs. Roosevelt's life and work with the advancement of human rights; I can think of no more appropriate and enduring memorial in her name than a vibrant and viable program in this important area which occupies the center of our national and international life."

We are gratified that you and other leading Americans have agreed to serve on the Foundation's National Council. Many of you have submitted suggestions for our program and they have been given careful consideration. A number of you have written me, asking what you can do to help build the Foundation. Some of you have already contributed personally. All of you can help in some way. We are trying to give all Americans an opportunity to do their share in building the Foundation -- but trying to do it at minimum cost.

There are at least three ways that you can help:

1. If you have not yet contributed personally, please do so now and be as generous as you can. This is a one-time campaign, although your contribution can be paid out over

a five year period. (You may use one of the enclosed envelopes.)

2. You may wish to ask friends or associates to contribute. (Again, you may use the enclosed envelopes; more are available.)

3. You may be in a position to organize a function or serve on a committee in your area. If so, please let me know and our people will contact you.

You are members of the Foundation family. We invite your suggestions and your criticisms.

Adlai E. Stevenson

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

350 Fifth Avenue New York 1, N.Y.

SUMMARY STATEMENT
ON
FINANCIAL GOALS
AND
PROGRAM COMMITMENTS

November 1, 1963

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President and Mrs. Harry S. Truman

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Director

BACKGROUND OF THE FOUNDATION

Shortly after the death of Eleanor Roosevelt on November 7, 1962, President Kennedy appointed Adlai E. Stevenson chairman of a group of distinguished Americans eager to carry on the unfinished tasks of Mrs. Roosevelt's life. The Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation was chartered by a unanimous vote of the 88th Congress of the United States on April 23rd, 1963. It is the only Foundation to be thus chartered.

As stated in the Charter, "The objects and purposes of the corporation shall be exclusively charitable and educational. It shall devote itself to continuing certain major interests to which Eleanor Roosevelt dedicated her life, to wit: the relief of the poor and distressed and the underprivileged; promotion of economic welfare; the promotion of public health; and the furtherance of international good will."

Thirty-nine men and women, recognized for their leadership in all aspects of American life, were therefore appointed to serve as Trustees by President Kennedy. (The list of officers and Trustees is here appended.)

FINANCIAL OBJECTIVES AND COMMITMENTS

GOAL: The Foundation is engaged in an effort to raise $25,000,000 in a "one-time-capital" campaign through contributions from people at every level of giving throughout the nation, as well as substantial contributions payable within 5 years.

SOURCES: The Foundation will try to achieve its financial goal by contributions from individuals, business and labor organizations, Foundations. Funds are being raised through personal solicitations, special events and public campaigns utilizing mass media and direct mail.

LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITY: Adlai E. Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., serves as Chairman of the Foundation; Philip M. Klutznick, former U.N. Ambassador, is National Campaign Chairman; Jesse W. Tapp, Chairman of the Board of the Bank of America, is Treasurer and Arnold M. Grant, a Director of Twentieth Century Fox, is Chairman of the Audit Committee.

FOUNDERS' COMMITTEE: While a Foundation bearing the name of Eleanor Roosevelt must afford millions of Americans the opportunity to contribute to further her work and ideals, it is recognized that without contributions of substantial amounts the purposes and programs of the Foundation will be most difficult to achieve. A Founders' Committee, therefore, has been established consisting of men and women who have contributed $25,000 or more to the Foundation, payable within 5 years. The initial installation of 40 Founders was conducted by Ambassador Stevenson on October 21 at the First Annual Founders' Dinner. A bronze tablet bearing the name of Founders will be placed in the new Eleanor Roosevelt Wings to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park. The names of all other contributors will be recorded in a book to be displayed in the Library.

INITIAL FOUNDATION COMMITMENTS: In helping advance the major interests in which Mrs. Roosevelt was engaged in the latter years of her life, the Foundation committed itself initially to the following for 1963-1964:

1) Human Rights Program -- initial leadership training and internships

$ open

2) Construction of two new Eleanor Roosevelt Wings to the FDR Library at Hyde Park

$1,000,000

3) Support of organizations furthering international peace through the United Nations

$ 500,000

4) Support of Cancer Research through the Eleanor Roosevelt Cancer Foundation

$1,900,000

5) Help to underprivileged and emotionally-troubled children at Wiltwyck School for Boys

$1,000,000*

*(contingent upon Wiltwyck raising $2,000,000 from other sources.)

(<u>NOTE</u>: The following pages contain greater detail on each of the above commitments.)

A PROGRAM FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The common denominator of Eleanor Roosevelt's wide-ranging and tireless work was her concern for human beings -- for their right to dignity and the chance to realize their fullest potential. Perhaps her greatest single contribution was the historic role she played as Chairman of the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations, which resulted in 1948 in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In this spirit, the Board of Trustees of the Foundation has decided to place special emphasis on human rights and race relations. Certainly one of the most dramatic and meaningful phenomena of our times is the social "revolution" today. Identifying itself not with the form of this "revolution" but with its basic human values and goals, the Foundation will make a unique contribution in this area by helping to meet the need for an increasing number of knowledgeable, informed and dedicated leaders, both lay and professional, in the area of inter-group relations and bi-racial work.

For example, on October 23, 1963, Ambassador Stevenson, Chairman of the Foundation, and R. Sargent Shriver, the Director of the Peace Corps, jointly announced the creation of a pilot program to encourage Peace Corps veterans and other qualified Americans to embark on careers in the field of human rights. Under this program, the Foundation and cooperating agencies will grant $5,000 annual internship awards to qualified young people for specialized training and service in inter-group relations. At least 25 interns per month are expected to be trained each month, starting in January, 1964. The human rights leadership training program will operate in conjunction with the National Association of Inter-Group Relations Officials and other governmental and private agencies working in the human rights field. Dr. Herman Long, President of Talladega College, will head a Career Service Board consisting of representatives of every major Negro and inter-group relations agency.

This is the first project in the unfolding human rights program of the Foundation. Other programs on a national and international scale are being developed by the Foundation in consultation with leading experts in the field. An Eleanor Roosevelt Council on Human Rights has been created by the Foundation's Trustees to evaluate and co-ordinate the various human rights programs of the Foundation. "The high priority concerns of the Foundation", as Chairman Adlai E. Stevenson has declared, "are to equip people with the knowledge and skills to assure permanent gains in the great social revolution of our time; to help to understand better the cause and cures of racial tensions throughout the world; to help to assure the ultimate victory of reason, racial harmony, justice for all -- and peace".

NEW ADDITIONS TO THE F.D.R. LIBRARY

For many years, Mrs. Roosevelt has expressed interest in expansion of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park. The Foundation has assumed responsibility for adding two wings bearing her name to the Library. It is here that the documented story of Eleanor Roosevelt's many efforts on behalf of mankind will be placed and made available for all to see, study and gain inspiration. It will also give to the Library additional space which both President and Mrs. Roosevelt had planned for and needed to house their papers, objects, honors and memorabilia.

Within the basic design approved by President Roosevelt and Mrs. Roosevelt, the addition will be in the form of two wings. The southwest wing will contain exhibition rooms on the ground floor, a small auditorium below ground level and stack or storage space above. The northwest wing, of a corresponding size, will contain a research room and stack space.

The Library already has the tangible bequests of Eleanor Roosevelt's papers and correspondence; many gifts she received from foreign governments; her personal memorabilia, and many hundreds of awards, decorations and honorary degrees.

The Wings will provide space for a pictorial record for children and adults of the shy young girl who, following the dictates of kindness and understanding, became the "First Lady of the World." They will help continue her efforts to make friends of foreign visitors and make possible a place for group listening to recordings and group viewing of the library's films.

The Memorial addition will be maintained at the expense of the United States Government but, under the law, must be built by privately-donated funds. It is estimated that the cost of constructing the two new Eleanor Roosevelt wings will be just over $1,000,000.

SUPPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The promotion and furtherance of international goodwill is clearly set forth in the Charter of the Foundation, embodied in an Act of Congress. During her lifetime, Eleanor Roosevelt worked tirelessly for support of the United Nations as the primary instrument for furthering understanding among peoples.

The American Association for the United Nations, a national volunteer membership organization, conducts a year-round program designed to build strong public opinion in support of the United Nations. Carried on through state divisions and community chapters, this program seeks to: distribute widely information about the work of the United Nations and related inter-governmental agencies, recommend and support policies to make the United States membership in the U.N. effective, study means for further developing the U.N. to meet changing world needs, cooperate with U.N. Associations in other countries through the World Federation of United Nations for support of the U.N.

The United States Committee for the United Nations, founded in 1948 by the State Department in response to a resolution of the U.N. General Assembly, is a quasi-official body of 135 national organizations, with a composite membership of 35 - 40,000,000 individuals. Its three-fold purpose is to disseminate facts about the United Nations, arouse interest in the United Nations, and prompt the observance of U.N. Day in the United States. The National Chairman of the Committee is appointed by the President of the United States, reflecting the interest of the White House in its work.

The Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation has pledged support to these organizations to the extent of $500,000. during the years 1963-64. Because of current discussions looking to a merger of these two groups, the Foundation has indicated that its support will be available to the two groups or a successor organization.

CANCER RESEARCH

The Eleanor Roosevelt Cancer Foundation, established in 1960, conducts a two-fold cancer research program developed by its Scientific Advisory Board. It makes grants for the building of new cancer research facilities at hospitals and medical schools in this country and sponsors an international fellowship program for post-doctoral cancer research in the United States and abroad. In order to unify and strengthen the attack against cancer, the Foundation's Board of Governors and Scientific Advisory Board recommended affiliation with the American Cancer Society. This took place in September, 1961.

Grants have been made by the Cancer Foundation for building Eleanor Roosevelt cancer research facilties at the University of Colorado Medical Center, at the University of Utah Medical School, and at the Jefferson Medical Center in Philadelphia. Grants have also been made enabling the American Medical Center at Denver to carry on its program of cancer research and free treatment of cancer patients in all stages and forms of this dread disease.

The Eleanor Roosevelt International Fellowship Program is supporting cancer research by scientists from the United States and fourteen other countries in leading institutions throughout the world. Grants are awarded through the International Union Against Cancer which includes scientists from sixty countries affiliated with the World Health Organization of the United Nations. Currently, fifty-four outstanding research specialists are conducting important studies seeking the cause and cure of cancer.

Of the monies raised by and for the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation during 1963 and 1964, 20% -- up to a maximum of $1,900,000 -- will be earmarked for existing obligations of the Eleanor Roosevelt Cancer Foundation. During this period, the Cancer Foundation is not conducting any fund-raising activities of its own.

HELP TO UNDERPRIVILEGED CHILDREN

From 1943, when she helped reorganize the Wiltwyck School for Boys, until the last weeks of her life when she acted as campaign chairman of its Building and Development Fund, Wiltwyck was close to Mrs. Roosevelt's heart. She was tremendously impressed by the total treatment program and special research conducted at this inter-racial, non-sectarian center where young emotionally-troubled boys are provided new hope and a new way of life.

Under the Wiltwyck program, these underprivileged boys live in a therapeutic setting until they are well enough to go home. Their way back to the community is eased by several other Wiltwyck services: supervised foster care, a period at Floyd Patterson House which is Wiltwyck's group care residence in Manhattan, and continued therapy of the boy and his family following his return to his own home.

For more than 25 years, Wiltwyck has been housed at Esopus, New York. A new building program is planned at its new site at Yorktown Heights. This new campus, only 40 miles from New York City, will put the best of the City's psychiatric facilities within easier reach. It will also help Wiltwyck expand its vital research into the nature of the families and communities that produce troubled children. With its University and hospital affiliations, Wiltwyck looks forward to becoming a great center in which psychiatrists, sociologists, anthropologists and related social scientists can develop advanced techniques and train special child care personnel so desperately needed throughout the nation.

Because of Mrs. Roosevelt's warm-hearted concern and deep personal commitment to Wiltwyck, the Memorial Foundation which bears her name has voted to earmark 10% of its income during 1963 and 1964 -- up to a maximum of $1,000,000. -- for the building fund of the Wiltwyck School, contingent upon Wiltwyck raising $2,000,000 from other sources.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

Candlelight

"She would rather light a candle than curse the darkness, and her glow has warmed the world"

EMPIRE STATE BUILDING · NEW YORK 10001 · 212 LW 4-0440

Volume I, Number 1 November, 1963

Founders and Mass Gifts Speed National $25,000,000 Drive

The national campaign for $25,000,000 which will enable the Foundation to continue Mrs. Roosevelt's many works of humanity is gathering momentum throughout the country, it was reported by Philip M. Klutznick, National Campaign Chairman.

Setting the pace for the drive are nearly 40 individuals and organizations who have become Founders through gifts of $25,000 and above. These benefactors were honored at the first Founders Dinner held October 21 at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel. The names of Founders, according to Mr. Klutznick, will be engraved on a bronze plaque and placed in perpetuity in the new Eleanor Roosevelt wings to the FDR Library at Hyde Park.

(*Continued on page 7*)

We Mourn Our Loss . . .

This initial issue of *Candlelight* was ready to go to press when the tragic news of President Kennedy's assassination was broadcast. Everything stopped; nothing seemed to matter. Now, 96 hours later, it is clear that the greatest honor we can pay him is to continue working for the things in which he believed. It was in his office one year ago that the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation was conceived. As an Honorary Trustee, it has had his unstinting support ever since. And so, except for this box, this issue is going to you just as it was made ready for final printing on Friday, November 22, 1963. On that fateful day, the world changed. But one thing we know; it is a better world because of John F. Kennedy.

AFL-CIO Urges Millions To Support Foundation

At its closing session November 20, the AFL-CIO convention unanimously passed a resolution calling "upon the millions of men and women in the AFL-CIO to contribute one hour's pay or $1 to this great undertaking to insure the Foundation's work toward a world of peace, freedom and social justice — those goals that were jointly shared by Eleanor Roosevelt and the trade union movement she loved." Joseph Keenan, George Meany and Walter Reuther, Foundation Trustees spoke in support of the resolution.

'Interns' Training Project Implements Foundation's Human Rights Program

The far-reaching and meaningful human rights program projected by the Foundation as its main area of emphasis got off to an impressive start with the joint announcement by Adlai E. Stevenson, Foundation Chairman, and R. Sargent Shriver, Director of the Peace Corps, of a pilot program designed to train Peace Corps veterans and other qualified individuals for careers in the field of human rights.

This project for training Americans who wish to enter the field of inter-group relations is the first step to implement the Foundation's broad program in human rights leadership development projects involving business, labor, government, civic and church leaders.

Under the program conceived by the Foundation, a series of $5,000 annual "internship" awards will be granted qualified Peace Corps veterans for specialized training in inter-group relations. Although Peace Corps veterans are expected to provide the largest source of qualified individuals during the initial phase of the program, other individuals with work experience in community relations or organization, labor relations,

(*Continued on page 6*)

HAROLD TAYLOR
241 WEST TWELFTH STREET
NEW YORK 14, NEW YORK

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT FOUNDATION STUDY
ORegon 5-3177

file

January 27, 1964

Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 22nd and for your bibliography, as well as for the materials which you sent. We shall get onto them at once.

Dr. Taylor will be writing to you very soon and we look forward to working with you in every possible way in the conduct of this present study.

Sincerely yours,

LeRoy Leatherman

LeRoy Leatherman

File
Foundations: "Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Fd."

Jan. 22, 1964

BCC & NM MMJ

Bernice,

Please package up the following materials and mail to Mr. LeRoy Leatherman (label attached):

OCT., NOV., DEC. New South
L-Reports #13, 16, 17, 20, 35, 36, 41, 43, 44, 40
Chronologies (4)
Henderson, Coles, Morland pamphlets
ICMA Report
Executive Support....
Federal Executive....

Nobbie,

Please put the following person on our ~~NCR~~ FCR mailing list:

Mr. Harold Taylor
~~Mr.&LeRoy&Leatherman~~
241 West 12 Street
New York 14, New York

January 22, 1964

Mr. LeRoy Leatherman
241 West 12th Street
New York 14, New York

Dear Mr. Leatherman:

I was very glad to have your letter of January 17, and delighted to hear of Dr. Taylor's appointment as special consultant to Mr. Adlai Stevenson, chairman of the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation. We shall be very pleased to hear from Dr. Taylor, and to help him in any way we can.

Because so many of our publications deal with Dr. Taylor's subject, it is a little hard to make a selection. I am enclosing, however, our publications list, and if there is anything on it which you think might be of particular interest to you, please let me know. In the meantime, we are sending, under separate cover, a few things which I thought might be of some help to you. And we shall immediately put you on a mailing list.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

"She would rather light a candle than curse the darkness, and her glow has warmed the world..."

NEWS RELEASE

123

LW 4-0440

FOR RELEASE: MONDAY, JANUARY 20, 1964

The appointment of Dr. Harold Taylor, former President of Sarah Lawrence College, as special Consultant to Adlai E. Stevenson, Chairman of the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation, was announced today (Monday, January 20th.)

Mr. Stevenson said that in implementing the Foundation's policy and goals, Dr. Taylor would conduct a study of human rights problems and recommend appropriate action to be taken by the Foundation.

Last June, Mr. Stevenson announced that the Trustees of the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation would give top priority to programs and projects designed to further human rights. The late President Kennedy hailed this decision "with enthusiasm", declaring that he could "think of no more appropriate and enduring memorial to Eleanor Roosevelt."

One of the Foundation's initial projects in this area, begun on Dr. Taylor's recommendation, has been a pilot program in which selected Peace Corps veterans and other qualified individuals are being awarded internships for training in the field of inter-group relations. Awards to 25 "interns" will be made this month and a two-week seminar held in Washington for them before they start their specialized one year-work-study programs under a

(more)

$5000 grant, of which $2500 will be provided by the Foundation and $2500 to be provided by the agency to which the intern is assigned. As part of the Foundation's human rights program, "Community Action Institutes" will be held this Spring, one in the South and another in the North, to help members of newly-established bi-racial commissions in a number of selected cities to discuss ways of meeting the many problems of inter-group relations.

In announcing Dr. Taylor's appointment, Mr. Stevenson said: "In our Foundation's quest for a harmonious transition from antagonism to cooperation between peoples, which was at the heart of Mrs. Roosevelt's work and ideals, we welcome the aid of a man of Dr. Taylor's rich experience and deep dedication to the cause of human rights in America and throughout the world."

Dr. Taylor, a friend of the late Mrs. Roosevelt, was at one time Vice-Chairman of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination in Education. In the summer of 1963, he conducted an experimental World College project on Long Island in cooperation with the Society of Friends and twenty-four member nations of the United Nations. The World College curriculum dealt with major issues of world order and human rights. The student body and faculty represented a world cross-section of the Communist, non-Communist and non-aligned countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Eastern and Western Europe, as well as Canada and the United States.

The fourteen years of Dr. Taylor's presidency of Sarah Lawrence College, a post he assumed in 1945 at the age of thirty, were marked by his active leadership in the struggle for academic freedom, racial equality and religious tolerance. His interest

(more)

in the field of human rights started when, at the age of twenty-four, he began teaching philosophy at the University of Wisconsin, having taken his B.A. and M.A. degrees at the University of Toronto and his doctorate in philosophy at the University of London.

Dr. Taylor has published three books, On Education and Freedom, Art and the Intellect, and Essays in Teaching, of which he was editor and co-author, and he is the author of more than 300 articles in books and journals of philosophy and education.

Since his retirement from Sarah Lawrence College in 1959, Dr. Taylor has travelled in Asia and Russia on a special Ford Foundation grant and has lectured and taught in colleges and universities here and abroad. He is vice-chairman and co-founder with Mrs. Eugene Meyer of the National Committee for the Support of the Public Schools, and chairman of the National Research Council on Peace Strategy, a group of scientists and scholars active in the field of peace research and disarmament. In addition, Dr. Taylor has conducted special educational research studies, among the most recent being one in the field of education in liberal religion, another in university organization. He has also written widely on social issues in relation to education.

The preliminary findings of Dr. Taylor's study on human rights are expected to be ready by April 23, 1964, the first anniversary of the Congressional chartering of the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation.

# # # #

For confirmation, call: Eli Jaffe 212-LW 4-0440

1/16/64

HAROLD TAYLOR

241 West 12 Street
New York 14, New York
January 17, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Conference
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I enclose a news release from the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation announcing Dr. Taylor's appointment as special consultant to Mr. Adlai Stevenson, chairman of the Foundation, to conduct a study of problems in the field of human rights and to recommend appropriate action for the Foundation to take in this field in the immediate future.

Dr. Taylor will be writing to you in a few days. He is out of the city at present, conferring with human rights leaders in Chicago and Denver. Meanwhile, I am writing to ask you if you would be good enough to send us whatever publications of the Southern Regional Conference you have which you think might assist us in this present study and to ask that you put us on your mailing list for forthcoming publications.

With very best wishes,

LeRoy Leatherman

LeRoy Leatherman

via air mail

February 3, 1964

Mr. John Feild
Consultant
Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation
3517 Cummings Lane
Chevy Chace, Maryland

Dear John:

Ben Muse, Pat Watters, and I conferred last Friday most of the day, and I would like to put these thoughts before you.

(1) We have decided to go ahead with a study of southern municipalities. As you will see from the ensuing paragraphs, we are approaching this thing in accord with our own judgment as to what would make a valuable and useful project. We are, however, receptive to any suggestions from you which would make this project more useful to the plans of your seminars.

(2) We have selected five or six cities; each one interesting in itself and each one representative of somewhat different problems. We shall study these places from the standpoint of determining (a) how they have met their problems; (b) what problems lie ahead, as the people see them and as we see them.

(3) The studies will be done in the field, backed up by background study of our files.

(4) The cities selected are all ones that have done well, more or less, during the last year or so. They are: Louisville, Memphis, Charlotte, Brunswick (Ga.), and Baton Rouge. The possible sixth one is -- surprise! -- Little Rock. This selection, as well as any other point in this letter, is open to your suggestions.

(5) The work will be divided between Ben Muse and Pat Watters. Ben will do the first 2 cities, and Pat the latter 3. If we do Little Rock, that is up for grabs. Ben and Pat plan to spend at least a week in each city.

(6) The field studies will be ended by March 31. The writing, at least the first stage, will be done by April 30.

(7) In each locality we shall select one or more well informed friends to critique Ben's and Pat's drafts.

(8) Our end product will be, in the first stage, 5 (or 6) mimeographed reports of 40 - 50 pages on each city, plus, probably, a brief overall look and interpretation. In the second stage, we contemplate a pamphlet of 40 or so pages based on the field studies.

(9) Although we shall in any event undertake this, we would, of course, be grateful for any financial assistance that the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation might give.

(10) A great advantage would be introductory letters from John Gunther to the mayor or other city officials of each city, or to officials of as many cities as he would feel in a position to write to.

(11) Pat will probably be in the field about the middle of February; Ben, about Washington's birthday. Pat intends to begin in Charlotte, Ben will do his two cities on one trip.

Please call me.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Benjamin Muse

File: Foundations: Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Fd.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

February 12, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for accepting our invitation to participate in the first Eleanor Roosevelt Human Rights Internship Seminar on February 28th at 1:30 P.M. All of the sessions will be held at The Potomac Institute, 1501 - 18th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. The telephone number at The Potomac Institute is 332-5566 in Washington.

For purposes of strengthening our small discussion groups which will follow your presentation at later sessions, would you please send us by Tuesday, February 18th, a brief outline of your major points (no more than two pages). These need not be too detailed, but we would like to have them mimeographed for the Interns' workbooks. If you have any questions, do not hesitate to call me at 387-7050 in Washington.

We are looking forward to seeing you at the Seminar.

Sincerely,

John Feild

John Feild
Intergroup Relations Consultant

JF:pg

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File: Foundation: Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial

March 26, 1964

Dr. Harold Taylor
Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation Study
241 West Twelfth Street
New York 14, New York

Dear Dr. Taylor:

I have your letter of March 13. The quality and the number of the National Council members probably insure that you'll have a list to read.

I shall, therefore, make my suggestions for Foundation programs in very short form. If you would like to pursue any of them in depth, I would be glad to comment on them further.

But let me first respond to the second topic of your memorandum. I qualify preeminently as an admirer of Mrs. Roosevelt, one of the genuinely good persons as well as great of the American journey. I never, however, knew her, though was once privileged to shake her hand. She was always a friend of the Southern Regional Council. She wrote about us in her column on June 11, 1959, and in September 1960 she brought together in her apartment a highly select group of friends to meet and hear my predecessor and our then president discuss the Council and its work.

She once or twice contributed financially to the Council. But just as important as these things was her continuous personal interest in what we

do here. Several Council members knew Mrs. Roosevelt through their other connections or were, like Dr. Frank Graham, also long-time friends. At least two persons, however, worked qua SRC people with her during many years; I refer to Mrs. M. E. Tilly, our Director of Women's Work, and Miss Josephine Wilkins, one of our Vice Presidents.

To return now to your query about program, some suggestions are set out below. For them in general, let me say simply that they are areas where I do not see sufficient work now being done or in likely prospect. And as I said earlier, I would be happy to enlarge on any of them if you wish. They are not listed in any order of priority. (Please remember that my special concern and such knowledge as I have is of the South; I believe that these suggestions may have national value, but they derive from my southern involvement.)

1) Much more and much better counselling, both educational and career, within the Negro schools or for their students; I don't care whether this is done by public or private agencies.

2) Ditto for rural families who have moved to the cities.

3) Extensive, grass roots, job training programs. Government and big corporations will probably have to do the big jobs, but I am convinced they will not or cannot do the whole job; and the Urban League is so spotty in local affiliates that it can, as now constructed, only do for a relative few. There is an immense need, which comes to my attention almost everyday, for training and re-training programs, frequently of a very simple nature; e.g., teaching people to make out sales slips or ring a cash register. A good bit of the need lies in equipping people for the service trades.

4) Research, symposia, publications, course offerings in graduate and law schools concerned with public policy and law. Race

relations is squarely and critically within the custody of public policy. We have maybe had enough instruction from sociology and psychology. We need a lot of good minds to be thinking about policy and law.

5) We need a lot more Negro lawyers. For two reasons: to practice law, including civil rights law; and because, for good or for ill, law is the traditional American training for politics and we have got to develop Negro political leadership (which is not the same thing as civil rights leadership). A corollary to this is that more Negro college and graduate students should be doing economics and political science, and fewer the traditional teacher education and sociology.

6) We need a lot of ideas, and a lot of critical thinking, about integrated education, and its administration.

7) We need something which, for want of any better name, I'll call integration planning. I don't mean just, or even most, importantly, studies. It wasn't through studies that we planned and developed our cities and towns, North and South, to maximize segregation. It was through the constant and studious attention of politicians, realtors, business men, et. al., deciding where schools were to be located, streets built, etc. Somehow the Negro organizations and the human relations agencies ought to provide the same attention to the better end.

8) The private agencies in the human relations and civil rights field have developed areas of influence and competence deserving of general support.

I hope these ideas may be of some help. Please call on me if I can be of any further service. I expect to be in New York most of the week of April 13, and would be glad to stop by if I would contribute anything.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

FROM VICTORIES TO GAINS

The Human Rights Program
of the
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

AMERICA HAS ENTERED a crucial stage of what has been called the "Civil Rights Revolution of the Sixties." Victories against discrimination have been won in the courts, legislatures and city councils; employers, landlords and operators of public accommodations have agreed in principle to desegregation. Now it remains for men of good will to translate these civil rights *victories* into lasting and meaningful *gains*. Only then can we finally wipe out every trace of discrimination in education, in employment, in housing, in public accommodations and at the polls.

Until this comes about, civil rights strife will continue to plague every level of our society, imposing a costly burden on the city, the state, business and the individual. And the cost will be reckoned in economic waste as well as in human anguish.

Eleanor Roosevelt — with her characteristic combination of wisdom, idealism and realism — was one of the first to recognize the spread between our professed ideals and the realities of our progress. In 1948, she was the principal architect of the United Nation's Universal Declaration of Human Rights; in 1958, observing the 10th anniversary of this noble document, Mrs. Roosevelt asked and answered the key question in our civil rights challenge:

> **"Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places, close to home—so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any map of the world. Yet they *are* the world of the individual person: The neighborhood he lives in, the school or college he attends; the factory, farm or office where he works. Such are the places where every man, woman and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere. Without concerted citizen action to uphold them close to home, we shall look in vain for progress in the larger world."**

Throughout her amazingly crowded and purposeful life, Eleanor Roosevelt tried to eliminate the gap between our professed

ideals and the practice of discrimination against human beings because of the color of their skin or their religious persuasion.

The Heritage of Eleanor Roosevelt

It was entirely fitting, therefore, that the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation — inspired by the late President Kennedy and chartered by an Act of Congress on April 23, 1963 — should decide that work in the area of human rights would receive its main emphasis.

The late President Kennedy hailed "with enthusiasm the intention of the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation to devote its resources to human rights and race relations. I can think of no more appropriate and enduring memorial to Eleanor Roosevelt . . . I am confident that the Foundation, calling upon the intellectual and leadership resources of the world, could greatly help us all reduce racial tensions and expand these rights of human beings."

Shortly after assuming office, President Lyndon B. Johnson paid tribute to Mrs. Roosevelt and to the Foundation.

> **"I want this Foundation to succeed", he declared. "To keep alive the inspiration of her life and work is the best possible memorial to her memory and a national service. I am particularly pleased that the major emphasis of the Foundation will be in the**

vast field of human rights, for this is the necessary touchstone of universal brotherhood."

The Pressing Need

Progress in the struggle for equality has been furthered by an increasing number of public and private agencies whose goal is to open wider the door of opportunity to all human beings. Yet their effectiveness is limited by a scarcity of trained personnel, both lay and professional. At this crucial stage of our history, there is a strong need for trained people who know how to ease racial friction in offices and factories, who can bring management and labor into a common reservoir for human rights, who can work with governmental, community and business groups to translate legal victories into human gains.

To help meet this need, the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation has initiated a leadership and staff training program designed to train men and women who want to devote their careers to improving inter-group relations. Under this unique pilot program, returning Peace Corps veterans and other individuals with work experience or academic degrees in appropriate areas will be awarded a one-year "internship" with agencies and commissions needing professional personnel in the field of bi-racial relations.

Meeting the Need

The Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation is making the training of these "interns" possible by a grant to each intern of $2,500, to be matched by the agency with which he is placed for the one-year work-study program. The Foundation also sponsors, through a grant to the Institute of Human Relations, 2-week orientation seminars in Washington, D.C. just before the interns are assigned and placed. After this $5000 one-year on-the-job-training program, "interns" will be available for employment by industry, labor and government.

Selection and placement of the interns —

the numbers ultimately to be determined by the support of the public — is being made by the National Association of Inter-Group Relations Officials (NAIRO), the body of leading inter-group officials throughout the nation. To implement this program, NAIRO has created a Career Service Road, directed by Dr. Herman Long, president of Talladega College and formerly director of the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University.

In hailing the joint announcement of this unique program by Adlai E. Stevenson, chairman of the Foundation and R. Sargent Shriver, Director of the Peace Corps, the late President Kennedy said:

> **". . . As you know, Mrs. Roosevelt had a deep and abiding concern over every erosion of human rights. She was aware, long before most other people, of the dimensions of the problems and the need for solution. Legislation in this area, although necessary, must be implemented by skillful leadership, both lay and professional, by hard work in the neighborhoods and factories and by informed and dedicated people. The Inter-Group Relations internships which the new program contemplates are consistent with the spirit of public service and concern for human values that has characterized both the life of Eleanor Roosevelt and Peace Corps Service. I congratulate the Foundation and Peace Corps for developing this imaginative concept."**

A Program for Human Rights

Ambassador Stevenson, in announcing this unique contribution in the field of human rights, declared:

> **"The critical need for trained specialists has been identified by the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation as one of the keys to a peaceful and constructive resolution of the nation's racial crisis. These are the high priority concerns of the Foundation: to equip people with the knowledge and skills to assure permanent gains in the great social revolution of our time; to help to understand better the cause and cures of racial tensions throughout the world; to help to assure the ultimate victory of reason, racial harmony, justice for all—and peace."**

To help it make a maximum contribution to human rights — both here and throughout the world — the Foundation is establishing an Eleanor Roosevelt Council of Human Rights, drawing upon the experience and expert knowledge of the leading authorities of our nation and the world.

A number of projects closely related to the Foundation's human rights training program have already been launched:

- A grant to the Institute of Human Relations for pilot Community Action Institutes for members of newly-established bi-racial committees — to help them meet the many difficult problems facing them.
- A grant to the Southern Regional Council for an on-the-scene analysis of selected bi-racial committees.
- A grant for the preparation of a guide to community action in the civil rights front for use of community officials and lay leadership. The guide is to be published and distributed by the Anti-Defamation League.

A Unique Opportunity

Through these and other projected human rights programs, the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation offers the American people an unusual opportunity to participate in the search for a peaceful and lasting solution to the "Civil Rights Revolution of the Sixties." The Foundation's current nation-wide campaign for funds will further these programs and others to which Mrs. Roosevelt devoted her boundless energy and devotion. In supporting these programs, you help keep alive the memory and inspiration of this remarkable woman. Contributions — tax deductible — should be made payable to the

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL FOUNDATION
Empire State Building, New York, N. Y. 10001

HAROLD TAYLOR
241 WEST TWELFTH STREET
NEW YORK 14, NEW YORK

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT FOUNDATION STUDY
OREGON 5-3177

March 13th, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I hope you will have time to look at the request in the attached note, and to respond to it within the next few days.

My feeling is that any study of what should be done to perpetuate Mrs. Roosevelt's life work must contain the suggestions of those who knew her well and admired her work.

I will look forward to hearing from you as soon as you can manage it.

Yours sincerely,

Harold Taylor

Harold Taylor

HAROLD TAYLOR
241 WEST TWELFTH STREET
NEW YORK 14, NEW YORK

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT FOUNDATION STUDY
ORegon 5-3177

March 13th, 1964

TO: Members of the National Council of the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation

FROM: Harold Taylor, Director of Human Rights Study

In carrying out the human rights study which Adlai Stevenson has asked me to do for the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation, I wish to ask a favor of the members of the Foundation's National Council.

Could you please take the time, very soon if possible, to write to me on two topics:

(1) Your ideas and suggestions for projects and programs which you would like to see the Foundation undertake.

(2) A brief account of your friendship or acquaintance with Mrs. Roosevelt, along with any personal anecdotes or facts about Mrs. Roosevelt's life and work which you believe would be interesting to others and to the Foundation. I discovered early in the study that there are hundreds of such unrecorded stories and anecdotes, ranging all the way from a story of Edward R. Murrow's meeting with Mrs. Roosevelt in Paris at the Crillon Hotel in 1959 on her arrival from Teheran, to a story by a Protestant minister about the day Mrs. Roosevelt spoke at a church rummage sale on the lower East Side of New York. We would like to recover, before they are lost, as many as possible of the personal details of Mrs. Roosevelt's history.

In the case of those who have had the privilege in the past of close friendship with Mrs. Roosevelt, we hope to make tape-recordings of their comments and stories, and ultimately to collect as much material as we can from those around the United States and around the world who knew Mrs. Roosevelt. We will then be able to compile an account of the experience of Mrs. Roosevelt's friends and companions who worked with her in the field of human rights and international understanding.

Once the present study is complete, within a month to six weeks, Governor Stevenson and the Foundation will announce the Foundation's plans for the future. It would therefore be of great help to Governor Stevenson and to me if you could answer our request shortly. You can be certain of our gratitude for your cooperation.

May 14, 1964

Dr. Harold Taylor
241 West Twelfth Street
New York 14, New York

Dear Dr. Taylor:

I read with great interest your letter of May 7, as well as your preliminary report to the Board of Trustees. I feel the latter contains some extremely worthwhile ideas. Thank you for keeping me informed.

There is a little matter which I thought a couple times of mentioning to you, and perhaps it would be just as well if I did. The little brochure, From Victories to Gains, notes on page 6 the Foundation had made a grant to us. No such grant has ever been made or applied for. We are doing studies of five cities, and they will be available for the Community Action Institutes. We intend also to give them a public release. John Feild had indicated at one time the possibility of aid from the Foundation, but we went ahead with the studies without that condition.

Do come down to Atlanta sometime.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

HAROLD TAYLOR
241 WEST TWELFTH STREET
NEW YORK 14, NEW YORK

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT FOUNDATION STUDY
ORegon 5-3177

May 7th, 1964.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

I am delighted to have your letter of March 26th with its valuable and interesting proposals. I like them all, and as you may have noticed from the April 9th talk at the First Anniversary luncheon (Mrs. L. B. Johnson's speech was very strong and very good, just what you would hope for) the recommended program runs in the direction of your suggestions.

Your Item 7 - the integration planning - seems to me to be a very important contribution which we could get started through the universities by calling upon social scientists to turn away from some of the less important things they are doing and to get started on this kind of thing.

In the event that you have time to go through it, I am sending you a copy of the preliminary report made to the Board of Trustees, most of which was summarized and recommended in the final report of April 27th and accepted by the Board in principle. Now it is a question of getting things moving to carry out the projects.

I want very much to see you one of these days, and am only sorry that it was not possible to come down to Atlanta for a visit with you before I finished the report.

I will stay in touch with you as we go along.

Yours sincerely,

Harold Taylor

Harold Taylor

CONFIDENTIAL

HUMAN RIGHTS STUDY

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE E.R.M.F. PROGRAM

TO: Adlai E. Stevenson

FROM: Harold Taylor

Over the past three months I have seen about eighty people in the human rights and civil rights field in various parts of the country and in various organizations - religious groups, Unitarians, Quakers, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish agencies, labor groups, the United Nations, the Attorney-General's office, the State Department, the Peace Corps, the Poverty Program, foundations, schools, race relations agencies, colleges and universities.

The following conferences were arranged:

1. Two student conferences, one in New York, the other in Ann Arbor, of student leaders in human rights and social action programs from the National Student Association, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Northern Student Movement, Students for a Democratic Society, etc. The students at the conferences are, or have been directly involved in tutorial programs in the rural and urban slums of Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, Chicago, Detroit and Cleveland, in voter-registration and mass illiteracy programs in the South, or in social action in the field of race relations.

2. Six faculty conferences at universities across the country and in New York, to discuss the possibility of human rights institutes and educational and research programs centered in the universities and dealing with regional, national and international problems.

3. A series of four human rights seminars at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, attended by Congressmen, scholars, educators and human rights experts.

In addition I have talked to as many Board members as has been possible, have reviewed the thirty-two projects formally proposed to the Foundation, conferred with a group of the Roosevelt grandchildren, read a selection of research documents and literature in the human rights field, and have received dozens of letters from interested persons, including a great many members of the Foundation's National Council.

I believe I have reached the point at which further study would add interesting detail but would probably not shed much more light on what the Foundation's plan can or should be. What follows is therefore a preliminary outline of the ideas which suggest themselves to me as a basis for the work of the Foundation in the future.

First, some remarks about proposals already made and some others which are interesting.

You will recall the proposal from New York University to establish a full-scale Institute of Human Rights for research and education, the proposals from Brandeis University for an international university degree program and from Syracuse University for a project in training international civil servants. As I reviewed them, each of these appealed to me as valid, interesting and appropriate projects for support.

However, the difficulty is that at this point, to commit Foundation funds which are as yet in short supply, to one or another or all three of the projects suggested, would be premature. It would also mean that we were linking the Foundation to individual institutions rather than trying to develop a network of universities across the country and around the world where research and education in human rights could form themselves into something approaching a national and international program. In what appears later, I will say what I mean about this.

A number of other ideas have occurred to me or have been suggested by others for major projects which we might support.

An Eleanor Roosevelt High School in which the problems of minority groups, school and community integration, human relations, community development, and educational innovation could be tackled in a comprehensive way.

An Eleanor Roosevelt High School of Politics and Social Science as a counterpart to the High School of Music and Art, and the Bronx School of Science, where students would receive training in the human rights field in order to make it their vocation.

An Eleanor Roosevelt College, in which students would carry on field work in urban slums, training for the Peace Corps, travel-study projects in human rights both here and abroad, teacher preparation for service to minority and under-privileged groups, and a whole variety of new educational programs.

A series of Eleanor Roosevelt Human Rights Centers on five continents where scholars could carry out research on the status of human rights in world regions, and which would collect and disseminate factual information on problems to be solved.

A comprehensive Eleanor Roosevelt human rights program for the labor movement through which research and educational programs could be developed for use in the urban and industrial areas.

A series of Eleanor Roosevelt International Human Rights Conferences held jointly with UNESCO, to which would come the world's best informed and most distinguished scholars in the human rights field.

A series of Eleanor Roosevelt Human Rights Institutes in universities across the country where the intellectual resources of the universities would be put to work on the human rights problems of the regions and the States.

Eleanor Roosevelt Freedom Schools in Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia. where Southern Negro and Northern white students could work together in regular high school and college courses during the summer, along with special seminars in human rights and political science.

An Eleanor Roosevelt World College with a completely international student-body, faculty and curriculum, modelled on the experimental Friends World College project conducted last summer in Long Island.

Some forty other projects of varying size and scope were developed out of discussions with those consulted. What struck me about these ideas was that they all had serious merit, that we obviously could not undertake them all, and that therefore what we should do was to find a way of combining as many of them as possible into one general program which captured the philosophy underlying the ideas themselves. I turned my attention to that problem, bearing in mind that whatever the Foundation might do will depend on the amount of funds available, and that to some degree the amount of funds depends on the validity of the ideas and the response they evoke in the public and among potential donors.

It is clear that the nature of the program must flow from two major sources: First, the lifework of Mrs. Roosevelt: Second, the charter by Congress which calls upon the Foundation to continue 'certain major interests to which Eleanor Roosevelt dedicated her life . .'. The Board of Trustees has already interpreted these major interests as those which have to do with the expansion of human rights.

In considering what might best be done by the Foundation, I began thinking first about Mrs. Roosevelt's personal interests and the way she went about fulfilling them. I re-read some of her books, talked to some of her closest friends, read the dozens of letters from the National Council members which described incidents in her life, and tried to think of what she would like to have us do, and how she would like to see it done.

Her style was entirely personal, simple, informal, direct. She wrote out her own shopping lists, liked picnics, kept the housekeeping budget down, helped serve at the table, answered her own letters, wrote her own articles and, after the President's death, went everywhere as a private person. except when she represented her Government officially at the United Nations. Wherever she went, she made direct contact with the persons she met, with no side, no protocol, and no pretence. She was infinitely patient with other people's problems, and she approached world problems in the spirit of one who believed that no matter how big they were, these were personal problems blown up to world size and soluble only by those who cared to take them personally. In this and every other way, she was selfless, and she kept her own problems to herself in order that they not

intrude on others.

It seems to me that we should keep the simplicity and personal quality of her style in everything we do to honor her name.

How did she work?

Mostly with the rank and file in community organizations - church and school groups, labor unions, political reform clubs, the Association for the United Nations. She was deeply interested in young people and was forever helping them by speaking in high schools and colleges, lending her name to good causes, visiting, inviting young people to lunch, getting financial help for their projects, supporting their ideas. She was fond of saying that all human problems had to be solved in the communities, by the people who lived there, not by someone from outside, and that human rights begin '. . . in small places, close to home - so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any map of the world.'

It is clear, then, that the Foundation program must be one which, in the broadest possible way, reaches out to the people in communities across the country and over the world to give to all those who are drawn toward Eleanor Roosevelt and the ideals she stood for a chance to carry on her work wherever they may be. It must be a program which holds her example before the world by every means we can take to give public expression to her spirit.

One immediate way in which this could begin in the United States is by a White House Conference, called by President Johnson, to which would be invited the Presidents and Chairmen of the Boards of Trustees of a cross-

section of 150 of the major colleges and universities of the country, Negro and white, private and public, and the major voluntary organizations at work in American communities. At this meeting, President Johnson could, in the name of Eleanor Roosevelt and the Foundation, call upon the Presidents of the universities and the heads of community organizations to carry on her work and to appoint specific persons to work jointly on the task of establishing community programs, sponsored by the universities, which would do three things:

1. Conduct a survey of the status of human rights in the regions, communities and States in which the universities are located.

2. Conduct a survey of the available resources in these regions for solving the problems in human rights which the survey uncovered.

3. Mobilize the intellectual and social resources of the University community - in education, social science, and community relations - to develop educational programs designed to bring equality to all.

The relation between Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt and President Johnson during the Roosevelt administration and during Mrs. Roosevelt's lifetime makes President Johnson's concern to continue the unfinished work of Mrs. Roosevelt in the field of human rights a natural and understandable development, and points to the instrument of the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation as a means of doing so. The universities, in my judgment, are ready to undertake responsibilities of this kind in their own communities.

The University of Wisconsin, for example, has already established an

Institute for Human Rights to carry out research and educational programs on the human rights problems of the State, beginning with the Negro ghetto in Milwaukee. The University of Michigan has arranged a research affiliation with Tuskegee Institute, and is interested in cooperating with the Foundation in a program for Michigan students to conduct tutorial sessions for culturally deprived children. Harvard is sending sixteen students down to Miles College in Alabama this summer, in the beginning of an affiliation with that institution.

Conferences with members of the faculty and administration at the University of New Mexico, Pennsylvania State University, the University of Illinois, and the University of Minnesota, indicate that it is entirely possible, through cooperation with the Foundation, to begin a series of projects supported in part by university funds for surveying the communities, regions and States in an examination of the status of human rights with a view to developing educational programs of all kinds. These would deal with such questions as the status of the Indian and Spanish-American minorities in New Mexico, the status of the Negro in the cities of the Midwest and North, the state of education in rural areas of the West and South. Many of the universities are already willing to assemble either formal or informal human rights committees to work with the Foundation and to make plans for joint action with Southern Negro colleges. In some cases, a single Eleanor Roosevelt award to a faculty member for a year's work on the problems of organization and development of human rights programs would be sufficient to set such projects in motion.

There are, of course, federal, State and private funds for work in educa-

tion and community development, as well as in research, which could be attracted toward Eleanor Roosevelt programs once the Foundation and the universities took the first steps. In some cases, colleges of education in these and other universities, for example the University of Chicago and Roosevelt University, are willing to develop new work-study courses for students who are active in the human rights field. Other Professors can be found who, with an Eleanor Roosevelt grant, could travel to the South for field work, teaching, and lecturing wherever they are needed both inside and outside the Negro and white colleges. Since we know already of the keen interest of New York University, Brandeis and Syracuse in cooperating with us, a variety of projects can be considered, both in the national and international field, through further consultation with those institutions. President Sachar of Brandeis University, who combines a fertile imagination in educational planning and a deep respect and affection for Mrs. Roosevelt, has volunteered to work in cooperation with the Foundation in developing plans for his University and for the university program at large.

Similar relations could be established among a number of institutions. It is possible that a section of the Office of Education could be charged with the responsibility of administering the White House Conference and maintaining liaison with the Foundation in subsequent developments. There would be an obvious relation between the Foundation's work in human rights and President Johnson's Poverty Program, when that project is set in motion.

I cite the above proposal for a White House Conference as a means of making a major opening into the next phase of the work of the Foundation. However, the total program I am proposing does not stand or fall upon that particular opening. Should a White House Conference, however desirable, prove impossible to arrange, the basic plan I suggest for the future of the Foundation can successfully proceed with a different beginning. One phase of any beginning should certainly include the request, on a world scale, to the citizens in all countries who remember and admire Mrs. Roosevelt to send their proposals for action in achieving human rights to the Foundation for its use. Designated representatives in foreign countries could be made responsible for collecting and fostering such proposals.

For the continuing work of the Foundation. I propose that the Foundation establish, in New York, a center to be known as the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, preferably in a converted brownstone of the kind Mrs. Roosevelt would have liked. We need to be able to point to the place in which her work is being carried on, we need to keep that place simple and informal, and we need to install there a director and a staff of experienced scholar-activists who are imaginative, lively and enterprising in finding ways in which the citizens themselves can develop leadership within their own communities. This would be, in part, a center for the recruitment of human rights volunteers and for help to community groups in finding the information and the people they need. But mainly it would be a center for the creation of research and action projects to solve problems in human rights, and a center for the recruitment of talented people to undertake such projects in

their communities.

To put it at its briefest, it would be a sustained effort to find substitutes for Mrs. Roosevelt, to replace that one extraordinary person with hundreds of others who can and will work at the tasks left unfinished when she died.

How can this be done?

By working almost entirely through individuals, in personal terms, rather than through designated grants to institutions or to organized programs. After the opening announcement of the White House Conference, or through an alternative public beginning, the task of the Institute would be to select and support persons - students, members of communities, teachers, scholars and others - who have shown by what they have done with their lives that they are not only creative, talented and intelligent, but that they share Mrs. Roosevelt's concern for human betterment.

To carry out its task, the Institute would make Eleanor Roosevelt awards; some for one-year work-study scholarships to students, others to scholars for research and teaching, others to men and women for work in the community. Just as the Guggenheim awards are given to support creative work in the arts, the Eleanor Roosevelt awards would be given to support creative work in social change and human rights.

The following are some examples of awards which would be made. Many of them represent causes, groups and persons familiar to Mrs. Roosevelt; some of them represent projects which we know Mrs. Roosevelt was interested in supporting.

AWARDS

to college students now teaching children in the slums, to allow them to teach full-time for all or part of a college year.

to university professors in Northern Universities who could carry out research and teaching projects in the South, either in affiliation with a Southern Negro college or directly with students active in the field of voter-registration and mass illiteracy programs.

to veterans of the Peace Corps and others who wish to enter the human rights field, as internes in government agencies or volunteer organizations, or as high school and college teachers.

to Southern Negro students who have shown natural talent for leadership in human relations, to enable them to study in colleges and universities the subjects they need to know in order to develop their talents.

to scholars in foreign countries who are experts in human rights, to enable them to carry out research projects on the status of human rights in the area of the world in which they live.

to foreign students who could come to this country to share in the work in civil rights with American students.

to teachers in the urban areas for the development of new ideas in teaching the culturally-deprived child.

to university professors in the North and Midwest and West, to enable them to establish direct liaison in teaching and research with their colleagues in the Southern Negro colleges, and conversely, to faculty members of the Southern colleges, for exchange professorships with universities in other parts of the country.

to mothers in slum areas who show talent in leadership for community relations, for the organization of nursery school cooperatives, illiteracy programs, parent education.

to writers and teachers in colleges of education to develop new texts in the history of human rights, new curricula in social studies with emphasis on the achievement of human rights.

The list could be extended indefinitely, and it would be the task of the Institute to extend and refine the list and to stay in touch with the organizations and movements in this country and abroad where problems in human rights are under consideration. One major advantage in the strategy of individual awards is that it makes it possible to work through existing organizations and institutions and at the same time, by seeking out the most promising and creative people in the human rights field and helping to place them in the right situations, to set new ideas and projects in motion. The plan is also flexible in the amount of funds it need expend over a given period; the awards could begin in modest numbers and could then expand as the Institute began to function fully and more funds became available.

We can assume that, as the program developed, the Eleanor Roosevelt awards would take on their own distinction and their own character, as have the Fulbright awards for study abroad, the Guggenheim awards for the creative arts, and the Woodrow Wilson awards for college teaching. The awards would have the double function of developing new leadership in the vocation of human rights, and increasing the strength and scope of persons already in the field. They would also serve to keep the spirit and name of Eleanor Roosevelt continually before the American and world public.

It is also worth noting that one major result of the Fulbright awards has been the development of a completely new group of teachers and scholars, those with direct experience in, and understanding of, foreign cultures for service in the colleges, universities, high schools and communities. A comparable result can be expected from the recruitment and education of Eleanor Roosevelt internes, fellows, scholars and teachers, whose experience

and training in problems of social change would then serve directly to improve the quality of the American educational system in the dimension of its work in human rights. We would be developing a whole new leadership for public service in these areas of national and international concern.

We already have a working model for this approach in the present Foundation program of Eleanor Roosevelt interneships for Peace Corps veterans and others to work in the human rights field. As you know, twenty-four young people, selected from approximately 250 applicants from the Peace Corps and elsewhere, are presently at work for a year on projects which range from voter education in the South to school integration in the North. That program was begun by Mr. Bookbinder and based on a set of plans drawn up by John Feild and a group of experts. It involved cooperation with the major agencies in the human rights field - in the selection of the internes, in conducting their education, in placing them with the right agencies and organizations. The Foundation funds were used, first to put together a plan, then to make Eleanor Rossevelt awards to the internes themselves, awards which were matched by the agencies in which the internes were placed. This model can serve for any number of future projects.

Another example can be drawn from the plan for dealing with racial problems also developed by John Feild under Foundation auspices, for the use of the Conference of Mayors in their work in civil rights. The plan was adopted by the Conference of Mayors, and is now being put into effect with the aid of a $388,500 grant from the Ford Foundation. In both cases, the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation put up the idea and the seed-money to make a project possible; other organizations cooperated, both financially

and administratively in developments from that point forward.

In short, the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute would be a center for continuing this kind of creative thinking and planning, coupled with the continuing recruitment of talented persons to work in human rights, as volunteers as well as recipients of grants, taking the fullest possible advantage of the facilities of existing organizations, and in full cooperation with the schools, colleges, universities, labor unions, citizens groups, international agencies, Government agencies, and other organizations.

The feasibility and desirability of this way of working is already clear from the conferences and meetings I have held in the universities and communities, with student and faculty groups, and with leaders in the various segments of the human rights movement. We are assured full cooperation and approval of those who would be involved with us. After reviewing the work already under way by foundations, there seemed to me to be no reason for the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation to enter the field with a program of the regular foundation kind, according to which projects are considered for support and grants made to selected institutions and persons. There is valuable and interesting work being carried on in this way by the New World, Taconic, Field, Stern, Phelps-Stokes, and Ford Foundations, among others. The Carnegie Corporation is now in the process of considering programs which it might undertake.

My conclusion is that by directing our entire effort to the two main points - establishing a center for generating ideas, and from that center supporting people who had ideas and were capable of carrying them out, we would be able to combine forces with the other foundations and organizations

to the best advantage of all.

There is one complete area of Mrs. Roosevelt's life-work with which the Foundation has an obligation to deal directly - the area of her work at the United Nations, her Chairmanship of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, her successful efforts culminating in December of 1948 on behalf of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted unanimously by the General Assembly.

Among the variety of ideas available for action in this area, the idea of providing the world with reliable and non-political information on the status of human rights in the various world regions seems to me to represent the central point around which this part of the Foundation program should turn. Such information is not now available. It is badly needed, as is an increase in the number of trained scholars making this field of scholarship their major concern.

The proposal I would make here is already suggested by what has been said about the approach to the total program. Eleanor Roosevelt awards should be made to a selected group of scholars in the United States and foreign countries for the development of research studies in their regions on the status of human rights. This would provide a continuous flow of factual information, to be collected and distributed by the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute for the use of United Nations delegations, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, and the international non-governmental organizations connected with the United Nations itself. In addition, scholarship and fellowship awards can be made to selected American and foreign students

who show promise in the field, to carry out studies in collaboration with the Eleanor Roosevelt Human Rights Scholars already at work in selected universities both here and abroad.

Since Mrs. Roosevelt's influence was particularly apparent in the field of the status of women, emphasis could be given to the selection of women students both here and abroad. It would also be important to emphasize the selection of minority-group members for study and training abroad, for example, by seeking out Chinese and Japanese-American, Negro, Indian and other candidates for study in Latin America, Asia and Africa. The Experiment in International Living, which has had a great deal of experience in this field, has offered full cooperation in selection and placement of students.

A number of important proposals have been made for collaboration with UNESCO in organizing both research projects and international human rights conferences abroad. At this point I have not been able to investigate as fully as is necessary the feasibility of such proposals, although it is clear that any work undertaken in the international human rights field by the Foundation should involve active collaboration with UNESCO and with the international organizations with which UNESCO is associated. In this connection, the program of Eleanor Roosevelt awards to foreign scholars can furnish the basis for the beginning of such collaboration.

I will leave further details of organization of the Foundation program and a more comprehensive account of the program itself for a final report. As I have already indicated, should it prove impractical to open the next phase of the Foundation's work with the White House Conference, the program could begin with the establishment of the Institute itself, where plans could be made for cooperation with university and community groups on as large a scale as the circumstances allowed.

In summary, the present proposals can be described under the following headings:

I. The establishment of the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute to act as a continuing center for planning and progress in human rights and in administering a series of Eleanor Roosevelt Awards.

II. A designated number of Eleanor Roosevelt awards would go to young people for one-year work-study programs, field work, research, teaching projects, interneships and training in human rights, to develop new leadership to meet present and future needs.

III. Eleanor Roosevelt Awards would be made to scholars and professors and indigenous community leaders for research, teaching, the organization of human rights institutes and exchange of teachers and students between Northern and Southern Colleges.

IV. To further Mrs. Roosevelt's work in the international field, awards

would be made to research scholars in foreign countries for the purpose of collecting and disseminating, through the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, accurate information about the status of human rights in various parts of the world, thus providing non-political and objective information for the use of the non-governmental organizations associated with the United Nations, United Nations delegations, and the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

V. The organization of the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute would consist initially of a staff of four, led by an Institute Director who would himself be an expert in the field of human rights; one staff member would be responsible for the student awards; one for the scholars and teachers awards; and one for the international program. Additional help in selection of awardees and administration of programs would be provided by organizations, universities and individuals already active in the field.

During the process of the study, I have come across an extraordinary number of people around the country who are willing, able and ready to help us, and it is clear that there are large community resources in America which have not yet been tapped for service in Mrs. Roosevelt's cause. There is a comparable readiness to help on the part of members of foreign governments; Mrs. Roosevelt's name continues to evoke a warm response on the part of all those who knew her at the United Nations and in foreign countries. All this has been most heartening and leads me to believe that the Foundation not only has a very important mission to fulfill, but that we have the manpower in the communities to fulfill it.

* * * * *

HAROLD TAYLOR
241 WEST TWELFTH STREET
NEW YORK 14, NEW YORK

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT FOUNDATION STUDY
OREGON 5-3177

May 22, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have taken note of the point you make in the brochure about the Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation grant and will make certain that this is not included in any summary we do for the report.

I am looking forward to seeing you in Atlanta or New York, and will count on you to let me know when you expect to be here.

With warm regards,

Harold Taylor

Harold Taylor

HT:mc

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*Deceased

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Board of Trustees
Members of National Council

FROM: Philip M. Klutznick,
National Campaign Chairman

I am happy to share with you this progress report submitted by Mr. Glazier on the developments of the Mailmen's March campaign, which will bring a message from our Foundation into 25,000,000 American homes to mark what would have been Mrs. Roosevelt's 80th Birthday on October 11th.

This one-time effort has been made possible by the generous cooperation of the Letter Carriers Union and the Postmaster General. You can be of immeasurable help to this campaign in your communities by making yourself available for radio or television interviews and encouraging your local radio and television stations to use our public service messages supporting this mailing. The radio and television stations are receiving these public service messages during the month of August.

If you have any other advice or guidance on how we can effect other means of support for this program, please let me know. I know we can count on enlisting your maximum support for this "grass roots" effort in continuing the unfinished work that Eleanor Roosevelt believed in during her lifetime.

"She would rather light a candle than curse the darkness, and her glow has warmed the world."

July 16, 1964

TO: Orin Lehman, Director

FROM: Sidney Glazier, Director of "Mailmen's March" Project

SUBJECT: Progress Report #2, Direct Mail Campaign,
MAILMEN'S MARCH IN MEMORY OF ELEANOR ROOSEVELT'S
80th BIRTHDAY, OCTOBER 11th

PROJECT	ACTION
1. Envelope brochure-25 million to be delivered October 9-10	Several million mailing pieces have already been printed in accordance with schedule.
2. Conference with Postmaster General's Office	Sidney Glazier and Eli Jaffe met with Deputy Director of Special Mailings. O.K. given for 19,000 mail trucks to carry placards throughout the country from September 15-October 11. Posters publicizing "Mailmen's March" also authorized to be placed on Post Office bulletin boards throughout the U.S. Arrangements made for cancellation of stamps at Post Offices, with Foundation's message, in 10 major cities.
3. Handling and Delivery of Mailing--Martin Parker	Research completed by Martin Parker defining areas in which mailing piece will be distributed; coordination for distribution established with Postmaster General's Office, Letter Carriers Union, Printer.
4. Letter Carriers Union	President Jerome Keating of Letter Carriers Union will present resolution to August 19th convention in Miami Beach endorsing the "Mailmen's March." Congressman James Roosevelt will attend convention and thank letter carriers for family and Foundation. This action will trigger first newsbreak of the project.

PROJECT	ACTION
5. Promotion	The Foundation's P.R. Department directed by Eli Jaffe, in co-ordination with the Public Relations Board, has begun efforts to insure intensive newspaper, magazine, TV and radio coverage. Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, Gregory Peck and Bob Hope (National Chairman of the "March") have cut 20 and 60 second spot announcements urging support of the "March" and the Foundation. Harry Olesker, who has prepared these spots, is now preparing TV Kit to be sent to 400 TV stations. Records with these spots to be distributed to 1,000 radio stations with letter from Chairman Adlai Stevenson urging widest usage during Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Month September 27-October 11. PRB lining up appearances by Foundation leaders and National Council "stars" on number of major TV shows. PRB affiliates making arrangements for local interview radio and TV shows in 15 major cities.
6. Newspapers	In addition to flow of regular newspaper stories, special feature material is being prepared by PRB and Eli Jaffe for placement with wire services. Editors and publishers of leading newspapers in 50 major cities, including those which used "My Day", will be asked to carry editorials the week of October 11th in remembrance of Eleanor Roosevelt and support of Foundation. National and local columnists will be urged to write retrospective articles.
7. Magazines	Letter from Chairman Stevenson to list of magazines prepared and contacted by PRB evoked warm response from: Redbook, True, MacFadden-Bartel Publications, McCall's, Good Housekeeping, Curtis Publishing, Look,

PROJECT	ACTION
7. Magazines (continued)	Ladies' Home Journal, Woman's Day, Coronet, Parents' Magazine, Girl Scout Leader, National Business Woman, Seventeen, Harper's, Guideposts, Vogue and Popular Science Monthly. At the request of these magazines, ads for use in October issues and Kit of editorial materials sent by Foundation P.R. Department. McCall's, Redbook, Saturday Review and Commentary will carry articles in October issue. All major weekly and semi-weekly magazines being contacted for ad and/or editorial.
8. "And Her Glow Has Warmed the World"	Kurt Blumberg reported that Bennet H. Korn, Chairman of the TV-Radio Advisory Committee, had received affirmative expressions from the Westinghouse Group, Time-Life Group, Crosley Group (as well as his own Metromedia Group of TV stations) to show Foundation's ½-hour TV Show (containing Bob Hope appeal for support of "Mailmen's March"). Show now definite for 20 major cities at prime time the first two weeks of October. Bennet Korn and his staff handling contact with and distribution to TV Stations.
9. Special Movie House Exploitation	Foundation Director Orin Lehman to contact Board members active in movie industry (Bob Benjamin, Anna Rosenberg Hoffman, Arnold Grant) and National Council member Harry Brandt to try to arrange for presentation of Gregory Peck 1-minute "Mailmen's March" appeal as a trailer in local movie houses.
10. Involvement of Leaders of Broadcasting Industry	Special effort is being made by Chairman Stevenson to enlist cooperation of heads of major networks to help obtain maximum use of TV and radio spots, interviews, guest plugs for Foundation and the "March".

# # #

Next Meeting of the Mass Mailing Team: Thursday, July 23, 1964

File: Foundations — Eleanor Roosevelt M. cr. ref. "Rural Advancement Project"

July 31, 1964

Mr. Orin Lehman
Director
Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation
Empire State Building
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Lehman:

This is to place before the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation a joint proposal of the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Southern Regional Council, and the state Councils on Human Relations that are affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

The sponsors of this proposal have faced an area of urgent problems, and have decided that they can contribute best to their improvement by a joint effort. We hope you will find that the proposed Rural Advancement Project merits your support.

Because of the sum involved, we are presenting this proposal to several foundations. As is explained in the proposal, the program is flexible, and depending on funds could be carried on in any number of states up to eleven. We ask, therefore, that you consider it in that light, and we shall, of course, be prepared to keep you advised of fund-raising progress. It is hoped that grants may be for a three-year period, or that, alternatively, renewals up to a third year may be considered.

The proposal is based on experience gained by the sponsors over the past two years in South Carolina. It has, therefore, been tried out, and we think has proved its effectiveness and value.

In addition to the proposal itself, several other documents are enclosed. These are:

1. A descriptive report of the South Carolina project.

2. Copies of programs of conferences held in Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, illustrating the concerns and resources which the Rural Advancement Project will draw on.

3. A memorandum on the program use made of a Southern Regional Council research study, to illustrate opportunities for cooperative use of research findings.

Both Miss Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund (112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York), and I will be pleased to discuss with you any questions you may have regarding this proposal.

We can only hope that the proposal conveys clearly some of the sense of deep need felt for this program by the sponsoring agencies. This is a very special period in American history, where a keen awareness is supplanting past indifference for the human resources -- for the people -- of the country. Nowhere is attention and intelligent help more imperative than in the rural South, where an over-supply of people (on the basis of present economic realities) will either be re-directed toward useful and dignified pursuits, or will inevitably carry their handicaps with them to already overburdened cities of the South and the North.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

File

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MJ - copy for Lucia Bennett
PDV for info
MJ - file

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*Deceased

August 28, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Please excuse this belated reply to your letter of July 31st. Like so many others I am deeply concerned with the problems of economic, health, and educational advancement in the rural areas of the South, as stated in your proposal.

Unfortunately, however, our Foundation is very much overcommitted and no matter how worthy the project we just do not have the funds to assume additional responsibilities beyond those commitments we have already undertaken in the field of race relations and human rights, the enlargement of the FDR Library at Hyde Park, commitments to the Wiltwyck School for Boys and the American Association for the United Nations.

In any case, I do want to wish you great success in this worthy endeavor and sincerely hope that you will be able to find adequate financial support from other organizations.

Sincerely yours,

Orin Lehman
Director

OL:jl

"She would rather light a candle than curse the darkness, and her glow has warmed the world."

384

file

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*Deceased

Rec'd 9/2/64

WB ✓
PA ✓

September 1, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

May we take this opportunity to welcome the participation of your agency in the NAIRO-Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation Human Rights Internship Program.

We deeply appreciate the opportunity to involve an Intern in the vital human relations work and training experiences which your agency offers. At the same time, we are confident that you will be reaping a mutual benefit from the contributions made by these highly committed people. Through this program we foresee the fulfillment of a good measure of those human values which Eleanor Roosevelt so deeply cherished and nurtured - a concern which the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation is attempting to perpetuate.

On behalf of the Foundation and the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, thank you for helping to light one more candle.

Adlai E. Stevenson

Adlai E. Stevenson, Chairman
Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial
Foundation

Alexander J. Allen

Alexander J. Allen, President
National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials

cc: Paul Anthony

"She would rather light a candle than curse the darkness, and her glow has warmed the world."

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CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

NAIRO-Eleanor Roosevelt Fd. Internship program

REGARDING

Grant in the amount of $2,500 in support of intern for one year beginning September 8, 1964.

DATES
Sept. 18 & Oct. 2

SEE:

Herman Long ltr. and LWD reply filed in NAIRO folder

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John A. Roosevelt

Orin Lehman
DIRECTOR

Michael M. Nisselson
CAMPAIGN CONSULTANT

*Deceased

PA
ID
AV
MJ-file
file

September 25, 1964

TO: National Council Members

FROM: Orin Lehman

I hope that the enclosed letter from Franklin D. Roosevelt III to Governor Stevenson will be of interest to you. It describes his reaction to the ten day orientation session for the second group of twenty-five Eleanor Roosevelt Human Rights Interns. The Intern Program, as you probably know, is only one of our several human rights programs.

I also want to call your attention at this time to the fact that a number of very special events are being planned throughout the country to commemorate what would have been Mrs. Roosevelt's 80th birthday. "Fourscore Anniversary" dinners will be held in Washington on October 11; in New York on October 12; in Chicago on November 17; and later in Los Angeles and Miami.

On October 9th and 10th, 175,000 letter carriers will participate in a "Mailmen's March" and deliver a message about the Foundation to 25,000,000 American homes with an appeal for support. In addition, more than 50 cities will carry "And Her Glow Has Warmed the World," the Foundation's moving half-hour television tribute to Mrs. Roosevelt. Jack Benny, Bob Hope and an impressive number of other television stars will spread the good word about the Foundation during the commemorative period.

Naturally, if there is any way that you can help enlist support or create a favorable climate for the Foundation in your community, we would be most appreciative.

"She would rather light a candle than curse the darkness, and her glow has warmed the world."

Franklin D. Roosevelt III
404 Riverside Drive
New York 25, N. Y.

September 11, 1964

The Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson
Chairman, Board of Trustees
Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation
Empire State Building
New York, New York

Dear Governor:

Three weeks ago I went to Tarrytown, New York, to represent the Roosevelt family at the opening of the ten day orientation seminar for the second group of Eleanor Roosevelt Human Rights Interns. It was my intention to leave after the opening ceremonies for the Convention in Atlantic City. But after meeting the Interns and learning more about the program I became so enthused that I asked the Director, Max Birnbaum, if I could sit in on the program at my own expense. He promptly said yes and there followed what was probably the most intensely rewarding ten days of my life. I am writing to tell you about it at the suggestion of Orin Lehman who thought you might like to have a firsthand report on this seminar.

A great deal of credit should be given to Mr. Birnbaum and his assistants for the way in which they organized and executed the program. Our days went from 9:00 A.M. to around 10:00 P. M. and were about evenly divided between plenary sessions when we would meet with consultants and small group discussions in which we would digest the new ideas thrown out in the plenary sessions. Thus, in ten days, we were able to hear 23 consultants and probably learned more than most college students learn in a semester.

Among the more interesting consultants were:

Dr. Richard Silberstein (Director, Staten Island Mental Health Society) who lectured on "The Psychodynamics of Prejudice" and stayed with us through most of the seminar.

A panel consisting of a priest, a minister, and a rabbi, who discussed the problems of inter-faith relations.

Dr. Milton L. Barron (Chairman, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, CCNY) who spoke on "The Ethnic Fator in Intergroup Relations."

Charles Silberman (Board of Editors, Fortune Magazine and author of Crisis in Black and White) whose book was used as a text for the seminar.

Dave Danzig (Associate Director, American Jewish Committee) who gave us a historical survey of intergroup relations in the U. S.

Joseph Lyford (Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions) who told us about some of the problems facing the West Side of New York City.

Mrs. Thelma Johnson (Chairman, Harlem Parents Committee) who was one of the organizers of last year's New York City school boycott.

Dr. Eric Lincoln (Professor of Social Relations, Clark College, and author of The Black Muslims) who traced the history of "The American Protest Movement for Negro Rights", and then told us about today's "Black Revolution".

A panel of the three musketeers in the field of intergroup relations - George Schermer, Fred Routh, and John Feild - who spoke to us about the deveopment and structure of the field.

Whitney Young, Jr. (Executive Director, National Urban League) who gave us his point of view on everything from the Black Nationalists to the War on Poverty.

Norman Podhoretz (Editor, Commentary Magazine) who discussed his controversial article, "My Negro Problem - and Ours", and re-stated his theory that miscegenation would be the best solution to the race problem.

The Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson September 11, 1964

In addition to the stimulation received from the above consultants, each Intern had the opportunity to re-examine his or her own personal motivation and commitment to the field of intergroup relations. I was greatly impressed by the maturity and integrity of nearly all of the Interns.

In conclusion, I can report that the great majority of those involved felt that the orientation seminar for the second group of Eleanor Roosevelt Human Rights Interns was a tremendous success. I'm sure that my grandmother would have been proud to be associated both with the program and the people involved.

Sincerely,

Franklin D. Roosevelt III

File - Nairo
Cr. Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Fd.

October 2, 1964

Mr. Herman Long, Chairman
NAIRO Career Service Board
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Herman:

This is to acknowledge your letter of September 19, 1964 and the enclosed check for $2,500.00 which represents the grant of NAIRO to us in support of an intern for the year beginning September 8, 1964; our official receipt is enclosed.

We accept all of the conditions of the grant and are, in fact, carrying them out, except that we were not previously aware that we were expected to send the intern's supervisor to the evaluation seminar.

We are highly pleased with our own good fortune in securing Albert Ulmer as an intern for this year.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

LWD
VJ
AJ
RHA

NAIRO

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE. N. W. • WASHINGTON 6. D. C. • 387-7050
ALEXANDER J. ALLEN, PRESIDENT FREDERICK B. ROUTH, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

File
Cr. set
Eleanor Roosevelt
Memorial Foundation

September 18, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed you will find NAIRO's check for $2,500 which represents the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation's grant to the NAIRO Career Service Board to place an Eleanor Roosevelt Human Rights Intern with your agency for one year beginning September 8th, 1964.

CR
9/30/64
RHA

The conditions of the grant as mutually agreed upon are as follows:

1. Your agency will match this grant with an equal amount to provide the Intern with an annual stipend or fellowship of $5,000.

2. The Intern will attend, starting August 23rd, a ten day training seminar directed by the Institute of Human Relations of the American Jewish Committee with all expenses paid by the Foundation.

3. Your agency will pay its pro-rated share (one/twenty-fifth) for an evaluative seminar to be held in the eleventh month of the training year. It is estimated that this will not exceed $300 plus travel allowance for the Intern and his supervisor.

4. Your agency will make it possible for the Intern's supervisor to be present for at least one day of the evaluative seminar to participate in a program evaluation to be prepared by NAIRO's Career Service Board.

5. Your agency will assign the Intern to a senior professional who will be designated supervisor and who will be asked to make quarterly reports to NAIRO's Career Service Board. Your Intern will also be expected to make quarterly reports to the Board.

6. Your agency will abide by the training plan submitted to and approved by NAIRO's Career Service Board. Any major changes from the plan may be made only after consultation with and approval by NAIRO's Career Service Board or its representatives.

Matters of personnel administration, employee or trainee benefits and other personnel matters are being left to the participating agencies to work out individually with each Intern.

Enclosed is a copy of this letter, please sign and return it to the NAIRO office, indicating your agreement with the terms of this letter.

Cordially,

Herman Long

Herman Long, Chairman
NAIRO Career Service Board

PA
Already Sent
One of these
10/2/69

_____
Participating Agency Representative

_____
Date

WB - see
JL
PA
MJ - file

File: Foundations - Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial

ADDRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS STUDY BY

DR. HAROLD TAYLOR

Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation
First Anniversary Luncheon
New York Hilton, April 9, 1964

I recommend to anyone who is gloomy or discouraged here today to do a study of human rights for Adlai Stevenson in honor of Eleanor Roosevelt. You would find that everywhere you go, the mention of her name makes a very great difference - in the universities, the schools, the United Nations, the government and everywhere else. People immediately stop doing what they are doing and ask how they can help. The world is full of her friends - taxi drivers who drove her, soldiers who met her, students who heard her, photographers, writers, actors, politicians, singers, professors, scientists, and men and women who never knew her but who believed in her and what she did.

I think I will give you my final conclusions first. What we must do is to organize a world-wide movement of volunteers to replace, by hundreds of others, this one extraordinary person whose life had so great a meaning for everyone who lived in her world and in her time. Her secret was her selflessness, her genius lay in the utterly simple, direct, informal and bountiful way in which she shared herself with others. We all felt better because she was around, and the best thing we can do to honor her memory is to pick up the tasks which she left unfinished and carry them out in the style which she taught us to admire. We must work to put human rights into effect.

By Mrs. Roosevelt's style, I mean that she was infinitely patient with other people's problems and that she approached world problems believing they were simply personal ones blown up to world size, and that they were soluble only by those who cared to take them personally. She was deeply interested in young people, and they flocked to her asking her advice. She lent her name to their causes. She was fond of saying that all human problems had to be solved in the communities, by the people who lived there; that human rights begin "... in small places, close to home - so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any map of the world..."

I assure you that there are hundreds of persons in the communities ready and willing to volunteer for service in Mrs. Roosevelt's cause. A whole segment of the country's youth is already at work in the slums of the great cities and

in the rural slums of the South, tutoring children of all races and religions.

I have discovered that there are approximately 10,000 college students across the country presently at work as volunteers, some of them full-time, in tutoring programs. Nearly one thousand volunteers from Northern, Midwestern and Western colleges will work in Mississippi this summer in Freedom Schools and in community centers now being formed, where voter-registration and literacy programs are being organized for children and for adults.

I believe that Mrs. Roosevelt would be travelling to visit the Freedom Schools and community centers this summer, that she would be urging her friends and everyone else in sight to support the young people in what they are doing. What better tribute could we make than to award Eleanor Roosevelt scholarships to those who have the talent and who would be proud to develop it to serve the cause of Mrs. Roosevelt?

The Foundation has already made a beginning here, by the appointment of twenty-four Eleanor Roosevelt interns in the field of human rights, chosen from Peace Corps veterans, among others, who are now engaged in work-study programs ranging from a voter-registration project in Atlanta to work with the Civil Rights Commission in Washington and the Urban League in Chicago.

I have also found in the universities and high schools, teachers and scholars in large numbers who are ready to turn their energies and attention to serious issues in human rights. It would not be too hard to mount a national program in which the universities turned their intellectual resources straight to work on the social problems of their regions, communities and States.

Here is the mere beginning of a list of things to be done:

We could appoint Eleanor Roosevelt professors to develop new plans for the integration of schools and housing in their own communities, to write new texts in history for children and high school students where the contribution to American culture of the Negro, the Indian, the Spanish, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Japanese, can be given full recognition, where the Bill of Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights will become central to historical understanding.

We could appoint an Eleanor Roosevelt Travelling Professor to teach college students in the South in church basements or wherever there is student need.

- an Eleanor Roosevelt teacher to accompany the families of migrant workers to organize literacy classes for children and adults

- an Eleanor Roosevelt Professor to act as liaison for student and faculty exchange of ideas and students between a Negro college in the South and a university in the North.

- other Eleanor Roosevelt Professors in foreign universities could be appointed to carry out research in the status of human rights, to provide a flow of objective fact on the present condition of man, facts which, when held before the world, would help to make real the call of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that "every individual and organ of society ...shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms...and to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance..."

You will notice that I speak of volunteers to work in communities everywhere. There are in this room today hundreds of such volunteers, who by their own lives have shown not only that they understand and value the testament which Mrs. Roosevelt has given to us, but are themselves willing to continue her work. There are hundreds like you here and abroad. Some are mothers who, without formal education, have a natural talent for community organization in establishing human rights. Others are leaders of community groups which have not begun to tap the resources which exist among themselves for work in human rights.

Mrs. Roosevelt would have hoped that in her name, programs of action could be started. Here is the beginning of another list:

We could bring to this country an Eleanor Roosevelt community leader from India to help us with child-care centers in Harlem

- an Indonesian student to work and study with Americans in the civil rights movement in the South

- we could make a $600 Eleanor Roosevelt grant to a mother in Harlem to rent a store front or a basement for organizing a cooperative nursery school, or a literacy and voting program for adults

- we could appoint an Eleanor Roosevelt Professor to organize training courses in teaching and tutoring for women in the cities and suburbs who have had the experience of raising families and who are now ready to put their talents to work in the cause of human freedom and human rights.

I would like to see the nerve center for this entire enterprise in a place here in New York, to be called the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, preferably in a converted brownstone of the kind Mrs. Roosevelt would have liked, where the informal atmosphere she always created would once more exist, and where a continuing series of enterprises of the kind I have described would be planned and carried out.

For all of us here today, these are affairs of the heart, and what I am suggesting is a world-wide labor of love. The legacy we have inherited from Mrs. Roosevelt commits us to a series of personal and compassionate acts, to do our part in bringing peace and good will among all mankind.

As Mrs. Roosevelt would say, It is time to get on with the business.

# # #

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

Candlelight

"She would rather light a candle than curse the darkness, and her glow has warmed the world"

EMPIRE STATE BUILDING • NEW YORK 10001

Volume II, Number 1 | **FIRST ANNIVERSARY ISSUE** | Spring 1964

'She Was One of Us'

LABOR GOES ALL-OUT IN FOUNDATION DRIVE

Millions of members of organized labor will weave the largest remembrance gift in the history of the AFL-CIO when it makes its contribution to the Foundation and the woman it proclaims "was one of us."

The AFL-CIO General Board, meeting in February, voted for a voluntary assessment program as labor's contribution to the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation and the John F. Kennedy Library. Between $5-6 million is expected to be donated by the membership through this assessment, $2 million earmarked for the Kennedy Library and the balance for the Foundation. The program will be completed by October 1965, and is designed "to pool the drives to perpetuate the memories and work of two great Americans and warm friends of the labor movement."

Nears $1-Million Mark

The trade union movement has been a leading force in support of the Foundation. Joseph D. Keenan, AFL-CIO vice-president and chairman of labor's Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Fund has reported that close to $1,000,000 has already been contributed by unions. Chairman Adlai E. Stevenson's announcement of a $345,000 gift from the United Automobile Workers, supplementing a previous $100,000 gift, was heartily applauded by Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson and 2800 participants at the Foundation's First Anniversary Luncheon in New York. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union has contributed $250,000 as part of its campaign to further the memory and work of Mrs. Roosevelt.

AT FIRST ANNIVERSARY LUNCHEON, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson urges 2800 participants to continue support of Mrs. Roosevelt's work. Dais guests (l-r, lower dais): Roy Wilkins, Mrs. Marshall Field, Jacob Blaustein, Orin Lehman, David Dubinsky, Miss Marian Anderson, Mrs. Robert E. Kintner, Ambassador Stevenson, Mrs. Anna Rosenberg Hoffman, Dr. Harold Taylor, Miss Edith Barksdale, John A. Roosevelt. Upper dais: Michael M. Nisselson, Mrs. Dorothy Schiff, Mrs. Thomas B. Hess, Mrs. Ralph Pomerance, Jubal R. Parten, Mrs. Randolph Guggenheimer, Mrs. Edward R. Dudley, Herman W. Steinkraus, Mrs. Trude W. Lash, Mrs. Wynn Handman and Mrs. Jan Peerce.

Mrs. Johnson Highlights 1st Anniversary, Urges Continuity of Mrs. FDR's Work

The "First Lady of the Nation" paid tribute to the late "First Lady of the World" as more than 2800 individuals – most of them women – participated in a Luncheon marking the First Anniversary of the Foundation.

Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, speaking publicly for the first time in New York, hailed the work of the Foundation and urged the American people to honor the memory of Mrs. Roosevelt by continuing the fight for the good causes to which Mrs. Roosevelt's life was dedicated.

"Let us today earnestly resolve to build the true foundation for Mrs. Roosevelt's memory – to pluck out prejudice from our lives, to remove fear and hatred where it exists, and to create a world unafraid to work out its destiny in peace. Eleanor Roosevelt taught us that sometimes silence is the greatest sin," Mrs. Johnson said.

The assemblage in the New York Hilton ballroom represented a veritable Who's Who in the fields of the arts, government and philanthropy. Nearly 60 distinguished women became Patrons by their individual contributions of $1,000. More than 600 women responded to an eloquent and moving appeal for financial support of the Foundation by Mrs. Anna Rosenberg

(Continued on Page 8)

LWD - file
NY

PLEASE NOTE OUR NEW ADDRESS

EFFECTIVE JUNE 29, 1965

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL FOUNDATION
26 WEST 56TH STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10019

OUR NEW TELEPHONE NUMBER WILL BE:

(AREA CODE 212) 246-5526

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL FOUNDATION
26 WEST 56th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019

NEW YORK JUN 25 '65 N. Y.
U.S. POSTAGE .05
PB METER P.D. 367232

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
South Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

February 24, 1966

file

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT FOUNDATION

SEE: letter ;of February 14, 1966 from
Paul Anthony to:

Mr. Nathan Greene
Coordinator for Internship Program
National Association of Intergroup Relations
Officials
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

New York Post

Adlai Calls the Fight for Equality A Memorial for Mrs. Roosevelt

By FERN MARJA ECKMAN

Eleanor Roosevelt would have appreciated the candor and the scope of the human rights objectives outlined by Adlai Stevenson in his role as chairman of the memorial foundation that bears his name.

With a gravity that underlined the impact of recent racial clashes in the South of the U. S. image abroad, America's chief spokesman at the UN warned that it will do this country "little good to demand the tearing down of the wall in Berlin unless we tear down the wall that separates us in our own land."

Addressing a ... in the U. S. ... directly opposite ... quarters, Ste... great unfinis... America" is ... the ideal tha... zation and h... irrevocably ...

Raises a Qu...

"Of what ... it for us to ... the vangu... democracy ... fellow citi... nities of ... ship? Ar... defenders ... of our c... right to ... cation o...

"Can ... abroad, ... and en... serve ... ity whi... ican ... not t...

our answer or weaken the minimal program the President has requested."

Steven-

Newark Evening News
NEWARK, N. J.

Intern-Training

Foundation Aids Racial Program

...ent.
... N. Y.—To ...lt day-by-...licate job ...al equality ...

Eleanor ...oundation ...re jointly ... program ... in this ...

...dlai E. ...airman, ...n here ...will be-...

Peace ...month ...

Peace Corps veterans will also be recruited, particularly from among graduate students of social work, psychology and related fields.

Stevenson said that newly created race relations commissions as well as government agencies, intergroup organizations, labor organizations, big corporations and employment agencies are among those who are seeking trained workers who will do the actual professional work in this field. The Urban League, NAACP, ...

THE WASHINGTON POST Wednesday, June 26, 1963

Mrs. Roosevelt Foundation to Stress Human Rights, Stevenson Declares

The Los Angeles Times

NEW YORK, June 25—The Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation will make human rights and race relations its principal emph... Stevenson, cha... foundation, an...

The program ... of trustees has ... by President K... be backed wit... dollar fund driv... and Oct. 11, ... birthday anniv... late Mrs. Roose...

Stevenson us... of a foundatio... ence to suppor... civil rights pr... fore Congress.

"We cannot longer in our a...

he said. "By strengthening his hand in the effort to finish the business Abraham Lincoln started 100 years ago, we strengthen ourselves."

During the question period, He was referring to the walkout in Geneva at the International Labor Organization meeting over the participation there of South Africa. Stevenson made no judgment of the

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.
BEE

Mrs. FDR Group Sets Race Relations Goal

UNITED NATIONS, NY—AP—Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, chairman of the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation, says the foundation will concentrate its efforts toward improving race relations.

Stevenson told a news conference yesterday the foundation's board feels that this will constitute an enduring memorial for Mrs. Roosevelt, who devoted many years to work in the field of human rights.

He read a letter from President John F. Kennedy ... decision of ...

The New York Times

Stevenson Says World Judges U.S. on Rights

By KATHLEEN TELTSCH
Special to The New York Times.

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., June 25—Adlai E. Stevenson warned today that the United States world stature demanded prompt approval of President Kennedy's civil rights program.

"We cannot temporize any longer or weaken the minimal program the President has now requested," he said.

Mr. Stevenson's appeal was made in his dual role as United ...

propriate enduring memorial to Eleanor Roosevelt. The world associates her life and work with these causes. I am confident that the foundation, calling on the intellectual and leadership resou... could greatly ... duce racial ... pand the r... ings."

Mr. Stev... dation hop...

Mr. Stevenson said most delegates with experience in this country understood that racial progress had been stepped up in recent years and were "patient, tolerant and understand... of United States efforts. ...

extent we can. That is an immediate matter."

Mr. Stevenson said he favored mass action to strengthen the President's hand on the civil rights program by presenting the moral issue in every community.

YORK, PA.
GAZETTE AND DAILY

Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation Plans To Push For Better Race Relations

United Nations, N.Y. (AP)—Am... ...ddr Adlai E. Stevenson, chair... of the Eleanor Roosevelt Me... ...al foundation, ... would concentrate ... efforts toward improving race relations.

Stevenson told a news conference the foundation's board felt that this would constitute an enduring memorial for Mrs. Roosevelt, ...d devoted many years to ... the field of human ...

He read a letter ... Kennedy welcom...

said, "to demand the tearing down of the wall in Berlin unless we tear down the wall that separates us in our own land."

Stevenson sai... work in race ... the form of ... tute or ... velop...

Herald Tribune

MRS. FDR FUND PLANS A RACIAL 'PEACE CORPS'

The Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation announced yesterday plans to establish a sort of super peace corps trained to work on race relations problems in the United States.

Adlai E. Stevenson, U. S. ambassador to the UN and chairman, told a ... the new ...

and the foundation will cover expenses which may run up to $4,000 a person.

C. W. Post College and Hofstra University.

Mr. Stevenson said that while first recruits were coming from the Peace Corps because of their experience in human relations, other qualified persons would be sought for the project.

In a letter to Mr. Steven... made public at the con... President Kennedy ... program as ... of

public service and concern for human values that has characterized both the life of Eleanor Roosevelt and the Peace Corps service."

Thirty states have proclaimed the month ending Nov. 7—the anniversary of Mrs. Roosevelt's death—as Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Month. In that connection, Mayor Wagner and Mr. Stevenson appeared yesterday in a Times Square ceremony temporarily naming the area Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Square.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
MEMORIAL FOUNDATION
Empire State Building
New York 1, New York
Adlai E. Stevenson
CHAIRMAN
384

file copy

December 6, 1957

Mr. Edmund A. Rosenthal
600 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rosenthal:

When I was in New York recently, you very kindly gave me an opportunity to talk with you about the work and financial needs of the Southern Regional Council. I am writing in the hope that you found our conversation and the materials I left of sufficient interest to warrant a request from the Council to the Benjamin Rosenthal Foundation.

I have thought a good deal about the doubts you expressed as to the effectiveness of any organized effort in the South. Certainly this is a point on which none of us can be dogmatic. The fact is that nobody knows for sure what activities will have a significant effect on so large and complex a situation. I can only say that we in the Southern Regional Council can see no alternative to trying, with all the intelligence and skill we can muster, to exert a constructive influence. As the only region-wide body of white and Negro Southerners with a board and staff experienced in race relations, we feel that we have a special responsibility at this critical time.

We are far from feeling that the Council has achieved any fixed or final formula for its efforts to facilitate the basic social change that is underway. As recent events make very clear, the racial situation in the South is extremely volatile. Any realistic approach in this area must be grounded in recognition of the need for flexibility and constant reassessment of program effectiveness.

The Council, of course, is not a causative force, or even in itself a powerful one in this vast transition. Its effectiveness must be judged in terms of the strategic importance of its activities in contested situations where the right program at the right time can make a decisive difference. Examples would be the timely release last summer of the Council's findings on Negro suffrage, the support of consultant services to community leadership wavering between a forward and a backward course, and similar activities.

I need hardly tell you that securing financial support for work of this kind within the South has never been more difficult. We must look to those individuals, foundations, and organizations, wherever located, which recognize that the problems we are dealing with are of grave concern to the whole nation.

The Council's greatest need, of course, is for assistance to its general operating budget. Aid of this sort strengthens all of our activities at the root. If, however, it is the policy of the Rosenthal Foundation to support only special projects, we shall guide ourselves accordingly in submitting a request. Attached, in very summary form, is a description of some of the program activities we are carrying on.

I will be in New York again on December 17 and 18 and will take the liberty of calling you then to see if there is further information I can usefully furnish. Meanwhile, with apologies for so long a letter and appreciation for your interest and consideration, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures: Summary of Activities of SRC
List of Board Members to Date
Congressional Record Reprint

(Revisions made for another request - not on original.)

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1

1. State Human Relations Councils. -- The Southern Regional Council has devoted a large part of its resources in the past three years to the creation of staffed interracial organizations in ten of the Southern states. Working against great odds, these state groups have provided instruments through which white and Negro Southerners can express their common belief in a democratic society and work for its achievement at the local and state levels. The Council continues to give both program assistance and financial aid to the state councils.

In much of the South, these organizations provide almost the only remaining avenues of communication between the races.

2. Interagency Cooperation. -- The Council has already, of necessity, assumed a greatly increased responsibility for coordination and clearing-house work with other agencies. This has been in response to the expressed wishes and requests of a number of organizations, including the social action departments of the major religious denominations active in the South, the several Jewish agencies concerned with human relations, the trade unions, and such groups as the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP, the YMCA, and the YWCA. The Council has four times served as convener of thirty of these agencies for the sharing of ideas and joint program planning. At their request, the Council has also coordinated their concerted field efforts.

3. National Communication. -- The Council has played a central part in the newly formed national Consultative Conference on Desegregation. Through this association and other channels, we have greatly increased communication and cooperation between enlightened Southerners and national forces concerned with desegregation.

4. Federal Agencies. -- The Council is called upon by various departments of the Federal Government for interpretation of Southern problems and for specially assembled information, made possible through our fact-finding program. For example, the Department of Justice requested and was given the complete raw findings of the Council's special survey on the status of Negro suffrage in the South.

5. Interpretation through the Press. -- One of the main assets of the Council has always been its reputation with the press, Southern and national, as a dependable and authoritative source of information about all aspects of race relations in the South. The Council and its parent organization have served as a repository of such information since 1919. Many Southern editors and newspapers whose policies on racial matters are directly opposed to those of the Council are accustomed to relying without question on the Council's information services. This function too has greatly increased and continues to grow with each passing day. It is no exaggeration to say that the Council now serves in this way virtually all of the major national publications and a great many Southern ones. To the newspapers must be added a growing list of radio and television programs.

Substitute other version

6. The Consultant Service Program. --- Established as a service to the Council's state affiliates, this program has greatly broadened its scope and usefulness. Within the limit of resources, we are undertaking to make special consultants available to public or private leadership in Southern communities with outstanding problems or opportunities. Within recent months, for example, upon official invitation, the Council has made available the consultative services of a Kentucky county school superintendent, who successfully carried out desegregation, to a local school board in North Carolina beginning quietly to plan for such a change.

7. Victims of Pressure and Reprisal. -- The Council has been heavily concerned with the difficulties of individuals and groups that have undergone abuse, ostracism, and sometimes violence in the segregation controversy. We have helped victims of economic reprisal to secure financial help through such programs as the "Rights of Conscience" project of the American Friends Service Committee. We have helped ministers and teachers, discharged for their dissenting views, to find new positions. We have worked with the interracial community at Koinonia Farm in its efforts to get support and legal counsel that would enable it to continue in Americus, Georgia. Beleaguered newspaper editors have also turned to the Council for advice and aid. We are deeply concerned about the impact of hostility and violence on the children, white and Negro, in the forefront of desegregation. Through the investigations of Dr. Kenneth Clark, we are seeking to improve our understanding of the adverse effects of these experiences, and ways in which they can be minimized.

8. Work with Labor. -- Under a special arrangement, the Council has recently acquired the serv ces of a well-qualified staff member bearing the title of Labor Consultant. This staff member's function is to serve as a resource and liaison person with the unions in the South, which hold great promise as an important influence for progress in race relations. Although this position was initially established on a temporary basis, it has already yielded such fruitful results that it has been continued as part of the regular staff structure.

9. Other Functions.--- All of the important activities that the Council has regularly carried on are being expanded and intensified to the limit of resources as the demands on the Council mount. In this category are the work with church women and other women's groups, the ~~maintenance of comprehensive reference files to service~~ servicing of a stream of information requests, the distribution of program materials, the publication of the Council's monthly publication New South, and the briefing of foreign visitors travelling in the South under the auspices of the State Department and other public and private sponsors.

February 21, 1958

Mr. Edmund A. Rosenthal
The Rosenthal Fund
600 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rosenthal:

Enclosed is a copy of the Council's Annual Report of Program Activities, which I hope you will find of interest.

I am sending several additional copies separately with the thought that they may assist the consideration of the Council's program by the Benjamin R. Rosenthal Foundation .

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - SRC Annual Report, 1957
List of Board Members

via air mail

September 26, 1960

Mr. Edmund Rosenthal
The Rosenthal Foundation
600 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rosenthal:

It was a pleasure to see you again last week and to have an opportunity to follow up Miss Wilkins' presentation of the current activities and needs of the Council.

We are most hopeful that you and your associates in the Benjamin Rosenthal Foundation will reach a favorable decision on the Council's request when you meet later in the fall.

Meanwhile, with appreciation and kind regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Put on mailing list 6/11/62

June 11, 1962

Mr. Edmond A. Rosenthal
President
Benjamin Rosenthal Foundation, Inc.
350 - 5th Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rosenthal:

Miss Josephine Wilkins has asked that I send you the enclosure.

I have no present plans for being in New York except the knowledge that some time this summer I must go up. I would very much like to meet you at that time and shall write in hopes that I may have an appointment.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - "Facts on Executive Support..."
March 27, Congressional Record Clip - Statment by Sen. Keating re: Executive Support...

September 6, 1962

Mr. Edmund A. Rosenthal
President
The Benjamin Rosenthal Foundation
350 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, New York

Dear Mr. Rosenthal:

Miss Josephine Wilkins has, I believe, written to you that I shall be in New York later this month. I hope very much that there may be an opportunity for me to see you. Would Monday, September 24 at 2:30 p. m. be possible? If not, I shall be glad to fit my schedule to your convenience.

We are most grateful for the courtesy you have shown Miss Wilkins, and for your interest in our work.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

September 18, 1962

Miss Rose N. Glenn
Benjamin Rosenthal Foundation, Inc.
350 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, New York

Dear Miss Glenn:

Thank you for your kind letter of September 12. I regret that I shall not be able to see Mr. Rosenthal this time, but do look forward to meeting him later. I shall be speaking in New York on Sunday, October 28 and could, if he were available, stay over to see him at his convenience on October 29.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

BENJ. ROSENTHAL FOUNDATION, INC.
350 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 1, N.Y.

September 12th,
1 9 6 2

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We have for acknowledgment your letter of September 6th, and I hasten to respond and say that Mr. Rosenthal is in Europe on a business trip, and may not be back in the States by September 24th.

I would suggest therefore that you contact us again when you have scheduled a subsequent trip to New York, and we shall be most pleased to arrange an appointment for you.

Very truly yours,

Rose N. Glenn

Rose N. Glenn
Executive Secretary

October 5, 1962

Mr. Edmund A. Rosenthal
President
Benjamin Rosenthal Foundation, Inc.
350 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, New York

Dear Mr. Rosenthal:

Thank you for your letter of September 25. Miss Wilkins had informed me, after her visit with you, that there was no possibility that your foundation could make an early contribution to the Southern Regional Council. I am grateful to you for writing frankly and for our part we do, of course, hope you may some time see your way clear to making a contribution in this area. Whether or not you can, we would like for you to be informed about the Council.

I would, therefore, like to come in on October 29 at 10:30 a.m., if that is convenient. Since I last wrote you, I have somehow let myself get involved in a luncheon meeting on that day and so shall be staying over anyhow. I look forward to seeing you.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

40,000
5,000 = 0

BENJ. ROSENTHAL FOUNDATION, INC.
350 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 1, N.Y.

September 25th,
1 9 6 2

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We have for acknowledgment your letter of September 18th suggesting a possible meeting in New York on October 29th.

If it is your intention to be in New York on that day I will, of course, be most happy to see you any time after 10 A.M. However, it is not likely that we will be in a position to act favorably on your request for assistance at this time, or in the very immediate future, and this fact may have a bearing on whether or not you remain in New York on that Monday.

However, if you believe it worthwhile in the interest of your Agency to remain over under these circumstances, I will of course be only too happy to see you.

Very truly yours,

Edmund A. Rosenthal

EDMUND A. ROSENTHAL
President

EAR:g

November 1, 1962

Mr. Edmund A. Rosenthal
President
Benjamin Rosenthal Foundation, Inc.
350 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, New York

Dear Mr. Rosenthal:

I greatly enjoyed my visit with you last Monday. As you said then, we have supplied you pretty well with materials about the Southern Regional Council. If you or your associates may wish any additional information, however, please call on me for it.

Once again, thank you for taking the time to see me.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

March 4, 1963

Mr. Edmund A. Rosenthal
President
Benjamin Rosenthal Foundation, Inc.
350 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, New York

Dear Mr. Rosenthal:

We are enclosing one copy each of my report of 1962 program, our approved budget for 1963, and our Financial Statement for last year.

Best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 3.

o

Please put the following on our mailing lists to receive all SRC materials:

Rosenthal, Mr. Edmond A.
President
Benjamin Rosenthal Foundation, Inc.
350 - 5hh Avenue
New York, New York

Suspend to May 3

April 4, 1957

Note on Hal's Calendar

Mr. John R. May
The San Francisco Foundation
351 California Street
San Francisco 4, California

Dear Mr. May:

Oscar Cohen of the Anti-Defamation League had mentioned to me the possibility that you might be coming South and, if so, would likely call on us. I am very glad to learn from you that the possibility has materialized. I will be in the office on Monday, May 6th, and will look forward to seeing you then. If we can advise you and Mrs. May about your itinerary, we will be very glad to do so.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

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RALPH C. WHITSETT, JR.
Chairman, Trustees' Committee

March 29, 1957

RECEIVED APR 2 1957

Mr. Howard Flemming
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Flemming:

I hope to be in Atlanta for a day or so, arriving Sunday evening, May 5th. Would it be possible for me to impose on your time by calling at your office some time on the morning of Monday, May 6th?

The reason for this strange request from a total stranger lies in the fact that I am an officer of two small foundations on the West Coast, each of which has an interest in problems of race relations. I should deeply appreciate any guidance which you might care to give me.

My wife and I are planning to make our visit to the South partly business and partly vacation. We have approximately a week in which to get to New York by rented car and our itinerary is open. If possible, I should like to make a visit to you my first order of business.

May I hear from you at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

John R. May

JOHN R. MAY

jrm:ehw

THE SAN FRANCISCO FOUNDATION (From American Foundations, etc.)

"A community trust established in 1948 by Resolution and Declaration of Trust. Donors: Numerous

"Purpose: To provide flexible and efficient machinery for the joint administration of funds of all sizes, placed in trust for charitable, educational, cultural, and other purposes in the public interest.

"Limitations: Preference is given to purposes within the City and County of San Francisco, although funds may be applied anywhere within the U. S. or in foreign countries, if so specifically provided by the founder of a particular trust.

"Current fields of interest; Aged, children, handicapped, health and medicine, intercultural relations, recreation, social welfare.

"Financial Date (year ended June 30, 1954): Active capital, $9,931; total expenditures, not reported; total grants, $126,416."

June 27, 1957

Mr. John R. May
The San Francisco Foundation
351 California Street
San Francisco 4, California

Dear John:

Very nice to hear from you again now that you are back at home base. Jane and I greatly enjoyed our evening together and hope that, here or there, we can get together again one of these days.

I had word of you both from St. Helena and New York. The Siceloffs were delighted with you and Margarita, and Dave Freeman spoke of you very highly in philanthropoidal terms.

Let us by all means keep in touch. I will see that you are placed on our mailing list and will probably be writing you from time to time.

With warm regards to you both,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED JUN 24 1957

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RALPH C. WHITSETT, JR., *Chairman, Trustees' Committee*

June 18, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

One of the very pleasantest highspots in our recent trip east was when Margarita and I had a chance to get acquainted with you and your wife. I look forward with confidence to the prospect of getting better acquainted before too long.

As you may know by this time, we did go to St. Helena Island and spent an hour or so with the Siceloffs. What thoroughly nice people they are! We didn't take advantage of your other suggestion, but I hope we can do that on the next trip.

When I was in New York I called on Dave Freeman at the Fund for the Republic, and reacted rather vigorously to his statement that the Fund was pulling out of the race relations field. This seems to me a very great pity, just at the present.

We had an awfully busy time of it after our pleasant week of wandering in the South, what with meetings in New York, Philadelphia, Atlantic City, and so forth, and it's good to be home again.

Let's keep in touch occasionally. Above all, if anything should bring you out this way, do let me know in advance.

With the very best regards from both of us to both of you.

Sincerely,

JOHN R. MAY

JRM/mg

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Chairman, Trustees' Committee

July 18, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks so much for sending me the report on the Council's work during the last six months. I have read it with great interest and, I hope, benefit. It's a grand job you are doing.

Cordially yours,

JOHN R. MAY

jrm:ehw

VIA AIR MAIL

December 26, 1957

Mr. John R. May
Executive Director
The San Francisco Foundation
Balfour Building
351 California Street
San Francisco 4, California

Dear John:

I'm sorry that my travels, which merged with the Christmas shut-down, have delayed this reply to your letter dated December 12.

While I have had no recent information, I know that the anti-NAACP lobby has sought to have the tax-exemption of the Legal and Educational Fund revoked. And it is logical to assume that this effort has continued and probably increased in intensity.

But I have felt -- and still feel -- that any such action by the IRS would be unlikely. Such a move would create a storm of protest, particularly since it would surely be viewed as a surrender to pro-segregation pressure. Far be it from me to suggest that the IRS would be influenced by political considerations; I merely advance a doubt that any prudent government official would intentionally inflict a political crisis on the President and Executive Branch.

That, at any rate, has been my view. But anything is possible in these turbulent times, and I may be dead wrong. If tax-exemption were removed, I wouldn't know what to suggest as an alternative. No tax-exempt organization that

I know of could even remotely be considered a substitute, at least in terms of legal action. The American Friends Service Committee, through some such effort as its "Rights of Conscience" program, might pick up a small part of the load. As for "educational" activity, a number of human relations organizations, including SRC, would be worthy of consideration.

I would assume, however, that the work of the Legal and Educational Defense Fund would go on, tax-exemption or no tax-exemption. If that were the case, tax-exempt philanthropies might be able to help indirectly -- and properly -- by giving scholarship aid to promising legal talent, underwriting special legal research, and so on.

I hope these off-the-top comments are of some use to you.

Jan and I haven't forgotten your invitation to visit San Francisco and if opportunity comes nigh, will seize it by the forelock. For now, we'll have to content ourselves with wishing you and Margarita every joy in the new year.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

December 17, 1957

Mr. John R. May
Executive Director
The San Francisco Foundation
Balfour Building
351 California Street
San Francisco 4, California

Dear Mr. May:

Your letter to Mr. Fleming of December 12 has been received. However, Mr. Fleming is presently in New York and will not return to the office until the end of the week. I shall call your letter to his attention immediately upon his return and I am sure he will be more than pleased to discuss the matter of which you inquire then.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary

/MF

RECEIVED DEC 17 1957

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RALPH C. WHITSETT, JR. *Chairman, Trustees' Committee*

December 12, 1957

Mr. Harold G. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This ought to be just a Christmas letter, wishing you and yours all the joys of the Season -- but it isn't. It is a matter of shop talk.

I'd like to have your counsel on a matter which has recently come up, involving our future responsibility in connection with an estate to be used for such work as is presently done by the tax exempt arm of the NAACP.

No doubt there are forces at work which aim toward the withdrawal of tax exemption from this effective arm of the NAACP. What, if any, are their chances of success? If you care to give me your estimate, I would be most appreciative.

Second, in the unfortunate event of such success, what should be done with money which ordinarily would go to support such activities, but can only be given to tax exempt organizations?

There, that's all I have to trouble you with at the moment.

Now, I've done my business, and I can take the opportunity to wish you and yours all the joys of this Christmas Season. Margarita and I look forward hopefully to the time when you two will come out this way, and, we hope, spend some time with us.

Cordially yours,

JOHN R. MAY

jrm:ehw

VIA AIR MAIL

January 15, 1958

Mr. John R. May
Executive Director
The San Francisco Foundation
Balfour Building
351 California Street
San Francisco 4, California

Dear John:

Apropos of your recent query, here are a couple of straws in the wind. The enclosed clipping relates the restoration of tax-exempt status to Highlander Folk School - about as controversial an effort in this field as you can find. Also we have just heard that the South Carolina Council on Human Relations has, after many months of waiting, received a favorable ruling from the Internal Revenue Service.

These actions are doubly significant since, for several years, the IRS has issued almost no new tax-exempt rulings for race relations organizations.

Thanks for the copy of The Commonwealth. I've been particularly interested in the club since they invited Judge Brady of Mississippi to speak.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 Thermofax copy of Atlanta Constitution Article on Highlander's Tax-Exemption

RECEIVED JAN - 8 1958

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RALPH C. WHITSETT, JR. *Chairman, Trustees' Committee*

January 3, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks so much for your very helpful reply of the 26th to my recent letter of inquiry.

I have taken the liberty of sending your letter, after making a copy of it for our file, on to the gent on whose behalf I asked you for advice. I have done this deliberately, in the hope that some benefit to SRC may accrue, now or later.

I hope your business will bring you out here before too long, or that I can come your way again.

Cordially,

John

JOHN R. MAY

jrm:ehw

P.S. You may know of this once-distinguished club, now fallen on evil days. Look at the questions thrown at Warren Olney.

The Commonwealth

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH CLUB OF CALIFORNIA

Vol. XXXIII | San Francisco 19, California, Monday, December 30, 1957 | No. 52

TUESDAY, Jan. 7th, 12:10 p.m.

Peacock Court,
Hotel MARK HOPKINS

$3.75 LADIES' DAY ADVANCE TICKETS REQUIRED

William Randolph HEARST, JR.

Just back from Moscow, post-Sputnik Interviews with Khrushchev

With FRANK CONNIFF

National Editor, Hearst Papers, and Member of Hearst Team Which Interviewed the Soviet Dictator.

"Are the Communists Winning the Peace?"

¶ *The remarkable Hearst interviews with Khrushchev were front-page news all over the world. Now William Randolph Hearst, Jr., Editor in Chief of the Hearst Papers, and Frank Conniff, National Editor, Hearst Papers, will appear in person to give their fresh, uncensored reports. (Three years ago the Garden Court was packed to the rafters to see and hear this reporting team.)*

LADIES' DAY — $3.75 Tickets — Tickets will be mailed members whose checks and self-addressed, stamped reply envelope are received by Friday, January 3rd. Tickets reserved by phone (DOuglas 2-4903) will be brought to meeting entrance.

Friday, January 3rd, 12:10 p.m. **Sheraton-Palace Hotel**

"CRYSTAL BALL FOR 1958"

by Chancellor TULLY C. KNOLES

of the College of Pacific

His 12th annual "Crystal Ball" address!

$2.75 a plate **President GARDINER JOHNSON, Presiding**

Club's Friday Radio Net
(Time p.m. *)
OAKLAND, KLX (910) 12:15* Su.
APPLE VALLEY, KAVR 2:15* Su.
BAKERSFIELD, KMAP 8:00* Su.
EL CENTRO, KXO (1230) 6:30* Su.
EUREKA, KIEM (1480) 10:30* Su
FORT BRAGG, KDAC (1230) 6:30* Su.
FRESNO, KMJ (580) 6:45* Tu.
MODESTO, KBEE (970) 12:15* Sa.
SACRAMENTO, KFBK (1530) 6:30* Sa
SALINAS, KDON (1460) 10:30* Su.
SAN LUIS OBISPO, KATY, 7:30* Wed.
SANTA BARBARA, KTMS (1250) 9:30* Su.
STOCKTON, KWG (1230) 8:50* Su.
SUSANVILLE, KSUE (1240) 7* Th.
TURLOCK, KTUR (1390) 6:30* Sa.
YREKA, KSYC (1490) 2:00* Su.

"AFL-CIO OUSTER DOES WEAKEN EXPELLED UNION"

Asst. Labor Secretary Tells Effectiveness of "House-Cleaning"

THE RECORD shows that expulsion from the AFL-CIO "does weaken the ousted union and give the forces of morality and decency an opportunity to prevail," Millard Cass, Deputy Undersecretary of Labor, said in a recent talk to the Industrial Relations Section (Ted Lyman, Chairman).

"In 1949-50 there were 11 unions expelled from the CIO for being communist-dominated. These 11 unions had between 850,000 and 900,000 claimed members at that time. Today only four of those unions still survive, and their estimated membership by 1956 was down to 277,000.

"The International Longshoremen's Association was expelled from the AFL in 1953 for being racket-ridden. A competing union was set up by the AFL, and the ILA's membership dropped from 75,000 prior to its expulsion to 52,000 in 1956."

Cass said there are three kinds of corruption in which labor leaders are engaged:

"One involves personal corruption, unconnected with the union or its funds. This is like corruption by people in any walk of life. If a man cheats on his income tax return or commits perjury or wilfully harms persons or property, the public has the same interest whether he is in labor, management, or public service. Dealing with such people is a simple matter of effective law enforcement.

—The second kind of corruption involves misuse of union funds. The dues and assessments union members pay are hard-earned money which union leaders must handle as a trust. Diverting these funds to their personal use is not only embezzlement—it is also sinful. For this kind of thievery the guilty labor leader bears sole responsibility, and he alone should be punished.

—The third kind of corruption involves financial transactions or deals with employers with whom the union bargains. The abuse can exist only when both labor and management get together to take advantage of workers and the public.

—The record of industrial relations in our country contains instances of bribes, payoffs and kick-backs by management to buy off labor leaders and break the union or obtain a soft contract.

—Obviously, businessmen did not make these labor leaders corrupt—honest leaders cannot be corrupted. In some instances, however, businessmen were offered deals, or themselves instituted deals, which helped make the weaklings, the avaricious and the amoral in the labor movement what they are today.

—The actions of corrupt labor leaders are in striking contrast to those of Samuel Gompers when he was offered a bribe. An employer told him: 'If you can get the men with your influence over them to accept a reduction . . . I will divide the reduction with you . . . , enter into a contract with you for five years and see that your salary is increased.' Gompers indignantly rejected this corrupt offer and because he 'did not have another nickel for carfare, . . . had to walk home in all the snow and slush with broken shoes.' This was on a Saturday evening, and as Gompers relates, 'on Monday morning I went to the factory and got my tools and quit the place.'

—Most labor leaders are able men and

(Continued on page 344)

The Commonwealth

Published every Monday by the

Commonwealth Club of California

Office, Hotel St. Francis Phone DOuglas 2-4903

SAN FRANCISCO 19, CALIF. FOUNDED 1903

"Get the Facts" — Founder Adams

Entered as second class mail matter at the San Francisco post office, May 11, 1925. Subscription rate one dollar per quarter, included in monthly dues. Editor, Stuart R. Ward; Managing Editor, William L. Hudson.

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DEEP SOUTH STRATEGY DESIGNED TO KILL SUPREME COURT DECISION, SAYS OLNEY

FRIDAY FLASHES—DECEMBER 20TH

From Address by WARREN OLNEY III
Former Assistant Attorney General of U. S.

"THE SPECTACLE of the governor of a state calling out the National Guard to prevent 10 colored children from entering school on the pretext that such action was necessary to protect the community from violence; his defiance of the laws and courts of the United States; the incitation of a near riot against school children; and the need to call upon federal troops to protect them against their own state government and their own fellow citizens mock our ideals of freedom and equality, law and justice.

Gradual Desegregation

—The developments of September 1957 were preceded by litigation in which the government was not a party.

—On May 17, 1954 the Supreme Court of the United States by unanimous decision held that 'separate educational facilities (on a racial basis) are essentially unequal' and that those against whom such restrictions are enforced are thereby deprived 'of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.'

—The following year the Little Rock School Board approved its plan for gradual elimination of racial segregation from the schools.

Negro Students Barred

—School opened September 3rd with Governor Faubus' guardsmen prepared to bar entry to all Negro students. The school board petitioned the federal court for instructions. The court directed the board to proceed with acceptance of the Negro students forthwith.

—The next day nine Negro students appeared at the high school but they were repulsed.

—Judge Davies now appealed to the United States Attorney to assist in determining why and by whom the court order was being obstructed and the plans of the school board thwarted. Federal Board of Investigation investigation developed documentary proof that Governor Faubus had ordered the Guard expressly to exclude Negro students from the school premises.

—This was a deliberate frustration of the orders of the district court. It was also nullification of the Constitution.

—The court directed the government to serve an order to show cause. . . . The Governor's counsel walked out of court. . . . The court did not order the Governor to remove the National Guard . . . but that Guardsmen desist from preventing eligible Negro students from attending school.

—Governor Faubus told a radio-television audience he would comply. However, he withdrew the Guardsmen, leaving the 10 children to the tender mercies of the white racists.

Eisenhower Called on Mob to Disperse

—It became all too plain that the public agencies of Little Rock and Arkansas would not provide the Negro students with the equal protection of the laws. Before the day was over President Eisenhower issued his Proclamation calling on the mob to disperse.

—The mob again gathered. Thereupon the President issued an Executive Order.

—A unit of the armed forces was sent to Little Rock at once, while the Arkansas National Guard was federalized. The Negro students returned to school under protection of the soldiers.

—Meanwhile, Governor Faubus continues to proclaim that Arkansas is occupied territory. It is perfectly clear that the federal government intervened solely because the efforts of the school board were being forcibly obstructed in defiance of the courts, the laws and the Constitution of the United States.

States Do Have Rights But . . .

—The states do have rights reserved to them but no state and no governor has any right to use troops, a mob, or any other means to deprive any citizen of the United States of the equal protection of the laws.

—We must face up to the realization that in the past three years there has emerged in the Deep South a political strategy designed to kill completely the Supreme Court's decision.

—The belief has been spread among southern segregationists that the court's decision can be defied completely and for all time. This is the strategy of nullification.

—Anti-barratry laws, which make it illegal for anyone to give money or aid to a person

(Continued on next page)

Olney Outlines "Strategy for Compliance" on Integration

OLNEY (Continued from preceding page)

seeking to protect his rights in court, have been passed. Pupil placement schemes, interposition statutes, and laws aimed at harassing Negroes and their organizations and harassing other moderate and progressive groups, have also been passed. The full power of state government, legislative as well as executive, is being directed to prevent Negroes from attaining equality under the law.

Stressed Three Principles

—Any new strategy to obtain compliance with the Constitution should begin by defining, or redefining, what is at stake in this whole struggle.

—Three principles ought to be stressed:

(1) There can be no compromise with the ultimate goal towards which we must move. We must become steadily more and more one nation in the treatment of the races.

(2) As to the specific steps, there should be the fullest opportunity for discussion, experimentation and even compromise. Perhaps it will take a whole new generation before full racial equality under the law will be really accepted, but such a generation will never emerge if the first steps are not taken now.

(3) The national objective is gradual, orderly, evolutionary change.

To Find Areas of Agreement

—I believe one of the most useful agencies could be the Civil Rights Commission authorized by the last Congress. The Commission might well undertake to find in specific crucial communities the maximum area of agreement appropriate to that community on a program of gradual desegregation.

—Unless the voice of reason and moderation is given new life and strength in the South, there will be no change on these issues.

—We must make an effort to write into the law at least some of the provisions of the Civil Rights Bill which were stricken out.

—We must arm the Attorney General with legislation making it possible for him to intervene to seek injunctions and restraining orders in at least two situations. The first is when he is requested by local authorities such as school boards. The second is when aggrieved individuals make such a request and are not themselves able to carry out a suit.

—The Southern states have used the full power of their governments to fight the Supreme Court decision. At the same time, it is expected that Negroes, often defenseless, should fight these cases to carry out the law of the land on their own.

—It costs at least $5,000 to take a case to the Supreme Court. Under the anti-barratry laws no help can be given to them from private individuals or groups.

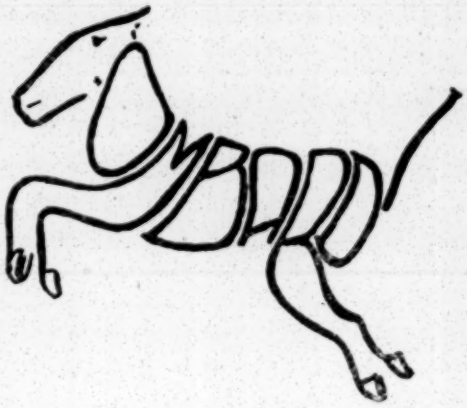
—Thus, the Negro seeking justice in the South enters a fight with both hands tied behind his back. To secure his Constitutional rights requires government assistance."

To Written Questions from Floor:

Q: (F. E. Fuhrman) What authority for President's Executive Order to Department of Defense? **A:** The answer is in Chapter 15, Title 10 of the U.S. Code, based on a principle that has given the President the power to use troops under circumstances of this sort since George Washington used it in the Whiskey rebellion. Other presidents used it at least thirteen times. When re-enacted in 1956, the statute was approved by sub-committee headed by Senator McLelland of Arkansas and passed unanimously by the full Committee headed by Senator Eastland of Mississippi.

Q: (M. Dooling) It has been stated President has no power to call out troops to

(Continued on last page)



The Club received many beautiful Christmas cards which were appreciated, but above was the most intriguing. Can you make it out?

Says Refugee Act Needs Tailoring to Individual

Under the refugee act which expired in 1956, many problems arose because too little attention had been given to individual circumstances, Donald Canter, *San Francisco News* "Heritage" columnist, said to the Immigration Section (Arthur J. Phelan, Chairman).

The speaker recalled that under the 1953 refugee statute the Netherlands had been allocated a quota of 17,000. He stated that the Dutch government encouraged Dutch citizens to apply for visas and they obtained the necessary assurances of housing and employment through certain voluntary agencies.

—In about 70% of the cases the assurances of the agency involved were pure formality, and when the refugee arrived in New York he was told no job and no housing were available.

—Many refugees found it difficult to obtain jobs after arrival because they were without knowledge of English; especially so in cases of persons who were of middle age or older. Even our own people sometimes find it difficult to obtain work after they are over 45. All persons seeking to come to the United States should be given realistic information as to what they would encounter. Many, given correct information, would not come.

—While 32,000 Hungarians who escaped into Austria came to the United States, 20,000 more who escaped into Yugoslavia did not. Among the latter group, for example, was the son of a refugee who had come to the United States recently, but the son could not join him here because the quota was filled. Some provision should be made for the members of the families of refugees who had already come to the United States in order that the families may not be separated.

—There is need of continuing refugee legislation but there should be agreement between the free nations whereby each country would take a stipulated number and families be reunited. A more realistic approach to the problem of the individual refugee would eliminate some of the distressing situations which have heretofore arisen."

It Was Congressman MOSS!

Tests of one sort or another being the vogue these days, The Commonwealth (inadvertently) tested its readers last week with a headline referring to "Cong. Miller" over the "flashes" of a talk by Congressman Moss.

Well, how many do you think noticed the "brodie"? Score, so far: no phone calls, no postcards, no letters, no buttonholings, and no telegrams!

Our apologies to Congressman John E. MOSS!

States Would Boost Interstate Road System 13,000 Miles

Thirteen thousand miles of expansion in the Interstate Highway System have been suggested by the various states, Roy E. Jorgensen, engineering counsel of the National Highway Users Conference, said in talking to the Highways and Transportation Section recently (George D. Whittle, Chairman).

Jorgensen said in part:

"There is always agitation to increase the 40,000 orginal miles. Colorado was successful in creasing the mileage to 41,000 in 1956, then added 1,000 miles to take care of the Denver-Salt Lake City connection.

—The people have been alerted on costs of construction and additions. Even though a mileage increase has been made, some 1,102 miles have been cut from the system by route changes and recomputing mileage. The savings in mileage were wholly in eastern United States.

—Eventually the whole system might be constructed on a 'needs' basis, since the 27-billion estimates have been reappraised and we now have unofficial estimates of from 35 to 40 billion dollars. With this big increase in costs and with some mileage construction and right-of-way costs increasing around 300%, what is to be done?

—Two things can be done: (1) reduce costs, which means reduced mileage and standards, or (2) increase the amount of money by increasing taxes.

—It has been suggested that the matching ratio be increased above the 90:10 ratio. A proposed 75-25 ratio sounds unrealistic.

—Generally, the engineers are adverse to reducing standards and building the highways by stages, although it is conceded that we must be conservative and construct what is most needed."

Lists 3 Types of Labor Corruption

CASS (Continued from page 340)

women who could make more money in other walks of life but have sublimated desire for personal profit to idealism and service to others. When such a person strays from the path of righteousness, is it any wonder that the entire community is outraged?

—Federal, state and local laws are adequate to deal with most labor abuses revealed so far. Any new legislation must not be repressive.

—Two pieces of legislation already requested by President Eisenhower and Secretary Mitchell can, however, help cure the evils which exist. They would (1) require registration and disclosure of health, welfare and pension funds and punish those who embezzle monies from these funds, and (2) require the Secretary of Labor to make public the union financial statements now filed with the Department of Labor under the Taft-Hartley Act.

—More important than legislation are the actions which labor and management themselves can take. Businessmen have to avoid making deals with crooks or communists. Workers, on their part, have an obligation to clean their own house by both group and individual action."

IN THE COMMONWEALTH LIBRARY

"Seven Years Solitary — The Story of a Remarkable Woman who Triumphed Over Her Captors"
By Edith Bone

This is the story of a 60-year-old British woman Communist, who was captured by the Hungarian Communists and kept in solitary confinement for **seven years**, subjected to a series of minor tortures in an effort to get her to confess that she was, in reality, a British spy.

The most interesting part of this interesting book is really not what is printed in the book, but rather what the reader cannot fail to extract from between the lines—the psychology of the Communist officials and guards and the red organization as a whole. She was "interviewed" by some forty-five officials during the seven years period in efforts to get her to "confess."

Also—and perhaps above all else—this is a most interesting study in psychology (though it does not pretend to be this) in that it reflects the indomitable will and inner conviction of innate superiority of the British as a people and of a baffling feminine psychology pitted for eighty-four interminable months against the craft and brutality of the Hungarian communist machine. —S.R.W.

"Slums in agriculture are just as undesirable as slums in a city."

—Farm Bureau Pres. LOUIS A. ROZZONI

SECTION LUNCHEONS

St. Francis Hotel — Unless Otherwise Noted

NEXT WEEK

Tuesday, January 7th

SPANISH GROUP OF LATIN AMERICA—"Lecturas Iberoamericanas" y "New Spanish Grammar." Instructor Don Ulpiano Borja.

Wednesday, January 8th

BEGINNERS SPANISH GROUP OF LATIN AMERICA—"Aqui se habla espanol" y "Vamos a hablar espanol." Instructor Don Ulpiano Borja.

Thursday, January 9th

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

HIGHWAYS & TRANSPORTATION — "The City-County-State Cooperative Road Study," by Senator Randolph Collier, Chairman, Joint Interim Committee on Highway Problems.

"Must Strengthen Civil Rights Bill," Says Olney

OLNEY (Continued from page 342)

police the State unless Governor requests this. Answer? **A:** Troops did not carry out general police powers, but implemented order of federal court.

Q: (Don Sickel) Any law to prevent southern states from ending public schools and setting up segregated private schools? **A:** No—only real protection is good sense of the people.

Q: (H. O. Hammerick) Is NAACP a power bloc responsible for much of the violence? **A:** I know of no instance where there is any evidence indicating that the NAACP ever instigated violence.

Q: (Vernon L. Goodin) Could not U.S. marshals have been used instead of troops? **A:** U.S. marshals don't exist in sufficient numbers but more than that, the frontier days are gone. U.S. marshals today don't wear badges and guns or undertake constable work.

Q: (Maurice E. Gibson) Was judicial process exhausted before military force used? **A:** There had been hearing after hearing, order after order; every step had been taken, order was final but it was defied.

Q: (Consul Gen. Young Han Choo) Did not slowness of federal action bring unfavorable reaction toward U.S.? **A:** Not because of **unnecessary** delay of federal system. The government cannot enter into such a situation unless facts and laws justify it. They had to go through all the hearings before executive could act.

Q: (John Carrothers) Could President have issued orders to members of National Guard of Arkansas? **A:** Had to be federalized first.

Q: (Wilbur H. Grant) Dean Manion says 14th Amendment never ratified; how can Supreme Court decision based on it be law of land? **A:** Supreme Court and Federal Executive have always held 14th Amendment part of Constitution.

June 10, 1958

Mr. John R. May
Executive Director
The San Francisco Foundation
Balfour Building
351 California Street
San Francisco 4, California

Dear John:

One of my friends out there has sent me a copy of the article on the San Francisco Foundation which appeared in the Chronicle of June 2. Congratulations on a fine presentation of a very impressive program.

All the best to you and Margarita.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Fleming may be interested in this!

The S. F. Foundation's Decade: Helpful Millions

By David Perlman

When a handicapped child first learns to talk, or a former mental patient offers encouragement to a State hospital inmate, or a Bataan veteran wins a back pay check and a job, they all have one thing in common.

They have shared in the success of an institution that is celebrating its tenth anniversary here today: the San Francisco Foundation.

Children and adults, the sick and the well, the successful and the delinquent are all the Foundation's concern.

It is a unique institution in this city, formed to give away money. And it has given away plenty: $1.3 million so far, and more to come.

NO CAMPAIGNS

The Foundation, with a distinguished roster of San Franciscans at its helm, collects money, too. It runs no public campaigns for funds, no raffles, no rummage sales.

But today the Foundation has assets totaling $1,150,000, after starting in May of 1948 with exactly $20.

The Foundation gets its money because it is a "community trust." As John W. May, its executive director, puts it:

"We offer to anyone — not just the very wealthy — an efficient framework for gifts to charity. Gifts of one dollar and bequests of millions can be handled equally well, for charitable purposes in general or for any specifically named charity."

MEMORIAL GIFTS

Much of the Foundation's money comes from bequests in wills or from memorial gifts. Because it can use its own discretion in allocating funds, the Foundation avoids the problem of what to do with money bequeathed to causes that no longer exist or no longer need money.

There once was a time, for example, when people willed money to ransom pirates, or to free slaves. When the pirates disappeared and the slaves were freed the money got tangled up in endless and costly court proceedings. No court costs drain the San Francisco Foundation's resources.

Looking back on the Foundation's career of giving since it made its first $4500 grant to the May T. Morrison Center to establish a speech therapy clinic director, May can recall a tremendously varied range of projects.

There have been grants in the field of health: $21,500 to Mt. Zion Hospital for research; $15,000 to St. Luke's Hospital to buy surgical equipment.

There have been grants in the field of social work: $34,800 to the Boy Scouts for summer camps, $4500 for a gym at Visitacion Valley Community Center; $2202 to the Travelers' Aid Society for a service program at San Francisco Airport; $5000 to the Red Cross for emergency flood relief work at Marysville.

There have been grants in the arts: $24,000 for seven Kimber Awards to outstanding young San Francisco musicians; $2000 for two Joseph Henry Jackson Awards to promising young writers — one of whom, Dennis Murphy of Salinas, produced the best-seller called "The Sergeant." And in the same field the Foundation gave $12,000 to help pioneer mental patients bridge the uneasy gap between release from State hospitals and full community life.

The club has now sent 130 members through its program of weekly activities, helping them adjust to group participation and giving them confidence after their grievous illnesses.

HOSPITAL VISITS

So successful is the program, aided by psychiatrically trained workers, that the club members themselves now pay regular visits to State Hospitals. They entertain the patients and offer the kind of encouragement that can only come from those who have returned successfully to the world after sharing the travail of the mentally ill.

A small grant has done another big job. This was an $1800 check to the International Institute, a United Crusade agency that aids new immigrants.

The Institute was faced with the problem of 1200 newly arrived veterans of the Philippine Scouts who had won United States citizenship after war service. They came to California three years ago lonely, jobless and unfamiliar with America.

The Institute used the $1800 to provide counseling service for them, to help them find jobs, and to help them settle down with their families. All are successfully working now. And best of all, with the Institute's help, special legislation was passed to give them the back Army pay they had never been able to collect for their war years in the Philippines.

Still another small grant— this one for $2500 — helped start a brand-new organization in San Francisco called Aid to the Visually Handicapped.

This local group used the money to produce texts and other books on typewriters with outsized letters, so that small children with impaired vision could continue their school work. The project is now so widely known that similar services are being planned all over the country.

The San Francisco Foundation is now entering its second decade with more and more grants on the way — grants made only after the most careful screening by experts.

The money to meet the new grants will come, too. More than $15 million is already earmarked in future bequests to the Foundation.

"That's a lot of money," says May. "But it can do a lot of good."

A. P. Wirephoto

West Point's No. 1

Cadet George Walker, 22, of Brooklyn, N. Y., is top man academically in West Point's graduating class of 574.

When he gets his bachelor of science degree at the U. S. Military Academy Wednesday he'll be commissioned a second lieutenant in the Army's armor branch.

Polack Bros. Circus Opens Tomorrow

Polack Bros. circus makes its 18th annual visit to San Francisco tomorrow, commencing a five-day engagement for the Saints and Sinners Milk Fund.

Performances will be twice daily at Civic Auditorium.

Matinees Tuesday through Friday begin at 3 p. m., with the Saturday matinee at 2:15 p. m. All evening shows will start at 8:15 o'clock.

Featured acts include the Wazzan Troupe of Arab acrobats, the Cycling Frielanis and the perch-pole acts of the Victorias.

RCA Offers New Line Of Stereo Equipment

NEW YORK, June 1 (AP) The Radio Corp. of America today announced a complete new line of equipment to bring stereophonic music into the home at mass-market prices.

Stereophonic music is a new medium in which sound is recorded with multiple mi- stero discs but the standard single-sound channel records as well.

"This means valuable record collections amassed over the years will not be obsolete," Seidel said.

STOP HAIR LOSS NOW

Scalp itch and dandruff are two common symptoms of some of the 14 local scalp ailments which cause 92% of all hair loss. Most of these scalp ills can be overcome by the modern, scientific Thomas method of scalp prophylaxis. Thomas first determines *which* conditions are causing *your* loss of hair — and then administers the exact type of treatment needed to overcome those ills. Thomas treatment skilfully combines the use of ultra-violet, high-frequency, and various bactericidal and stimulative formulae.

Treatments Are Medically Approved

A physician checks your health history and Thomas treatment is administered only with his medical approval. If he finds any reason why you might not respond to Thomas treatment, you are immediately told. Resolve today to have a better head of hair — and let Thomas help you keep that resolution. Come in for free consultation with the Thomas expert. Let him show you how this 37-year proved method can help you check falling hair, get rid of dandruff and grow thicker hair. No appointment is required — just come in and say, "I want to see about my hair." Consultation is in private, no charge — no obligation.

MAKE THIS QUICK BALDNESS TEST
If you check one or more of these questions, you should plan now to combat approaching baldness.
☐ Dandruff?
☐ Scalp itch?
☐ Thinning?
☐ Receding?
☐ Hair in comb?
☐ Dry hair?
☐ Oily hair?

THE THOMAS SCALP SPECIALISTS
45 Offices WORLD'S LEADING HAIR EXPERTS

San Francisco: 760 Market (305 Phelan Bldg.) EX 2-3602
Oakland: 1615 Broadway (705 Pierce Bldg.) GL 1-3544
HOURS: 11 a.m. to 8 p.m. SATURDAYS: 10 a.m. to 3 p.m.
FREE PARKING—Separate Departments for Men and Women

"THAT'S MY POP"

"What a man! Best father in the world! Knows everything. Used to hit better than Willie Mays.

Macy's

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treatment, you are immediately told. Resolve today to have a better head of hair — and let Thomas help you keep that resolution. Come in for free consultation with the Thomas expert. Let him show you how this 37-year proved method can help you check falling hair, get rid of dandruff and grow thicker hair. No appointment is required — just come in and say, "I want to see about my hair." Consultation is in private, no charge — no obligation.

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There have been grants in the field of health: $21,500 to Mt. Zion Hospital for research; $15,000 to St. Luke's Hospital to buy surgical equipment.

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Out of the catalogue of hundreds of individual grants, large and small, come three unusual examples.

In one the Foundation gave $10,000 to the San Francisco Association for Mental Health. The money was used to start the first "Fellowship Club" in the west, designed to help with America.

The Institute used the $1800 to provide counseling service for them, to help them find jobs, and to help them settle down with their families. All are successfully working now. And best of all, with the Institute's help, special legislation was passed to give them the back Army pay they had never been able to collect for their war years in the Philippines.

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RCA Offers New Line Of Stereo Equipment

NEW YORK, June 1 (AP) The Radio Corp. of America today announced a complete new line of equipment to bring stereophonic music into the home at mass-market prices.

Stereophonic music is a new medium in which sound is recorded with multiple microphones and then played back with two or more speaker systems, giving depth and direction to the sound.

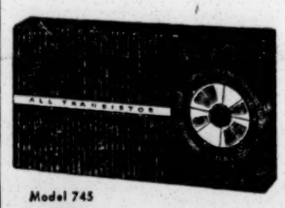
The new line will go on the market later this month and in July.

The new products include stereophonic records, priced slightly higher than the current high fidelity standard monaural (single sound channel) records, stereophonic tape in plastic magazines as easy to load as phonograph records, and a new line of high-fidelity Victrola phonographs.

The new stereophonic players range in price from $129.95 to $2500. There are 15 models in all.

Robert A. Seidel, executive vice president, RCA consumer products, emphasized that the new line can play not only stero discs but the standard single-sound channel records as well.

"This means valuable record collections amassed over the years will not be obsolete," Seidel said.



Model 745

ALL TRANSISTOR POCKET RADIO

- Pocket-Size . . . Big Power
- Choice of Colors
- 5 Transistors plus 2 Diodes

39.95

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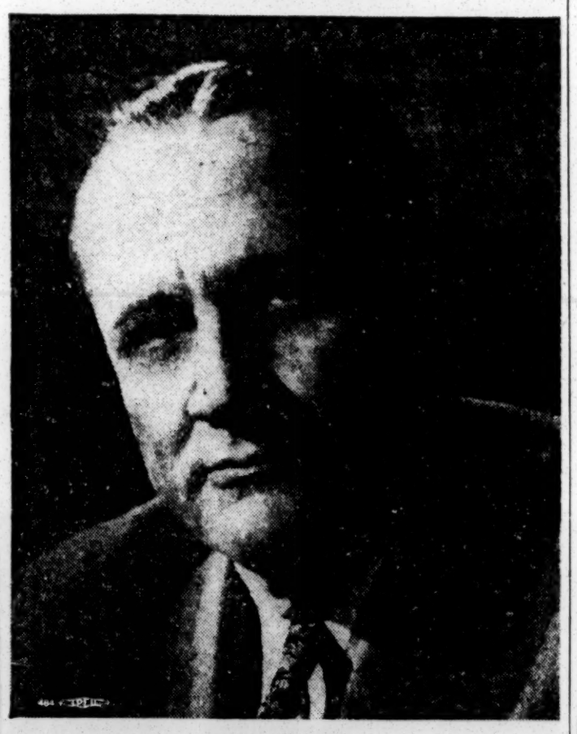
BILL KNOWLAND

Governor



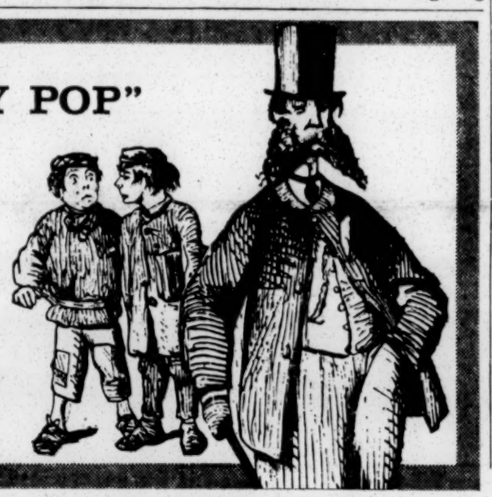
A BIG MAN FOR A BIG JOB

Northern California Knowland for Governor Committee; Robert S. Barkell, Chairman

"THAT'S MY POP"

"What a man! Best father in the world! Knows everything. Used to hit better than Willie Mays. Real smart, too. Increased my allowance just in time for Father's Day. Gonna buy him a terrific present at Bullock & Jones."

Note: We're still first choice of fathers after 106 years.



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340 Post Street
San Francisco • Our 106th year

NEW POCKET-SIZE POWERHOUSE $39.95*

General Electric All-Transistor Portable Radio

Model P746

POCKET SIZE . . . big power! So much power . . . such high quality reception packed into this compact cabinet, you'll find it hard to believe the price is so low. Five transistors plus 2 diodes step up listening pleasure to a new high. New Ferra-Power antenna offers remarkable range. Choice of colors. $39.95*

3-IN-1 GIFT VALUE! The exciting way to say happy birthday, congratulations, or thank you. Handsome gift box contains the G-E pocket radio described above, earphone for private listening and handsome leather carrying case. Quantities are limited—see this G-E special at your radio dealer's today! $49.95*

FULL-SIZE TRANSISTOR. This powerful all-transistor General Electric Portable offers big set sound . . . reception . . . quality. Long range Ferra-Power antenna. 4-inch speaker assures richer, fuller tone. A great pleasure to own . . . a gift to be remembered always. $46.95*

Model P761

10,000-HOUR RECHARGEABLE. Pocket-sized all-transistor. One set of rechargeable batteries plays up to 10,000 hours. Batteries recharge automatically in recharger-travel case. Radio with rechargeable batteries and recharger-travel case. $69.95* Radio alone. $49.95*

Model P765

*Manufacturer's suggested retail price. Batteries and accessories extra. 90-day written warranty on both parts and labor. General Electric Company, Radio Receiver Dept., Bridgeport 2, Conn.

GENERAL ELECTRIC

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save 37%

FAMOUS STERLING FLATWARE

14.50*

4-piece place setting, *regular list price 22.84*

CHOOSE FROM FOUR PATTERNS:
A. Old English by a treasured maker
B. Engagement by Oneida-Community
C. Melbourne by Oneida-Community
D. Lucerne by Wallace

16-piece service-for-four, list price 91.36 — $58*
32-piece service-for-eight, list price 182.72 $116*
48-piece service-for-eight, list price 263.68 — 170.96*

*price plus 10% Federal tax. Chest included with service-for-8.

Four rich, glowing, magnificently designed sterling pieces—that's what you get in Macy's exclusive sterling sale. Place knife and fork, salad fork and teaspoon. Choose from three famous makers: Oneida-Community; Wallace. Come, see for yourself the third treasured name . . . we can't mention it. So hurry! Buy place settings and serving pieces now—all at savings!

ONLY $1 monthly for each place setting on Macy's Silver Club Plan

• no down payment • no interest
• no carrying charges

Macy's Sterling Silver; All 6 Macy's stores; San Francisco, street floor

SAN FRANCISCO: Open Monday 9:30 to 9:00, Stockton at O'Farrell, SUtter 1-1800
HILLSDALE: Open Monday 12:30 to 9:30, San Mateo, FIreside 1-1311
VALLEY FAIR: Open Monday 9:30 to 9:30, San Jose, CHerry 8-3333
BAY FAIR: Open Monday 9:30 to 9:30, San Leandro, EL 7-3333, BR 6-3333
SAN RAFAEL: Open Monday 9:30 to 5:30, 4th and Court, GLenwood 6-3333
RICHMOND: Open Monday 9:30 to 9:00, 10th and MacDonald, BEacon 2-3333

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RALPH C. WHITSETT, JR., *Chairman, Trustees' Committee*

June 16, 1958

Mr. Harold G. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It's nice to read your generous comments about our recent publicity, but the Mays would be far more pleased to hear the news that the Flemings were planning a trip to this part of the country.

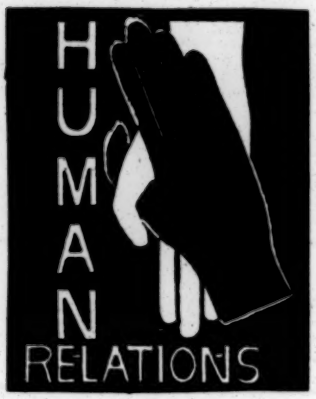
Our best to both of you.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN R. MAY

jrm:ehw

File John Mary



YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN

"ADVENTURES IN HUMAN RELATIONS"

A PRESENTATION OF THE RESOURCES AND MATERIALS

OF THE INTERGROUP RELATIONS AGENCIES OF THE BAY AREA

OCTOBER 26

1959

COMPLIMENTARY

RSVP

WHITCOMB HOTEL — CARMEL ROOM

8:00 P. M.

Purpose:

To introduce schools, clubs, churches and civic organizations to the philosophies and educational resources of the various intergroup relations agencies in the Bay Area.

To explore, in passing, the major intergroup relations problems which now exist in the Bay Area.

The program features an unusual audio-visual presentation designed to be of special interest to all program chairmen and educators, and to the officers and representatives of all groups which have a basic concern with the continuing development of the democratic community.

Program

JOHN R. MAY

SAN FRANCISCO FOUNDATION

PRESIDING

"Our Stake in Human Relations" -
Hon. MATTHEW O. TOBRINER
Justice, District Court of Appeal

"Adventures in Human Relations" -
an audio-visual montage
presentation

Audience Discussion

Closing Comments - DR. MORRIS WILLIAMS
S. F. Unified School District

There will be staffed displays of materials around the meeting room, available for inspection at 7:30

We will appreciate your returning the enclosed card -- no stamp is necessary.

THE BAY AREA HUMAN RELATIONS CLEARING HOUSE is an informal mechanism of exchange and cooperation set up by and servicing the following organizations:

American Friends Service Committee

American Jewish Committee

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Friends Committee on Legislation

International Institute

Japanese American Citizens League

Jewish Labor Committee

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

National Conference of Christians and Jews

Oakland Jewish Community Council

San Francisco Council for Civic Unity

San Francisco Jewish Community Relations Council

Urban League

NNUAL REPORT

July 1, 1959 to June 30, 1960

THE SAN FRANCISCO FOUNDATION

VIA AIR MAIL

April 1, 1960

Mr. John R. May
Executive Director
The San Francisco Foundation
Balfour Building
351 California Street
San Francisco 4, California

Dear John:

Returning to the office from a bout of 'flu, I was delighted to find your letter promising another visit to Atlanta.

I expect to be in town from April 28 through May 5. I'm scheduled for a one-day stand in Washington on May 6, but I take it you and Margarita will be heading for New York by then.

In any case, Jane and I will be expecting you sometime during the week of May 1, and hope you will plan to stay with us.

Until then, our very best to you both.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. -- I needn't tell you that you couldn't have picked a better or livelier time for another Southern visit!

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TELEPHONE YUKON 2-1210

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DAVID L. ANDERSON
Chairman, Trustees' Committee

March 22, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

For five years now Margarita and I have been hoping you two would find an opportunity to come west. Your compliance with this suggestion seems to proceed with "all deliberate speed".

Anyhow, it now looks as though we can visit your part of the country again for a week -- or perhaps up to ten days -- at the end of April and in early May. Tentatively, we plan to fly to some spot in a southerly direction from you, hire a car and gradually work our way north. We plan to leave here probably on Thursday, the 28th of April, or perhaps the day before that. We have to be in New York somewhere between Friday the sixth and Monday the ninth.

This is intended as a fair warning to you that we both look forward with the keenest pleasure to the possibility of seeing something of the Flemings. Will it be possible?

With all our best wishes,

Sincerely,

JOHN R. MAY

jrm:ehw

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EUGENE M. PRINCE, *Vice Chairman*

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DAVID L. ANDERSON, *Chairman, Trustees' Committee*

April 5, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you so very much for your letter of the first. I'm sorry about your flu, glad that you're over it, and immensely pleased that your schedule seems to make it a cinch for us to see something of you two. I couldn't possibly get to Atlanta before April 28th, or be there after May 5th, and those are the dates you mentioned as covering the period when you will be in town.

It is exceedingly kind of you to suggest that we stay with you. All we want to do is to see something of you, but not to put either of you to any trouble. Our schedule will be firm very soon, and I will write further to you. If we leave here on the 26th, we could arrive and pick up a car the same evening in Mississippi or Alabama. Then several days later we could arrive in Atlanta for a day or so. There are several people I'd like to see there, and I promise not to get in your hair too much.

Don't bother to respond to this. You'll hear from me again in a day or so.

Margarita joins me in very best greetings to you and Jane.

Sincerely,

JOHN R. MAY

jrm:ehw

DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE

MRS. HENRY POTTER RUSSELL, *Chairman*

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JOHN R. MAY, *Executive Director*

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DAVID L. ANDERSON
Chairman, Trustees' Committee

April 19, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I had hoped to write you sooner about our plans, but all hell broke loose here for a while, and it looked as if we might not be able to make it at all.

However, here we come! We will spend the night of Tuesday, April 26th, at the Hotel Heidelberg (100% air conditioned!) at Jackson, Mississippi. There we'll pick up a rented car and proceed in a zigzag fashion to Atlanta. I'll telephone you, somewhere along the way.

Our plans are quite vague and can be accommodated to your convenience. After Atlanta, where I would like to see quite a number of people (that gets me out of your hair), we go with one or two stops to Washington, where I want to arrive no later than the afternoon or evening of Wednesday, May 4th.

We are both looking forward more than I can tell you to seeing you and Jane, but above all we don't want to cause you the slightest inconvenience.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

jrm:ehw

File
Foundation
San Fran

August 17, 1961

Mr. John R. May, Executive Director
The San Francisco Foundation
Balfour Building
351 California Street
San Francisco 4, California

Dear Mr. May:

Mr. Paul M. Rilling, our Director of Field Activities, will be in San Francisco November 10 to speak before the annual meeting of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. San Francisco is a long way off and Mr. Rilling decided to make this trip only because he is on the program and also a NAIRO officer.

I hope that he might drop by to see you while he is in San Francisco in order to bring you up-to-date regarding the programs of the Southern Regional Council. It occurs to me also that you might think it worthwhile for other groups in the San Francisco area to meet Rilling; if so, I believe he could stay over a short while.

He will not arrive until late on November 9 and, I suppose, will be tied up most of the next day with the NAIRO meeting.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:MBB

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MRS. HENRY POTTER RUSSELL, *Chairman*

DANIEL E. KOSHLAND, *Vice Chairman*

EUGENE M. PRINCE, *Vice Chairman*

WILLIAM M. ROTH, *Treasurer*

CHRISTIAN DE GUIGNÉ

W. PARMER FULLER, JR.

MRS. ALFRED MCLAUGHLIN

JOHN R. MAY, *Executive Director*

File

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C. E. DEROCHIE
Chairman, Trustees' Committee

July 31, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your note of July 24th, together with its attachment.

Mr. May is on vacation at present and will return about August 15th. I am sure he will be very interested in your letter.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs) Ehren Wolff
Administrative Assistant

/ehw

DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE

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DANIEL E. KOSHLAND, *Vice Chairman*

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C. E. DEROCHIE, *Chairman, Trustees' Committee*

PRV
Return to MBB for filing

August 23, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am glad to know that Mr. Rilling will be here in November in connection with the NAIRO meeting.

While my schedule is not fixed for that far in advance, I hope I shall have the pleasure of meeting him.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN R. MAY

jrm:ehw

November 22, 1957

Dr. Grayson Kirk, President
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

Dear Dr. Kirk:

When I was in New York recently, I had an opportunity to discuss with Dr. Buell Gallagher the work of the Southern Regional Council and the possibility of a grant-in-aid from the Jacob R. Schiff Fund.

At Dr. Gallagher's suggestion, I am sending copies of the enclosed proposal to you and Mr. Wolf, as well as to Dr. Gallagher himself. If there is further information that would assist you in considering our request, please call on me for it.

Our thanks for your consideration, and every good wish.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

November 22, 1957

Dr. Buel Gallagher, President
The City College of New York
New York 31, New York

Dear Dr. Gallagher:

When I was in New York recently, you were good enough to give me an opportunity to talk with you about the work of the Southern Regional Council and our need for new sources of support.

I am enclosing our request for assistance from the Jacob R. Schiff Fund. As you suggested, I am also sending copies to Dr. Kirk and Mr. Wolf. Please let me know if there is further information which we should submit.

I was grateful for the opportunity to meet you after years of knowing you through reputation and writings only. Quite apart from the enclosed request, I hope you willc call on me whenever the Council can supply information or service of any kind that would be helpful to you.

With thanks for your consideration and warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosures: Proposal to the Jacob R. Schiff Fund
Proposed Budget for 1958
Organizational Chart
Partial List of Board Members
Congressional Record
Semi-Annual Report
Letter of Tax Exemption

A PROPOSAL
TO THE JACOB R. SCHIFF FUND
FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

November 22, 1957

This is a request that the Jacob R. Schiff Fund consider a grant in support of the work of the Southern Regional Council. In order that this proposal not be unreasonably long, materials describing the Council's history, aims, and activities in some detail are attached. The object here will be to set forth the reasons why we believe the Fund will feel this request is justified, the specific amounts asked for and their relationship to the total financial needs of the Council.

The Situation in the South

So much has been written about race relations in the South that a lengthy essay here would be uncalled-for. We should like to make it clear, however, that the Council takes no despairing view of the prospects in the South. Tremendous historical forces - moral, economic, social, and political - are pressing toward an integrated society. Resistance in parts of the region is powerful and can have catastrophic consequences. But the basic direction of the transition is irreversible. The important questions for any given part of the region are: When? How? At what cost to the human beings involved and to the local, state, and national welfare?

Heartening progress toward integration has been made in the five Border states and the District of Columbia, in Kentucky, in western Texas, and in a few scattered spots in Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee. These areas have provided more than enough evidence that desegregation of schools and other facilities can and does work well, given the necessary leadership.

Unfortunately, in the rest of the South there has been a resolidifying of old attitudes, largely engineered by the political leadership. Defiance is manifested not only in official actions and utterances directed at the Supreme Court and its decisions, but also in punitive measures against individuals and groups who favor a positive or even a more realistic course of action.

Accompanying this official posture have been the growth of the White Citizens Councils and other resistance movements, serious problems in the churches and the labor movement, the deterioration of political campaigns, and in general conformity or silence by many of the responsible elements in the South. The example set by state office-holders and others in high places has stirred excitable rank-and-file Southerners

to violence in several instances - even in parts of Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas, where integration should have been expected to proceed without a ripple.

Any adequate appraisal of these negative factors must take into account the great concentration of power available to the extreme pro-segregation forces in the deep South. This includes virtually all of the state and local controlling institutions - governors and attorneys-general, legislatures and state created commissions, many grand juries, most of the state and local law enforcement agencies, most Southern congressmen and senators, and, under vigilante pressure, many influential private institutions such as newspapers, business organizations, civic clubs, and the like.

All of this has presented grave problems in national and international terms. The impact of the "Southern revolt" on the prestige of the United States abroad, particularly among Asians and Africans, is of great concern to every thoughtful American. Domestically, the assaults on the authority of the Supreme Court, on respect for law and order, and on recognition of the rights of minority-group citizens are major threats to the national welfare. Pro-segregation laws and administrative actions in the South have seriously eroded such basic civil liberties as freedom of speech, association, and the right to due process of law.

The Role of the Southern Regional Council

This situation imposes a tremendous responsibility on the Southern Regional Council. As the only wholly Southern interracial group with long experience, professional skills, and reputation in the field of race relations, it has had to operate on a broader and more effective scale than ever before, recognizing that it is dealing with causes and effects that are nationwide in scope. The Council's task has included but gone far beyond the stimulation of purely local action. We have felt it essential to assume more leadership in educating and rallying those regional - and sometimes national - forces whose action or inaction at this time is critical.

Lest this sound presumptuous, we hasten to add that we have no illusions that the Council is a causative force, or even, in itself, a powerful one in this vast transition. Its effectiveness must be judged in terms of the strategic importance of its activities in contested situations where the right program at the right time can make a decisive difference. Examples would be the timely release last summer of the Council's findings on Negro suffrage, the support of consultant services to community leadership vacillating between a forward and a backward course, and other activities described in the attached material.

The main functions of the Council may be briefly summed up as follows:

1. State Human Relations Councils. -- The Southern Regional Council has devoted a large part of its resources in the past three years to the creation of staffed interracial organizations in ten of the Southern states. Working against great odds, these state groups have provided instruments through which white and Negro Southerners can express their common belief in a democratic society and work for its achievement at the local and state levels. The Council continues to give both program assistance and financial aid to the state councils.

2. Interagency Cooperation. -- The Council has already, of necessity, assumed a greatly increased responsibility for coordination and clearing-house work with other agencies. This has been in response to the expressed wishes and requests of a number of organizations, including the social action departments of the major religious denominations active in the South, the several Jewish agencies concerned with human relations, the trade unions, and such groups as the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP, the YMCA, and the YWCA. The Council has four times served as convener of thirty of these agencies for the sharing of ideas and joint program planning. At their request, the Council has also coordinated their concerted field efforts.

3. National Communication. -- The Council has played a central part in the newly formed national Consultative Conference on Desegregation. Through this association and other channels, we have greatly increased communication and cooperation between enlightened Southerners and national forces concerned with desegregation.

4. Federal Agencies. -- The Council is called upon by various departments of the Federal Government for interpretation of Southern problems and for specially assembled information, made possible through our fact-finding program. For example, the Department of Justice requested and was given the complete raw findings of the Council's special survey on the status of Negro suffrage in the South.

5. Interpretation through the Press. -- One of the main assets of the Council has always been its reputation with the press, Southern and national, as a dependable and authoritative source of information about all aspects of race relations in the South. The Council and its parent organization have served as a repository of such information since 1919. Many Southern editors and newspapers whose policies on racial matters are directly opposed to those of the Council are accustomed to relying without question on the Council's information services. This function too has greatly increased and continues to grow with each passing day. It is no exaggeration to say that the Council now serves in this way virtually all of the major national publications and a great many Southern ones. To the newspapers must be added a growing list of radio and television programs.

6. The Consultant Service Program. -- Established as a service to the Council's state affiliates, this program has greatly broadened its scope and usefulness. Within the limit of resources, we are undertaking to make special consultants available to public or private leadership in Southern communities with outstanding problems or opportunities. Within recent months, for example, upon official invitation, the Council has made available the consultative services of a Kentucky county school superintendent, who successfully carried out desegregation, to a local school board in North Carolina beginning quietly to plan for such a change.

7. Work with Labor. -- Under a special arrangement, the Council has recently acquired the services of a well-qualified staff member bearing the title of Labor Consultant. This staff member's function is to serve as a resource and liaison person with the unions in the South, which hold great promise as an important influence for progress in race relations. Although this position was initially established on a temporary basis, it has already yielded such fruitful results that it has been continued as part of the regular staff structure.

8. Other Functions. -- All of the important activities that the Council has regularly carried on are being expanded and intensified to the limit of resources as the demands on the Council mount. In this category are the work with church women and other women's groups, the maintenance of comprehensive reference files to service a stream of information requests, defense of the rights of such beleaguered dissenters as those at Koinonia Farm, the distribution of program materials, and the briefing of foreign visitors travelling in the South under the auspices of the State Department and other public and private sponsors.

We do not wish to imply that the Council feels that it has achieved any fixed or final formula for its efforts in the South during the period ahead. As recent experience has made all too clear, the situation is volatile in the extreme. Any realistic approach in this area must be firmly grounded in recognition of the need for constant reassessment and flexibility. We do feel that we have achieved an orientation, a structure, and a range of staff skills sufficiently versatile to render a major service in this critical period.

Financial Analysis

It need hardly be explained that raising funds for the kind of work carried on by the Council is more difficult in the South today than ever before. At a time when the need for expanded activities is critical, an unprecedented amount of new support must be secured.

Through a generous terminal grant from the Fund for the Republic, the Council has in hand approximately one-third of its minimum budget for the next three years. Even so, this leaves an aggregate total of some $400,000 to be raised from other sources. At the end of this proposal

is a budget which shows the dimensions of this task for 1958.

In the light of the budgetary needs presented, we hope that the Jacob R. Schiff Fund will favorably consider a grant to the Council of $15,000 toward the support of the Council's work during 1958.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

PROPOSED BUDGET - January 1 - December 31, 1958

I. Expenses:

Central Office - Program and Administration

Salaries	$77,518.00	
Social Security Taxes	1,450.00	
Travel	9,500.00	
Printing & Postage, NEW SOUTH	8,150.00	
Printing, Other	1,500.00	
Rent	2,680.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	3,800.00	
Postage	1,800.00	
Books, Subscriptions & Films	750.00	
Accounting & Legal Fees	600.00	
Insurance	300.00	
Office Supplies & Equipment	4,800.00	
Annual Mtg. & Exec. Comm. Mtgs.	3,300.00	
Miscellaneous	2,200.00	
		$118,348.00

Consultant Service Program

Total Cost of Program	20,000.00	
Apprentice Training Project	3,750.00	
		23,750.00

Fellowship of the Concerned

Travel, State Mtgs. & Material Distribution	5,500.00	
Salaries & Travel Expenses (One Churchwoman in each of five states)	5,000.00	
		10,500.00

Financial Aid to State Organizations

(Independent State Councils of Human Relations)	40,000.00	
		40,000.00

Fact-Finding Program

Consultant Fees, Research & Publication of Findings	15,000.00	
		15,000.00

TOTAL: $207,598.00

II. Income - Expectable:

Foundations

Fund for the Republic (On Hand)	$76,800.00	
Community Workshop Association	100.00	
N. Y. Fund for Children (Committed)	7,500.00	
New World Foundation	20,000.00	
New World Foundation (Apprentice Training Program)	3,750.00	
Phelps-Stokes Fund	2,000.00	
Christopher Reynolds Foundation	5,000.00	
Sigmund Silberman Foundation	400.00	
Edgar B. Stern Family Fund	300.00	
John Hay Whitney Foundation	2,000.00	
William C. Whitney Foundation	5,000.00	
		$122,850.00

Organizations

AFL-CIO	3,000.00	
International Ladies' Garment Workers	500.00	
United Auto Workers	1,000.00	
United Steelworkers	1,000.00	
		5,500.00

Churches

National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church	1,000.00	
General Board of Education The Methodist Church	300.00	
Div. of Nat'l. Missions of the Board of Missions - The Methodist Church	1,000.00	
WSCS - The Methodist Church	1,200.00	
Board of Church Extension, Presbyterian Church in U.S.	250.00	
Board of Nat'l. Missions, Presbyterian Church in U.S.A.	250.00	
		4,000.00

Estimated Individual Contributions	2,000.00	
		2,000.00

Estimated Office Related Income

(New South Subscriptions, sale of literature, honoraria, etc.)	8,500.00	
		8,500.00
	TOTAL:	$142,850.00

III. BALANCE TO BE RAISED - 1958 $64,748.00

November 22, 1957

Mr. Edwin Wolf, 2nd
Curator, Pennsylvania Library
Ridgway Library
Board and Christian Streets
Philadelphia 47, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Wolf:

When I was in New York recently, I had an opportunity to discuss with Dr. Buell Gallagher the possibility of assistance from the Jacob R. Schiff Fund to the work of the Southern Regional Council.

At Dr. Gallagher's suggestion, I am sending copies of the enclosed proposal to you and Dr. Kirk, as well as to Dr. Gallagher himself. If there is further information that would assist you in considering our request, please call on me for it.

I believe you are acquainted with Dr. Frank Loescher of Philadelphia, and he may perhaps have spoken to you about the work of the Southern Regional Council. In any case, I am sure he would be happy to add his own comments to our proposal if you care to discuss it with him.

Our thanks for your consideration, and every good wish.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

Jacob Schiff Fund

RECEIVED NOV 2 1957

THE CITY COLLEGE

CONVENT AVE. at 139 ST.

NEW YORK 31 NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 25, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will acknowledge your letter of November 22 enclosing a request for a grant from the Jacob R. Schiff Fund. The members of the Committee will consider your application at its next meeting.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

BUELL G. GALLAGHER
President

BGG:M

RECEIVED NOV 26 1957

THE JACOB R. SCHIFF FUND COMMITTEE

Committee: Presidents of
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK
COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF AMERICA

533 WEST 116TH STREET
NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

November 25, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I acknowledge receipt of your letter dated November 22 requesting a grant-in-aid from the Jacob R. Schiff Fund. This request is on the agenda for consideration at the next meeting of the Schiff Fund Committee.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Grayson Kirk, President
Columbia University

CC: Dr. Gallagher
Mr. Wolf

Co. to speak in Va. File
Dec. 3 Schiff Found.
send stuff.

NEWS AND INFORMATION

from
THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH
DIOCESE OF NEW YORK
CATHEDRAL HEIGHTS, NEW YORK CITY 25
THE RT. REV. HORACE W. B. DONEGAN, D.D., D.C.L.,
BISHOP OF NEW YORK

WILLIAM J. MOLL • DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS FOR THE BISHOP OF NEW YORK • UN 5-3600

RELEASE: Monday, October 7 9/25/57

FOR: THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE

Schiff Fd.

Sermon to be preached in The Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine at 11 a.m. on Sunday, October 6, by the Reverend Buell Gallagher, Ph.D., D.D., President, The City College of New York.

"THE SECURE COMMUNITY"

"The stranger who settles beside you shall be treated as a native, and you shall love him as you love yourself."
Leviticus 19:34

"A man's house is his castle. It is the roof tree over his loved ones, a retreat from intrusion, his guarantee of inviolable privacy. It guards, as it enshrines, his dearest earthly values of affection and loyalty. He can, with impunity, order any uninvited person off his premises for trespassing. Not even the officers of the law can invade his sanctuary without a legal warrant of search. As nearly as there is a set of absolute rights anywhere in a democracy, those rights cluster around the home each family keeps.

"The same set of rights are owned by the family next door. Woe betide him who uses his home so as to become a nuisance to his neighbors! His television may not blare loudly into the summer night to disturb a neighbor's sleep. Unless he lives in a neighborhood which accepts the underworld, he may not entertain hoodlums and hoods without incurring criticism. In some communities, his daughters may not lounge on the lawn in front of the house in shorts. In other communities, clotheslines may be strung from house to house without offense. If one man keeps a garden and his neighbor keeps chickens, a good fence is essential to pleasant relations. If, in the middle of a block of Cape Cod cottage conformity, a man erects an angular monument to St. Isosceles and paints it a howling purple, he is not likely to be popular. If the man himself is by Nature and Nature's God given a different color from that of his neighbors, he may be regarded with hostility or resentment. And when one's likes and dislikes are sharply at variance with those of his neighbor, not even a wall of silence can readily cure the hostility.

"The underlying reason is not far to seek. A man's house is his castle, and by definition a castle is a place of security. Violate or disregard any of the many standards which go to make up the matrix of acceptance in a given community, and you set off a chain reaction which rouses opposition throughout the whole neighborhood. Conformity is the key requirement -- conformity to whatever patterns the community itself holds. The standards can be religious, racial, economic, national, cultural, architectural, aesthetic, moral, or any other. But whatever they may be, there is always a tendency for those who live in a community to say of their eccentric neighbor, 'If he doesn't like us and wants to be like us, why doesn't he go and live somewhere else!'

"Conformity sets the limits of tolerance in societies within the United States. Families which conform are secure because when all conform, the security of the community itself is not threatened.

"So, the non-conforming neighbor is a threat to community security. A man's house may be his castle, but if he is thought to be eccentric, his neighbors will lay protracted siege to his redoubt. If he is judged objectionable, they will storm his citadel. If a man wishes to be a deviant, or if Nature has made him in any way different from others among whom he settles, he had better have strong defenses. Maybe that is why his home has to be what it is -- a castle.

-more-

"Maybe, also, that is why the key to the whole question of better race relations lies in changing patterns of community acceptance. None of the basic issues of American race relations can be satisfactorily solved without a profound alteration in the patterns of community acceptability in housing. Even if community attitudes favor integration in religious matters, the integrated church can be maintained in a segregated community only through employing obviously artificial expedients. Desegregated schools can exist in the face of a segregated housing pattern only through the arbitrary and distorting use of gerrymandering, enforced transfer of pupils, and extensive bus transportation.

"But tempers boil quickly when changes in housing patterns threaten. There are very few matters over which people more quickly reach the limits of tolerance, more deeply feel insecure and uncertain, than in their desire to have an established community pattern which guarantees to them a congenial neighborhood in which congeniality is an index of security. When one man holds these convictions deeply and clearly, and attaches them to a particular community pattern, he thereby makes it impossible (or at least very difficult) for someone whose security roots in different patterns and values to feel equally secure. But instead of increasing his tolerance, this fact that his need for security makes a neighbor insecure appears only to increase his own apprehension. His own peace of mind is protected by the psychological and emotional towers and buttresses he has thrown up on the ramparts of his prejudices.

"The new family is always an intruding element until their conformity paves the way for acceptance. Nonconformity is a threat and is met with counter threat and action. If a man conforms to community patterns, his home may be secure as a castle with the portcullis raised and the moat empty; but if he is importantly different from his neighbors, he had better be ready for verbal brickbats thrown at his children and real ones tossed through his picture window.

"All of this serves to make clear one simple truth. The description of a man's home as his castle is almost completely appropriate. And that fact puts it all into the proper point of historical perspective. In the definition of what is acceptable in housing patterns, mankind is still in the middle ages. Rights are exercised and defended by and for those who have the power to hold their castles against all comers.

"Arguments are wheeled up to buttress the defenses of predisposition. Property values are said to deteriorate. Peace and order are said to be threatened. Crime and delinquency rates are alleged to soar. Diseases are ascribed to contagion from newcomers, or children's grammar will be affected. All of the settled ways of life are in jeopardy -- or, better, are felt to be in jeopardy. Regardless of the truth or falsity of the allegations, the fact is that residents believe them as articles of living faith. This is the faith they live by. The home therefore becomes a castle, defended with all the power the owners can summon, and with all the conviction and self righteousness which derives from a comforting and convenient faith.

II

"There are many ways to storm these castles. The obvious use of greater power to overcome lesser power is the method of history in ending feudalism. There are some parallels of promise today in this matter of housing. The laws and the courts can be invoked to prevent pride of ancestry or religious bigotry or racial prejudice from defining community acceptability. Thus, over a decade ago, the United States Supreme Court ruled that restrictive covenants could not be enforced through the courts of the land. Thus, laws are being enacted to guarantee that the spending of public monies for housing shall not result in putting more mortar into the walls of pride and prejudice.

"Where these methods are invoked, there is usually some initial resistance, at some cost to the community; but with final acceptance and ultimate gains which more than offset the temporary losses. Where

nothing else works, it becomes necessary to use governmental processes and power to fight the lingering remnants of feudalism in a democracy, to get the robber barons to accept the modern age.

"Short of governmental and legal action, there is a line of procedure which is peculiarly appropriate to the churches and which has repeatedly been used with marked success. It is the altering of community patterns of acceptance through the acceptance of articles of faith which put the individual's security in a new framework. It is best accomplished through careful plans and quiet hard work. And it stems directly from words of command hidden away in the Book of Leviticus: 'The stranger who settles beside you shall be treated as a native; and you shall love him as you love yourself.'

"The community which learns to practice this precept finds a new sense of security for itself and for everyone in it. Each man's house becomes his castle -- but without defenses. His security now depends upon no show of force, no barred gates, no brazen plate to shield the heart, no pikestaff of prejudice to impale the intruder. Each home is secure because the whole community has found its new security not in the old uniformities but in newly developed abilities to welcome diversity. A new pattern is established -- a pattern not of uniformity but of pluralism; and conformity to the patterns of pluralism can and does give the integrated community a deep sense of security which is felt and shared by all residents.

"Wherever the old patterns of feudalism still linger, the inclusive community waits to be built. This is God's task, waiting for human hands to do it.

"Lest it seem presumptuous of me to state that this is God's task, may I lay the burden of proof on those who demur? It is theirs to reconcile (I cannot) the contradiction between faith and practice which any form of racial segregation presents.

"Once in a while, one meets a man who cannot make the simple and obvious intellectual step from the Fatherhood of One God to the brotherhood of all men. This mental myopia excites not so much one's moral indignation as one's intellectual contempt and pity. He who rejects his neighbor because he doesn't like the neighbor's skin color, also rejects the Father of his neighbor, who is his own Father as well. As early as the second century of the Christian era, the great theologian of Alexandria, Origen, gave us the definitive answer that 'God is without form or color.' And long before Origen, scripture had pointed up the lesson that one who denies the obligations of brotherhood thereby loses his relationship with God the Father. Read again the story of Cain and Abel. Read it through to the end and see what happened. The record says that after he denied the obligations of brotherhood, Cain 'went out from the presence of the Lord.' That's the way it is, always and every time.

"Well, if one isolates himself from the Eternal God, he may well need a castle! He can no longer trust in God and keep his weapons handy--he can trust only in stalwart defenses, a drawbridge pulled up at night, and sentries at the alert. Since he lives with a continuing sense of guilt and insecurity, born of his sinful separation from God, his only remaining defenses are those which were appropriate to the mediaeval world in which he still lives.

"These remarks may be offensive to some ears. The voice of conscience, indeed, is seldom welcome. But I am not profoundly disturbed by those who will listen neither to reason nor to persuasion. They who are being dragged, kicking and screaming, into the twentieth century, will have their moment of blustering frustration. They will play the role of the demagogue, the overlord, the robber baron. They will build their ramparts higher, and from their towers of security they will cry out against the movement of history. But life will flow around them and pass them by.

"Travellers on the steamers which ply the Rhine always look forward to passing the headland known as The Lorelei; but it is even more

interesting to pass through the narrow channel beside the Pfalz. Standing on an island with the water swirling by, this ancient castle was once the home of a robber baron who stretched a heavy chain across the channel, stopped all passing boats, and levied toll. Today, the Pfalz is an isolated and empty relic of a day long since dead. Its turrets are empty and its vacant windows bespeak the blank emptiness of a deserted building and an abandoned cause. If a very bad pun may be used to carry serious meaning, I would suggest that the day of Pfalz values in housing is rapidly nearing its end. And I would then go on to argue that there is a nobler fate in store for the homes which enshrine the values of the inclusive community. If ever the Spirit of God is to walk among men and dwell with them, it will be in communities where all the sons of God dwell in peace together.

"The alternative is a mean fate, indeed. To cling to the values of the Middle Ages in a day of democracy is to threaten our entire culture with the disruptive forces of strife, dissension, violence, anarchy. It is to return to a much earlier day than any we have yet mentioned this morning -- a day when all that the Spirit of God could do was to brood upon chaos, waiting for the creative moment which mankind had refused.

Same ltr. sent to: Dr. Grayson Kirk, Col. Univ.
Mr. Edwin Wolf

March 21, 1958

Dr. Buell G. Gallagher
President
The City College of New York
Convent Avenue at 139th Street
New York 31, New York

Dear Dr. Gallagher:

I thought you might like to have the enclosed copy of the Council's annual report, which has been completed since I wrote you last.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (SRC Annual Report, 1957)

THE JACOB R. SCHIFF FUND COMMITTEE

Committee: Presidents of

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK
COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF AMERICA

533 WEST 116TH STREET
NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

March 25, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

At a recent meeting, the Jacob R. Schiff Fund Committee examined your proposal dated November 22, 1957. The Committee regrets to inform you that it does not find it possible to make the grant requested.

Sincerely,

Grayson Kirk

Grayson Kirk, President
Columbia University
For the Committee

cc: Dr. Buell G. Gallagher
Mr. Edwin Wolf, 2nd

k

February 16, 1955

Mr. David B. Silberman, Jr.
The Sigmund Silberman Foundation
1117 West 35th Street
Chicago 9, Illinois

Dear Mr. Silberman:

I am coming to your city twice in March.

Somewhat hurriedly March 5th, 6th and 7th; for a talk March 5th to the John Dewey Society, and an appearance March 6th before the B'hai's, and March 7th for some educational outfit.

Then I come home. I go back to be March 16th with the Council Against Discrimination in Chicago, and on the 17th to be with a luncheon meeting of the Chicago chapter of the American Jewish Committee. And to a similar gathering in Milwaukee that evening, the 17th.

I hope that somewhere in one or the other of the trips there will be an opportunity for us to be together. Maybe you and Mrs. Silberman will contrive to be at the luncheon on Wednesday the 17th?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

DAVID B. SILBERMAN, JR.

February 18, 1955

FEB 21 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 16.

Please give us a call when you are coming to town. I am sure both my wife and I would be glad to see you.

Best regards.

David Silberman Jr

DBS Jr AS

cc: KS

May 17, 1955

Dictated May 16

Mr. David B. Silberman, Jr.
The Sigmund Silberman Foundation
1117 West Thirty-Fifth Street
Chicago 9, Illinois

Dear Mr. Silberman:

We are much in hopes that the Sigmund Silberman Foundation will help us again this year.

The Southern Regional Council is expanding itself out into twelve Southern states, organizing in each an affiliated state organization. Most of them are calling themselves the Alabama Council on Human Relations, or the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, etc. These are now going and staffed in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and Kentucky. The Virginia one expects to be staffed June 1st, and we hope that both Florida and Tennessee will have staff about then also. That will make up the twelve. The first task of each group is to offer a lead to public opinion on compliance with the Supreme Court's decision on ending segregation in the public schools.

The Fund for the Republic, which has carried the major foundation load on enabling us to expand in this way, required us to raise independently of them some $40,000 in this office this year, and substantially more next year. We are within sight of that goal for this year. But we are coming just now into the lean Summer months when we would be very greatly helped by the contribution which the Sigmund Silberman Foundation has so kindly given us in the past years.

I enclose an audit for the year 1954, and some recent copies of New South as indicating the tren of our program.

I am still enjoying that most pleasant Sunday evening at your home in March.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls: Audit, 1954
New South, Feb., Mar., Aprl, 1955

May 23, 1955

Mr. John E. Shirley
Secretary
The Sigmund Silberman Foundation
1117 West Thirty-Fifth Street
Chicago 9, Illinois

Dear Mr. Shirley:

We are exceedingly grateful for the grant from the Sigmund Silberman Foundation to the Southern Regional Council.

Would we had many more such friends as the Sigmund Silberman Foundation.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - SRC Official Receipt $300.

SIGMUND SILBERMAN FOUNDATION
1117 WEST 35TH STREET
CHICAGO 9, ILLINOIS

May 19, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MAY 21 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Enclosed please find our check number 771 in the amount of $300.00 covering contribution to your organization.

Mha

Very truly yours,

SIGMUND SILBERMAN FOUNDATION

John E. Shirley

John E. Shirley
Secretary

JES:sc
Encl.

January 26, 1956

Mr. David Silberman, Jr., Vice President
The Sigmund Silberman Foundation
1117 West 35th Street
Chicago 9, Illinois

Dear Mr. Silberman:

We warmly hope the Sigmund Silberman Foundation will help the Southern Regional Council again in 1956.

We have made excellent headway with the twelve State organizations from Virginia through Texas. Paid staff, white and Negro. Each state office is a meeting place for many good efforts and a coordinating place for more. Our cause would seem from the headlines to be a bit on the unpopular side just now in the South - but in the long run religion and law and order will triumph.

No special plan for a Chicago trip in the near future, but I'm always hopeful.

Here is an aduit and the more recent issues of New South. I put in also as a news item the last Quarterly Report to our Board of Directors.

With warmest regards to Mrs. Silberman and yourself.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encls.

Foundations
Sigmund Silberman

February 8, 1956

Mr. John E. Shirley, Secretary
Sigmund Silberman Foundation
1117 West 35th Street
Chicago 9, Illinois

Dear Mr. Shirley:

We are deeply grateful for the Sigmund Silberman Foundation's gift to the Southern Regional Council of three hundred dollars, made in your letter of February 1. Please convey to the Board, and particularly to Mr. David Silberman, our appreciation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

SIGMUND SILBERMAN FOUNDATION
1117 WEST 35TH STREET
CHICAGO 9, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED JAN 3 1956

February 1, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Enclosed please find our check No. 867 in the amount of $300.00 covering contribution to your organization.

CL
rha

Very truly yours,

Sigmund Silberman Foundation

John E. Shirley

John E. Shirley
Secretary

JES AS
Enc

May 17, 1956

Mr. David B. Silberman, Jr.
Treasurer
Sigmund Silberman Foundation
1117 West Thirty-Fifth Street
Chicago 9, Illinois

Dear Mr. Silberman:

This show has been running forty-seven years. In all that time I can recall myself and from my predecessors only one instance of a kindness like yours.

In about 1923 Will Alexander, who ran the Old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, went to New York and asked Mr. Rockefeller for $50,000.00 to help spread interracial committies. The application made its way through screening trustees and came out at $25,000. Alexander said he returned to Atlanta sick at heart. He was grateful for the twenty-five , of course, but he needed the fifty to do the job and he didn't know where to turn for the rest. He had been back in Atlanta three days when a letter came from Mr. Rockefeller: "I have been thinking about our meeting the other day. It seems to me you will need the other $25,000, here's my check for it."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. SRC's Official Receipt $100

SIGMUND SILBERMAN FOUNDATION
1117 WEST 35TH STREET
CHICAGO 9, ILLINOIS

May 15, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED MAY 17 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Enclosed please find our check number 903 in the amount of $100.00 covering our contribution to your organization.

CR
rha

Very truly yours,

SIGMUND SILBERMAN FOUNDATION

D B Silberman Jr

David B. Silberman, Jr.
Treasurer

DBS:JR:so

P.S- This is additional as I felt you might need it -

DBS Jr

bc: HCF

December 28, 1956

Mr. David B. Silberman, Jr.
Sigmund Silberman Foundation
1117 West Thirty-Fifth Street
Chicago 9, Illinois

Dear Mr. Silberman:

For a long time I had been hoping that when I hit 55 I could knock off. I am 54½ and I have notified my Board of Directors that I am quitting my job January 15, 1957. Fortunately, we have had on the staff for seven years a most able young fellow, Harold Fleming, and him the Board of Directors have elected to be my successor. He will do a better job than ever I did!

I make a queer choice. I set out a long time ago to become an economist. These thirty years I have been buying great stiff heavy books in economics. I have shipped them all to Glosgow and March 8th my wife and me get on a boat and we will buy a croft in the remotest Highlands of Scotland and settle by a peat fire and I will read the books.

I will hope that the time will come when any or all of the Silbermans will appear on the yon side. If any of you set foot in Scotland and do not set foot in my house, I will be sorely disappointed. One of our purposes is to have a two-unit motel next door, and we hope for a reviving succession of United Staters to occupy the motel. But for the Silbermans we will spread linen sheets in our own house!

You have been a warm friend this good string of years, and I am deeply grateful to all of you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

February 5, 1957

Mr. David Silberman
Sigmund Silberman Foundation
1117 West Thirty-Fifth Street
Chicago 9, Illinois

Dear Mr. Silberman:

You have been an understanding and generous friend of the Southern Regional Council. As 1957 gets underway and we plan increased activity -- diminished as we are by George Mitchell's retirement! -- we face a special and immediate need. If the Sigmund Silberman Foundation can assist the Council again at this time, we shall be deeply grateful and the work of the Council will be benefitted out of all proportion.

In this, the third and last year of assistance to our state-organization effort from the Fund for the Republic, the allocation for our central activities is drastically reduced. Accordingly, we are faced with a greatly enlarged fund-raising task at precisely the time when we are undertaking expansion of our efforts to meet the mounting demands for an organization of this kind in the South.

We have tried to convey in the enclosed report some idea of the various efforts which we expect to carry on this year on an expanded and more effective scale. I hope it conveys, too, some sense of the eagerness and resolve with which our Board and staff approach opportunities that the Council, almost uniquely, is equipped to meet.

On a personal note, I might add that I have been vastly encouraged, on assuming a position of formidable responsibility, by the spirit of dedication which both the staff members and lay leadership of the Council have shown.

I hope I will have an opportunity one day to make your acquaintance. Meanwhile, kindest regards and good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

February 20, 1957

Mr. David B. Silberman, Jr.
Treasurer
Sigmund Silberman Foundation
1900-44 North Paulina Street
Chicago 22, Illinois

Dear Mr. Silberman:

We are deeply grateful to you and to the Sigmund Silberman Foundation for your generous contribution to the work of the Southern Regional Council. As I explained in our letter of request, it comes at a time of special need. It is also a time of special opportunity, and we feel sure that the work of the Council during 1957 will justify this continued evidence of confidence and support.

With appreciation and kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Dictated but not read

Encl: SRC Official Receipt $400

SIGMUND SILBERMAN FOUNDATION
1900-44 NORTH PAULINA STREET
CHICAGO 22, ILLINOIS

February 18, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed please find our check number 990 in the amount of $400.00 covering our contribution to your organization.

CR
Rha

Very truly yours,

SIGMUND SILBERMAN FOUNDATION

D B Silberman Jr

David B. Silberman, Jr.
Treasurer

DBS:JR:so

RECEIVED FEB 20 1957

Enclosures:
SRC Annual Report, 1957
List of Board Members
1958 Audit

Silberman Foundation

February 21, 1958

Mr. David B. Silberman, Jr.
1900-44 North Paulina Street
Chicago 23, Illinois

Dear Mr. Silberman:

I take pleasure in sending you the enclosed report of the Council's program activities and audited financial statement for the year just past. It was a difficult year in the South's transition to a desegregated system, and the year ahead promises to be no less strained.

We take some comfort, which I hope you share, in the fact that there are still Southerners of both races who are willing to work together in mutual respect and friendship for harmonious solutions. The Council, as the only Southwide body of its kind, feels a great responsibility to do all it can to give voice and action to these conscientious Southerners.

The confidence and help of the Sigmund Silberman Foundation has meant a great deal to the Council. We are deeply grateful to you for making it possible, and hopeful that you will feel the Council's performance merits your continued support in 1958.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/smf

PA - Commendation

DAVID B. SILBERMAN, JR.

March 3, 1958

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I just returned from a trip to New York and find, with great pleasure, a letter from you.

We were both quite pleased that you thought of us, and especially since you extend such a kind invitation to visit you. As we have to visit Europe occasionally on business, I promise you that you will receive a visit from us.

Let me assure you also that the Southern Regional Council will continue to receive our support. In these times of great hysteria the kind of responsible leadership, which is given by the Southern Regional Council, is needed more than ever.

Thank you again for writing us.

Sincerely yours,

David Silberman Jr

Dr. George Mitchell
Glencoe
Argyll, Scotland

Rec'd 3/21/58

Glencoe
March 7, '58

Dear MCF,

I see from the enclosed nice letter that you did send my letter on to the Silbermans. Mrs. S. also put in a note, and I daresay they'll be over.

Reassuring to know that they will keep on helping.

Best. We progress, and enjoy all matters.

S.
G.

March 20, 1958

Mr. David Silberman
Sigmund Silberman Foundation
1900-44 North Paulina Street
Chicago 22, Illinois

Dear Mr. Silberman:

We are warmly grateful for the generous contribution from the Sigmund Silberman Foundation, following so promptly on our request.

At a time when it is easy to become discouraged, your continuing friendship and support mean a great deal to us.

When an opportunity arises for me to visit Chicago, I hope to meet you and express our thanks in person.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Official Receipt)

See attached

SIGMUND SILBERMAN FOUNDATION
1900-44 NORTH PAULINA STREET
CHICAGO 22, ILLINOIS

$400.00 CR
Nha

3/20/58

March 10, 1959

Mr. David B. Silberman, Jr.
Sigmund Silberman Foundation
1900 - 44 North Paulina Street
Chicago 22, Illinois

Dear Mr. Silberman:

I take pleasure in sending you the enclosed report of the Council's program activities and audited financial statement for 1958. In doing so I want to express, on behalf of the Council, warm thanks for your part in making these activities possible.

We have been greatly encouraged by some of the events of the past year. While the hue and cry of the irresponsible segregationist remain loud, a growing number of conscientious Southerners are beginning to make themselves heard. This is especially encouraging to us as we survey the tremendous amount of work which yet remains to be done.

The enclosed reports on program and finance speak for themselves, and I will not prolong this letter unduly. Please know, however, our deep appreciation for your support over the years. We are hopeful that you will feel the Council's performance merits your continued confidence and support in 1959.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

August 28, 1963

Mr. David B. Silberman, Jr.
Sigmund Silberman Foundation
1900 - 44 North Paulina Street
Chicago 22, Illinois

Dear Mr. Silberman:

This is to place before the Sigmund Silberman Foundation a proposal for support of the general operations of the Southern Regional Council. The Council's work in behalf of better human relations in the South has had your long and valued interest and we hope that you may be able to give this request your consideration.

The Council is confronted this year with a financial problem that has stricken many other institutions as well. We have received generous -- sometimes even unsolicited -- grants for special projects. The basic structure of the Council, which supports these projects, with program as well as with administration, is, however, inadequately financed.

As you may note, for example, from page 3 of our 1963 budget (enclosed), our Voter Education Project alone has more funds than has our central operations; I might add that the size of the Voter Education Project is now substantially larger than the budgeted figure. Three-fourths or more of these funds go directly to the support of the voter registration efforts of Negro organizations, and all the funds aid these efforts.

To all of its programs, the Council brings skilled staff and a reservoir of experience built through years of work in the South. This has yielded the public confidence which makes possible the effectiveness that our special projects and our general programs now have. In the present climactic days of the southern civil rights struggle, these assets are needed more than ever.

Our general operations budget supports this base, as well as -- with rare exceptions -- all our publications, our research and information services, and our field consultation services.

Our prospects for 1963 are that income for general operations will be $15,000 - $20,000 below the budgeted requirement of $178,481. The Sigmund Silberman Foundation has in the past contributed to the Council, most recently, I believe, in 1958. We are hoping that you may be in a position to assist us this year in meeting this deficit.

We are enclosing several exhibits. If you should require additional information in order to reach a decision, please let me know.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 6.

Make folder

June 4, 1965

Dr. John A. Griffin
Executive Director
Southern Education Foundation
811 Cypress Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the Miami Herald editorial of May 31, 1965. I must say that I am amazed at the last two paragraphs of it. I think that Don Shoemaker is much mistaken in believing that school desegregation is of retreating importance. In his own town of Miami, for example, there are today more Negro children receiving completely segregated schooling than there were when Miami began in 1959-60 to desegregate its schools. It is, of course, truly important that nearly 5,000 Miami Negro children are today in something called bi-racial classes. But almost 36,000 are in all-Negro schools, and that's 5,000 or 6,000 more than the entire Negro enrollment in 1959-60. As long as tokenism cannot even keep pace with population increase, we have pretty much to worry about.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

January 5, 1966

Dr. John A. Griffin
Southern Education Foundation
81 Cypress Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Enclosed are two lists, Inter-agency and Religious; both have a larger number than you want but I am reasonably certain that at least half the persons on each list will be unable to come.

If possible, I would like to have at least several on the Council's staff attend but we can determine that number after we see the response.

For some reason the deliberations of yesterday discourage me but you can't win them all.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc. - 2

SFE
SINCE 1867

SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION

811 CYPRESS STREET, N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308 / 875-0279

Rec'd 1/17/66

MEMORANDUM

To: Invitees to the Southern Regional Conference on Adult Basic Education
From: John A. Griffin, Chairman, Planning Committee
Date: January 13, 1966

A few days ago I asked you to accept the invitation of the planning committee--whose names appear below--to a conference to be held in Atlanta on February 17 and 18. The purpose of this meeting is to bring together representatives of state and Federal government and representatives of private agencies to discuss how larger cooperation may be achieved in the interest of a more effective program in adult basic education. Since Title IIB funds are being made available to the states in substantial amounts, the U. S. Office of Education has asked the Adult Education Association of the U. S. A. to sponsor five regional conferences.

The AEA was given a small grant by the U. S. Office of Education for planning the various conferences, but no funds are available for the expenses of the participants. Invitees must attend the conference at their own expense.

Invitations have been sent to 12 states, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. The invitation list includes: Office of Economic Opportunity coordinators, adult basic education directors, representatives of state departments of education, welfare, health, agricultural extension, and general extension. Certain regional and national officials of the Federal government have been invited and several Washington staff members of AEA. Invitations have been extended also to individuals working with private organizations and agencies such as labor, religious organizations, civil rights and human relations groups, community organizations, universities, libraries and other groups. About 100 to 125 participants are expected at the conference.

The program has been tailored to a 24-hour period so that participants living away from Atlanta may come in on Thursday morning the 17th and get away after noon on the 18th. The Atlanta Biltmore Hotel has agreed that under these circumstances, registrants will need to register for only a single night and rooms will be held accordingly. A room registration card to be returned to the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel is enclosed and also an acceptance card to be mailed to me is also enclosed.

Registration will open at 10:00 a.m., and continue during the afternoon. The program will commence at 1:00 p.m. on the 17th. In the first general session there will be a presentation of the purposes of the conference and an address by Dr. William F. Brazziel, Director of General Education, Norfolk Division, Virginia State College. Dr. Brazziel, who has had notable success with the basic education program in the Norfolk area, will speak of his experiences and some of the problems encountered in adult basic education. An afternoon panel will discuss the regulations, the funding, and the purpose of Federal programs concerned with adult basic education; moderator for this panel will be Dr. Sam Hand, Professor of Adult Education, Florida State University. In the afternoon there will be an initial meeting of the participants according to states. This will be continued on Friday. Thursday afternoon there will be a social hour. There is no formal dinner meeting, but there is an evening session scheduled for 8:15. The purpose of this panel is to provide a confrontation of various viewpoints about adult basic education and to provide discussion of ways to facilitate cooperation among agencies. Three speakers will represent adult basic education, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and a private agency. An examining panel will be composed of representatives of the fields of interest represented in the conference.

On Friday morning Dr. Al Croft of the Adult Education Association will define some problems of promoting and establishing cooperative programs in the states, and then there will be a continuation of the meetings by states. A final general session at 11:00 will provide the opportunity for the conference summarization. Adjournment is scheduled for noon.

Members of the planning committee are as follows:

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta

Mr. Harold N. Arnold, Executive Director, The Atlanta Urban League

Dr. William L. Bowden, Associate Director for Regional Programs, Southern Regional Education Board, Atlanta

Miss Dora Byron, Associate Director, Community Educational Service, Emory University, Atlanta

Miss Polly Claiborne, Consultant, Adult Basic Education, Georgia Department of Education

Mr. Robert L. Cousins, Associate Director, Southern Education Foundation, Atlanta

Dr. Albert J. Croft, Project Director, Adult Education Regional Conferences, Adult Education Association of the U. S. A., Washington, D. C.

Mr. Kenneth B. Crookes, Assistant Director, Southern Regional Office, National Urban League, Atlanta

Mr. Jere Farley, Director, Adult Education, Tennessee Department of Education

Dr. C. L. Dennard, Principal, Carver Vocational School, Atlanta

Dr. John A. Griffin, Executive Director, Southern Education Foundation, Atlanta

Dr. S. E. Hand, Director, Studies and Training, Adult Basic Education, The Florida State University, Tallahassee

Mr. Al Kehrer, Southern Area Director, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, Atlanta

Miss Catherine Kirkland, Coordinator of Adult Education, Georgia Department of Education

Mr. John Massey, Director of Personnel, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville

Miss Margaret V. Minor, Literacy Specialist, Experimental School, Draper Correctional Center, Elmore, Alabama

Dr. Curtis Ulmer, Director, Adult Basic Education Program, Florida State Department of Education

Mr. Eugene R. Watson, Assistant Director, University of North Carolina Extension Division and Assistant Professor of Education, Chapel Hill (member of Planning Committee but unable to attend)

For invitees outside Atlanta, please mail your reservation card to the Atlanta Biltmore. And for invitees inside and outside Atlanta, please return the postcard to me indicating whether or not you plan to attend.

The planning committee has selected the names of invitees with great care; the committee sincerely hopes that those invited will attend.

file Foundations

March 18, 1966

Dr. John Griffin
Executive Director
Southern Education Foundation
811 Cypress Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Griffin:

This is to request the consideration of the Southern Education Foundation in support of a program to increase the rate of school desegregation in the South.

As you know, the Commission on Civil Rights proposes to hold conference on school desegregation in Louisiana, South Carolina, Virginia, Mississippi, North Carolina, Maryland, Arkansas, Georgia, and Alabama. The first conference is scheduled on March 26th and the last on May 28th. The full resources for an adequate program are available for the South Carolina program and the Commission feels resources can be secured for the conference in Maryland. This is to request an amount of up to $2,000 from the Southern Education Foundation to enable the Southern Regional Council to provide resources for the conferences in the other seven states.

The Commission proposes to have these conferences "to acquaint citizens in the various states with the provisions of Federal civil rights laws and policies relating to school desegregation and to provide information on methods and techniques involved in the desegregation of schools." The Commission anticipates an attendance of 500-900 persons at each meeting and they will assume all of the administrative responsibilities connected with planning and implementing the meetings.

The U. S. Office of Education has assigned one coordinator to work with the Commission on this project on a full-time basis. In addition to having the personnel from each Advisory Committee present at each meeting the Commission will have three or more staff persons present. The U. S. Office of Education will assign five or six specialists to participate in the various work sessions. The Commission hopes that the Justice Department and the Office of Economic Opportunity will each have one resource person available at each meeting.

We believe these meetings are important and that the results will be significant. There is, however, assistance needed which the Commission cannot provide. Funds are needed to provide the travel expenses of a limited number of resource persons such as lawyers experienced in the school desegregation situation. Minimal travel funds are also needed for interested citizens from throughout the states who could not otherwise attend. (We propose to pay .06 per mile for persons who attend and bring with them several other persons from their communities who are interested in school desegregation.)

For each conference we would hope to have a minimum $200 available to cover the travel expenses of resource persons and $800 for travel expenses of participants. (Most of the private agencies will be able to provide the costs of their staffs to these meetings.) We believe the entire program can be adequately financed for $10,000. For this purpose we are hopeful of a grant of $8,000

from the New World Foundation. If the Southern Education Foundation makes the requested grant of $2,000, the full program would be assured. The Southern Regional Council would take no overhead costs from these funds and will provide staff assistance and modest financial help to these conferences.

For the above purposes we respectfully request the consideration of the Southern Education Foundation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

SFE
SINCE 1867

SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION

811 CYPRESS STREET, N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308 / 875-0279

Please reply to:
1501 18th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Rec'd 3/31/66

Paul:

Will you send me the name of the Ford man with whom you were talking about the failure of their projects in Nashville, Durham, etc.? I want to see him next week when I'm in New York.

Thanks,

Mrs. Jimmie Virginia Frank

P. S. Will you remember to talk to John about Black Belt Schools?

April 1, 1966

Mrs. Virginia Frank
Southern Education Foundation
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ginna:

The man at Ford was Alan Ferguson, but for the Lord's sake, let him criticize his own program spontaneously, and don't quote me!

I hope to get with John sometime soon to talk about things like Black Belt Schools.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
S. Ed. 7d.

File

Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California

September 29, 1966

Mr. John A. Griffin
Executive Director
Southern Education Foundation
811 Cypress Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dear Cousin:

I guess a man can't go to Atlanta and not come away fretting about The Problem, as it is presently incarnated.

I think I was right when I argued at our meeting that the situation is fundamentally different than that we faced in putting together the Ashmore Report. Then there was an absolute lack of reliable information on the disparities between Negro and white schools, and an adamant unwillingness at the office (and power structure) level to even discuss the possibility that the schools might be integrated. We calculated, correctly I think, that hard facts were going to be needed, and in a great hurry, once the Supreme Court had ruled and the subject of Negro/white education could no longer be avoided.

But, if you recall, I was arguing then, as I still am, that the only progress that would be possible for a long time would come when whites and Negroes were forced to work together on common ground to solve a real problem, one so overweening both sides would set aside the moral absolutes. That is, discussion of practical ways and means of integrating the schools would come, in many cases, only when the choice was between integration and no schools at all --- or the maintenance of segregation at a price in violence too high to be borne.

If such a situation exists now it is probably in the area of open housing, as Martin Luther King seems to have demonstrated in Chicago. I would agree that employment may be more critical in fact, but there really isn't much that can be done in that area except through massive federal action; the problem now is only incidentally discrimination, and primarily an actual shortage of jobs. In any event the issues in race relations are still more symbol than substance, and this is the one place left where the highly visible progress of a relative few will have meaning for the mass.

This also currently is the area of highest emotional intensity. The problem, really, is one of naked white prejudice, and I doubt that it is going to yield to any additional revelations about the deplorable conditions in the Negro ghetto; on the contrary, this only tends to reinforce white objections to Negro neighbors. If facts have any relevance here they will have to deal with the reality of the limited, middle-class integration which in fact is about all that is possible under present Negro income patterns. And perhaps, topside, facts could be useful in convincing the power structure that the issue of open housing is now conservative, not radical --- that is, that a man who is interested in preserving not only property values but elementary law and order in his community has got to open up the white neighborhoods to some degree as the only practical alternative to establishing the police state that will be required to maintain absolute segregation by force.

With all this in mind I have been taking a look at the reports of the Commission on Race and Housing financed by the Fund for the Republic back in 1955 when we were still blessed with a substantial sum of Ford Foundation money. I enclose a copy of the summary report, Where Shall We Live?, which lists the members of the old Commission, and on the back cover describes the five comprehensive volumes that came out of the study and were published by the University of California Press. You will recognize that the pattern was much the same as that of the Ashmore Report, with Where Shall We Live? serving the role of our summary The Negro and the Schools.

The collection of data in these volumes is remarkably up to date and complete --- so much so I think it could be disseminated today without any additional research, and only the most cursory addenda to cite changes in laws, later figures, etc. If the Ford Foundation or any of the other agencies represented in Atlanta were interested in obtaining background materials in a hurry for distribution it is available. Although most of these volumes are out of print we hold the copyright, along with the University of California Press, and would be delighted to see this material back in wide circulation.

Also, if Ford, or Field, or any of the others concerned were willing to foot the bill, we would be glad to see if we could reconvene the old Commission, whose members are almost all still alive and active. It is my idea, endorsed by Bob Hutchins, that we could bring the Commission together here at Santa Barbara for a two or three day session, with any additional participants that might seem warranted. We would expect to get a quick Center publication out of the transcript of the discussion. I believe this,

along with the prior material, would probably provide all the basic materials needed for the possible stimulation of discussion on this subject across a wide front.

The old Commission, as you will see, was a potent one. It was deliberately conservative in its composition --- heavy on practical men from banking, real estate and the like, whose endorsement of open housing practices did give the original report considerable weight in the places where it counts.

I am sending copies of this letter to all those who were in on the Atlanta session. If any of the foundation people would like to have a more detailed and elaborate proposal I'll be glad to work it up. We are not particularly anxious to go plunging back into this boar's nest, but I am afraid we may be the only agency around with what amounts to a running start. And, anyway, I ought to know by now that I'm not going to be able to lay the burden down.

Regards,

Harry S. Ashmore

Enclosures

CC: William Griffith
Harold Fleming
Leslie Dunbar
Paul Anthony
William Baggs
Harry Golden
David Brinkley
William Emerson
Claude Sitton
John Popham
R. M. Hutchins
Hallock Hoffman
W. H. Ferry
J. L. Perry

File
Southern Educ
Foundation

October 10, 1966

Mrs. Virginia Frank
Southern Education Foundation
1501 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ginna:

Unfortunately, I will be at the University of Colorado, of all places, on Thursday and making my way back from Oklahoma City on Friday. I do hope, however, to be back by noon and would certainly enjoy seeing you - whatever schedule you have for the afternoon or evening.

Thanks for the note of thanks.

Of course, I haven't found a consultant yet.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

SFE
SINCE 1867

SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION
811 CYPRESS STREET, N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308 / 875-0279

Please reply to:
1501 18th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

(5)

October 6, 1966

Paul:

Will you be around next Thursday and Friday? I'm making a brief round for lengthy staff meeting, and will probably have to see my intern at the AUC on Thursday evening, but maybe we could manage a small drink.

Have you found a consultant yet?

Best,

Jim

SFE
SINCE 1867

SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION
811 CYPRESS STREET, N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308 / 875-0279

November 3, 1966

Mr. Craddock Goins
1429 North Morningside Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30306

Dear Mr. Goins:

In reply to your letter of October 31, I wish to point out that you have written to me at Mr. Anthony's address. Mr. Anthony was quoted in the Journal article about a meeting which took place at my home.

The piece was written by Mr. Jack Nelson as you point out. He called me at Mr. Anthony's suggestion after the meeting and I told Mr. Nelson, and he quoted me (in other paragraphs of the story which were not used in the Atlanta paper) to the effect that in my opinion it was not the conclusion of this group of persons that an apartheid president could be a possibility within the next ten years, although this was mentioned in the discussions. I pointed out to Mr. Nelson that it was the conclusion of the group that in view of the so-called white back-lash there is an urgent need for programs of information and programs of adult education about civil rights and about the Negro in American society in order to change hopefully some of the attitudes which are now apparent.

Some in this conference have the feeling that this back-lash is but a temporary set-back in the progress which has been made in the field of civil rights and that there will be no real turning back. On the other hand, I think all of us who were talking have the feeling that we have a very long way to go in terms of bringing Negroes into first-class status in our society.

There was no notice of this meeting in Atlanta papers earlier because it was a private meeting of a group of friends in my

home. Mr. Anthony, who was present, made reference to it in his talk to the Hungry Club a week ago, and it was from this reference that Mr. Nelson got his story.

Incidentally, Mr. Roger Wilkins, who is Executive Director of the Community Relations Service in the Department of Justice, spoke to the Hungry Club today and said some very interesting things relating to what I have said above about the progress that has been made in contrast to a long way we have yet to go.

Sincerely,

John

John A. Griffin

JAG:jj
cc: Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

CRADDOCK GOINS TR 2-6373

1429 N. MORNINGSIDE DRIVE, N. E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30306

October 31, 1966

Mr. John A. Griffin,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Fowsyth Street,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Griffin:

I have read in a recent issue of The Atlanta Journal a story indicating that an apartheid president for the United States could be a possibility within the next ten years. The story was written by Jack Nelson for the Los Angeles Times News Service.

Please be good enough to tell me if those conclusions were correctly stated. I have no argument to uphold, merely wanting to know if you were accurately quoted.

Anything else you might be good enough to tell me about that conference would be appreciated. I am curious as to why the Atlanta papers had nothing to say on the subject. Were they notified of the conference?

Thanking you in anticipation of a reply, I am

cordially

File
Southern Ed. Fd.

January 31, 1967

Dr. John Griffin
Southern Education Foundation, Inc.
811 Cypress Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

A note to thank you for your substantial help in our meeting last week. Please, also, thank your hospitable staff who took such good care of us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File Southern Ed. Fd.
Bring up April 21
File Southern Educ Fd.

April 13, 1967

Mrs. Virginia Frank
Southern Education Foundation
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Gina:

Horror of Horrors! I will be out of town on the 22nd and 23rd; returning Sunday night. I will be here during the day on the 24th but will be leaving that night for New York. Any chance for lunch on the 24th?

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

SFE
SINCE 1867

SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION

811 CYPRESS STREET, N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308 / 875-0279

Please reply to:
1501 18th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Paul:

I'm coming that direction on April 23rd, and I'm not a bit afraid to associate with CIA conduits.

Will you be around? I get in at 7 something in the evening of the 23rd, staying at the Cabana - will also stay over Monday night.

J.

Free Southern Ed. Fd.

June 1, 1967

Mrs. Virginia Frank
Southern Education Foundation
1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Ginna:

Shall be delighted to be available on the morning of July 3rd and awaiting further instructions. Sorry I missed you last Saturday night, besides Tivoli Wonderful isn't as good as Wits End anyway.

As for my comments on SNCC, I pontificated at great length about most everything, but when it came to SNCC I said I didn't know anything of value, and that if I talked to three people I got three answers. In fact, I think I even commented that seemed to be one carry-over from the past. Alas, that astute reporter chose to make me the authority.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

SFE
SINCE 1867

SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
1501 EIGHTEENTH ST., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

5/22/67

May 18, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern REgional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul,

This is an official invitation to meet with our new group of interns, and talk with them about problems of the dual school system and the enforcement of desegregation in the schools.

I'd like to put you on the agenda on the morning of July 3rd, if that's suits your schedule. A tentative outline is enclosed of the two week seminar. This time perhaps I'll stick around and hear what you have to say.

I'll be down there this weekend and will call, but I wasn't sure that you were back from vacation and wanted to get the request on your calendar in any case.

I saw your quote in the Journal, and it is my observation that there never was a time when each SNCC member didn't have a different version of life.

Sincerely,

Gina

(Mrs.) Virginia Frank
Washington Representative

P.S. I'll be at Wits End with a dozen interns old & new Saturday night — join us!

TENTATIVE OUTLINE - INTERN TRAINING PROGRAM

As always, defining the problem correctly is half the battle. The June training session is concerned with clarifying issues, posing the right questions about regional educational development. The September session is more specifically directed to resources for change. The continuing agenda of the internship is what to change and how to change it.

Our general focus is on the education of the "disadvantaged" and on Negro exclusion from educational opportunity. But these subjects cannot be dealt with in a vacuum, so we start at the beginning: goals and definitions.

Part One: In Atlanta June 26-July 7, 1967

I. The purpose of education; opening seminar (June 26)

II. The Southern structure

A. Local school systems; Atlanta and others (June 27)

B. State power (June 28)
Boards of Higher Education, decision making
State education agencies
Southern Regional Education Board

C. Teacher training institutions (June 29)

D. Professional standards and associations (June 30)
Southern Association
TEPS, GTEA, etc.

E. The Federal presence - introduction to legislation (July 1)

III. Some Issues

A. Equality of Opportunity (July 3)

1) Integrating the schools
2) The Coleman & CRC Reports
3) The Negro Colleges

B. Quality Education (July 5)

1) Schools and poverty and the community (OEO)
2) Schools and social values
3) Schools and career preparation

IV. The Internship - aims and groundrules (July 6)

V. Educational Change: Individuals and Institutions (July 7)

Part Two: In Washington, September

Subjects covered in the two weeks in Washington will include:

(1) Developing institutions - Title III
Institute for Services to Education

(2) Equal opportunity - Title VI and Title IV
NEA Human Rights of Educators
Civil Rights Commission

(3) Federal programs for the disadvantaged: Title I
OEO
(CAP, Head Start, Upward Bound)

(4) Federal support for teacher training improvement:

Division of education personnel training
National Institute for Advanced Study in Teaching the Disadvantaged
NEA: TEPS
National Teacher Corps

(5) Vocational Education:

Vocational Education Act of 1963, Vocational Research

(6) Individual Support for Education: Federal aids
Professional preparation
Support for guidance programs

(7) Educational Innovation: Title III
Research (labs and other support)
Curriculum change
Technology

(8) Federal-state relations

(9) National policy-making: ACE, national assessment, etc.

(10) National Science Foundation

(11) Specific visits according to intern interests to other program offices: library funds, ETV, arts and humanities, division of higher education

D R A F T

February 8, 1962

Last fall the Stern Family Fund generously agreed to make available the sum of $4,279 for programming in New Orleans in preparation for the second year of desegregation there. These funds matched a $3,000 donation from the Taconic Foundation and $1,279 raised in New Orleans by the Save Our Schools group. The Stern Fund also agreed to take care of Mr. Rilling's expenses on program trips to New Orleans last fall through ~~November 15.~~ Dec. 31.

Please check this date in Stern files.

The Taconic and Stern contributions were placed in a New Orleans account here. An accounting of the funds expended is enclosed. Much to everyone's surprise, the New Orleans schools were desegregated last fall several weeks earlier than had been anticipated, thus cancelling out the need for some rather expensive efforts at last minute interpretation to the public which had been planned.

We estimate that the share of the Stern Family Fund contribution which is unexpended amounts to ~~$1,504.~~ $1,216.50 Mr. Rilling's expenses in New Orleans came to $463.02. Inasmuch as the immediate need for which the funds were granted has passed, we felt that we should consult with you about the disposition of this sum. There are several possibilities, as we see it: (1) we could return ~~$1,504~~ $1,216.50 to the Stern Fund; or (2) you could authorize us to use this money in further programming in New Orleans. ~~We feel that there are a number of useful purposes to which these funds could be applied: to assist in the adjustment of the Negro children, to help with community preparations for the next step of desegregation next fall, to establish more effective channels of interracial communication, etc.~~ We could subtract Mr. Rilling's expenses from the unexpended total, or this could be taken care of separately.

We appreciate the trust of the Stern Fund as demonstrated by this contribution. We enjoyed working with you in New Orleans and hope that we can be of further service.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

February 19, 1962

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Executive Secretary
The Edgar Stern Family Fund
1299 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Miller:

I wish to place before you and the Board of the Stern Family Fund a request for a contribution to the general support of the Southern Regional Council. For this purpose we have prepared the enclosed proposal.

The proposal is long and the enclosures bulky. I wished, however, to put a general and fairly complete view of our activities before you. In order to keep the proposal in anything resembling readable size, the outline of activities consists of the merest sketches. I trust you will let me know if more detail is in any respect needed.

I shall be more than happy to travel to Washington, New Orleans or elsewhere if you should wish to discuss the request at any time. I might mention that I shall be in New York March 20-21; I could easily stop off in Washington on the 19th, if my doing so would be of any convenience to you.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

February 22, 1962

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Executive Secretary
The Edgar Stern Family Fund
1299 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Miller:

I wish to place before you and the Board of the Edgar Stern Family Fund a request for a contribution to the general support of the Southern Regional Council. For this purpose we have prepared the enclosed proposal.

The proposal is long and the enclosures bulky. It seemed best, however, to give a general and fairly complete view of our activities for your consideration. In order to keep the proposal in anything resembling readable size, the outline of activities consists of the merest sketches. I trust you will let me know if more detail is in any respect needed.

With very best wishes to you, and to Mrs. Stern and the other principals of the Fund.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

(2 sets submitted - incl. ltr + Proposal)

Enclosures:

Press treatment for Fed. Exec. and Civil Rights

&&&&

September 1961 NEW SOUTH

Policy Statement

L-1 Report

1961 Annual Report

Financial Statement 1961

1962 Approved Budget

List of SRC Board

Tax Exemption Letter

A PROPOSAL

to the

Edgar Stern Family Fund
for Support of the General Operations of the
Southern Regional Council

- : -

This is to request that the Edgar Stern Family Fund consider a five-year plan of assistance to the general operations of the Southern Regional Council.

In order that this proposal not be unreasonably long we have enclosed the Annual Report of the Executive Director for 1961, the financial statement of 1961 operations, the approved budget for 1962, a list of officers and members of the Council, a copy of our letter of tax exemption, and miscellaneous illustrative material.

So much has been written about race relations in the South that a lengthy essay here would be uncalled for. The South today is no longer "solid," either politically, culturally, or emotionally; it is full of hopes, bright yet realistic, and of troubled, deeply embedded, apprehensions. We believe that the present situation and prospects of the South impose high responsibility on the Southern Regional Council. As the only wholly southern, bi-racial group with long experience, professional skills, and reputation in the field of race relations, it has had to operate more broadly and effectively than ever before, recognizing that it is dealing with causes and effects that are nationwide in scope. We have attempted, therefore, to assume more leadership in educating and rallying those regional -- and sometimes national -- forces whose action or inaction at this time is critical.

In order to give you a comprehensive view of the Council's activities, we have set forth the principal ones below, with a short description of each.

(1) Research

The Council's reference library, made up of clippings, pamphlets, books, and masses of other materials, serves as the center for fact-finding and research. These resources permit the Council to issue a number of "Special Reports" each year, plus frequent "L-Reports" on the educational and economic issues of desegregation.

In addition, larger studies are conducted in areas of special concern or long-time need. For instance, our studies of private schools, of law enforcement, and of Negro voting have been widely distributed and have been in heavy demand. As an indication of the attention received by some of our publications, we are enclosing a summary report on the press treatment of The Federal Executive and Civil Rights, released in January 1961.

(2) Information Services

Our research facilities serve not only our own publications but, just as importantly, are freely and frequently used by others. The working press is our constant visitor, seeking both information and objective interpretation. Students and scholars write or call for information. Governmental agencies of all levels find our files a valuable resource.

(3) New South

Published eleven times a year, New South includes both comment and factual articles. A sample copy is enclosed.

(4) Southern Leadership Project

This is a specially financed program whose demonstrated success led to a two-year grant renewal after an initial three-year period. The objective of the program is to present to southern leadership the case for law compliance and progressive reform

of racial practices. Besides the distribution of publications and materials, the Project has offered, on a regular basis, the counsel of two Virginians -- Colonel Benjamin Muse of Manassas and the past superintendent of Norfolk schools, John J. Brewbaker -- to public officials, businessmen, editors, and school authorities. Other consultants are brought in for special situations.

(5) The State Councils on Human Relations

Established by SRC in 1954 and 1955, and made autonomous in 1957, state Councils exist now in nine states; there are none in Louisiana, Mississippi, or Texas, although there are local Councils in Austin and Houston. At the end of 1961 there were 6,400 members in all, and 65 local Councils. SRC works closely with these groups and support them financially at a recent rate of $50,000 a year; from local sources (exclusive of any foundation grants) the groups raised $56,626 during 1961. Efforts are underway to re-establish a Mississippi Council, and first steps toward the same end have been taken in Louisiana.

(6) The Fellowship of the Concerned

A loosely organized assemblage of southern churchwomen, led by Mrs. M. E. Tilly, our Director of Women's Work. The Fellowship meets annually in Atlanta, and state meetings are periodically held. Members of the Fellowship are leavening spirits in a great many southern localities.

(7) Consultant Services

No longer carried as a regular project, the dispatch, on request, of consultants drawn from the social sciences into southern communities for conferences with officials, business leaders, or human relations groups is still a common practice.

(8) Voter Education Project

A two-year program beginning in 1962, the Voter Education Project is perhaps the largest single undertaking

in SRC's history. Through this Project, SRC will conduct research into the causes of non-voting in the South and the best means of overcoming it. Data will be gathered from observing the voter registration programs of other agencies and groups. To the extent that such agencies and groups undertake non-partisan programs of research interest to SRC, funds, specially contributed by foundations for this purpose, will be allocated to them. SRC will control the terms and supervise the use of the grants, and will effect joint planning of these registration programs. The Project was not included in the 1962 budget. Expenditures at an annual rate of $325,000 - $350,000 are planned, of which $225,000 - $250,000 is in fair prospect.

(9) Southern Interagency Conference

SRC is the convener and secretariat of a quarterly conference of the civil rights and human relations agencies conducting regional programs.

(10) Foreign Visitors

During 1961, over 250 foreign visitors were received by SRC, and given orientation about the South and racial problems. Nearly all of these visitors were referred to us by Washington offices.

(11) Southern History Project

A special research grant has permitted the Council to sponsor certain studies in southern history by James McBride Dabbs.

(12) Research in Student Adjustment

A special grant has permitted the Council to sponsor psychiatric studies by Dr. M. Robert Coles of children in the desegregated schools of Atlanta and New Orleans.

(13) Other Activities

In the recurrent racial crises which have plagued the South, the Council not only keeps closely informed but, when it can, contributes to solutions. Our staff has been, for example, active in the solution of lunch counter controversies of several North Carolina cities, in the school crises of New Orleans and Atlanta, in the Albany disorders of the Winter of 1961-62.

Staff members are repeatedly called for consultation with federal government officials, church hierarchies, and others responsible for decisions in the South.

* * *

The above is the barest outline of activities. We shall be glad to supply any additional information you may need, and hope that you will feel free to call for it.

Toward a total budget for 1962 of $287,895, for both general operations and projects, a balance of $115,395 has yet to be raised. Of this balance, $108,395 is needed to meet the general operating budget of $175,395. This is the rate of expenditure maintained by the Council for the past several years. We have reasonable prospects of raising all but $30,000 - $35,000 of this amount.

In the light of these budgetary needs, we hope the Edgar Stern Family Fund will favorably consider a basic contribution of $25,000 a year for five years to our general operations. Further, because we shall be carrying on greatly enlarged program during 1962 and 1963, as described above, we request consideration for an additional grant during each of these years of $62,500.

We request multiple year assistance for several reasons. The Council's main reliance must necessarily be on the quality of its staff and the soundness of its planning. Both require a reasonable assurance of staff support for a period ahead. This can only be achieved by multiple year commitments from the Council's contributors.

Naturally, we would expect grants to be contingent on a satisfactory showing of performance by the Council at the beginning of each new grant year.

- : -

February 22, 1962

BCC: Harold C. Fleming
Harris Wofford

February 22, 1962

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Executive Secretary
The Edgar Stern Family Fund
1299 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Helen:

Under separate cover we have sent an application for funds. I have done this a little earlier than we had agreed, because of some doubts as to the best way to approach it, and because of my confidence that you would let me know if a different sort of presentation would be more suitable and would give the Board a clearer understanding. What I have sent up accords with my recollection of our last couple talks.

I shall be more than happy to travel to Washington, New Orleans, or elsewhere if you should wish to discuss the request at any time. I might mention that I shall be in New York March 20 - 21. I could easily stop off in Washington on the 19th, if my doing so would be of any convenience to you. (I also have very tentative plans for a vacation trip to New Orleans April 19 - 24.)

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

TPV
MJ - file

The Edgar Stern Family Fund

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

MRS. HELEN HILL MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

1299 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.
DIstrict 7-7374

Dear Leslie —

Your appeal is here, and I'll start looking for a sponsor, letting you know the results. If it goes to the Board, we ought to have something more condensed.

Sincerely,

Helen

Feb. 27, '62.

Enclosures:

1. Financial Statement, New Orleans Project, September, 1961 - February, 1962 (ATTACHED)

2. "Close Our Schools?"

3. "The High Cost of Conflict..."

4. Times Picayune Ad, 9/5/61 - Statement of Mayor Victor H. Schiro

5. Times Picayune Ad, September 6, 1961 - "Civic Leaders Have Stepped Forward!"

6. Reprint of newspaper headlines (pasteup)

March 2, 1962

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Executive Secretary
Edgar Stern Family Fund
1299 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Miller:

Last fall the Stern Family Fund generously agreed to make available the sum of $4,279 for programming in New Orleans in preparation for the second year of desegregation there. These funds matched a $3,000 donation from the Taconic Foundation and $1,279 raised in New Orleans by the Save Our Schools group. The Stern Fund also agreed to take care of Mr. Rilling's expenses on program trips to New Orleans last fall through December 31.

The Taconic and Stern contributions were placed in a New Orleans account here. An accounting of the funds expended is enclosed. Much to everyone's surprise, the New Orleans schools were desegregated last fall several weeks earlier than had been anticipated, thus cancelling out the need for some rather expensive efforts at last minute interpretation to the public which had been planned.

We estimate that the share of the Stern Family Fund contribution which is unexpended amounts to $1,216.50. Mr. Rilling's expenses in New Orleans came to $436.02. Inasmuch as the immediate need for which the funds were granted has passed, we

felt that we should consult with you about the disposition of this sum. There are several possibilities, as we see it: (1) we could return $1,216.50 to the Stern Fund; or (2) you could authorize us to use this money in further programming in New Orleans. By the latter we mean, specifically, programs undertaken in cooperation with existing or emerging organizations in New Orleans that are actively interested in the adjustment of the Negro children and community preparations for the next step of desegregation in the fall of 1962. We could subtract Mr. Rilling's expenses from the unexpended total, or this could be taken care of separately.

We appreciate the trust of the Stern Fund as demonstrated by this contribution. We enjoyed working with you in New Orleans and hope that we can be of further service.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

New Orleans Project
September, 1961 - February, 1962

RECEIPTS

Edgar Stern Family Fund	$ 4,279.00	
Taconic Foundation, Inc.	3,000.00	
Total Receipts		$ 7,279.00

DISBURSEMENTS

1. Newspaper Headline Reprint, "We Can't Afford This Again," (copy attached.)

Printing 20,000 copies of 4-page reprint of newspaper headlines, pictures, from paste-up	$ 530.45
Layout and pasteup for above	100.00
Mailing of above to 10,000 businessmen: envelopes, addressing, and mailing costs	590.93
Postage: mailing 125 copies of above to Consultative Conference on Desegregation, at request of SRC ...	1.24
15,000 mailing labels of registered voters in precincts of 6 desegregated schools, for mailing of newspaper headline reprint	231.65
Mailing: printing, addressing envelopes, stuffing, sealing, stamping	342.02

2. Newspaper Ads, (copy attached).

Two 750 line ads, Times Picayune-States Item, 1 each day on September 5 and September 6	1,500.00

Financial Statement - 2.
New Orleans Project
September, 1961 - February, 1962

DISBURSEMENTS - Continued

	Multilith copies of proposed newspaper ads	10.26
	Typographical layouts for ads	25.00
3.	Public Relations Services: preparation of educational material, counseling and advice in preparation of educational material.	
	August	500.00
	September	500.00
4.	"High Cost of Conflict" booklet, (copy attached).	
	Purchase, 2,300 of above, to send to businessmen and professional men in area	575.00
	Mailing: envelopes, printing and attaching notes, stuffing, stamping, sealing	159.96
5.	Telecast	
	Multilith television scripts for telecast over WYES-TV	13.88
6.	"Close Our Schools" folder, (copy attached).	
	Purchase of envelopes for mailing of above to registered voters in precincts of two desegregated schools	26.60
	Mailing of above	114.92
	Total Disbursements	$ 5,221.91
	Balance (Before Paul Rilling's expenses)	$ 2,057.09
Due for Paul Rilling's expenses*		463.02
Total in account March 1, 1962		$ 1,594.07

* $ 2,057.09
463.02
$ 1,594.07

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
521 ROYAL STREET
NEW ORLEANS 16

April 9, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 5 enclosing a check of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. payable to the order of Edgar Stern Family Fund in the amount of $780.48 covering refund on project grant (New Orleans) after deducting Mr. Rilling's travel expenses as discussed in our previous correspondence.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND

By J. J. Falgout
Joseph J. Falgout

JJF/jg

cc: Mrs. Edgar B. Stern

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller

April 5, 1962

Mr. Joseph J. Falgout
Edgar Stern Family Fund
521 Royal Street
New Orleans 16, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Falgout:

Enclosed is our check for $780.48; the refund of the balance from the New Orleans Project, less Mr. Billings's travel expenses, as discussed in your letter of March 19.

We continue to be deeply grateful for the Stern Fund's interest and support.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

PA:bp
enc.

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
521 ROYAL STREET
NEW ORLEANS 16

March 19, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Your letter of March 2 addressed to Mrs. Helen Hill Miller has been referred to the undersigned for reply, after discussion with Mrs. Edgar B. Stern, one of our Trustees.

We understand that you estimate the share of the Edgar Stern Family Fund contribution which is unexpended in the New Orleans Project account amounts to $1,216.50. We also understand that Mr. Rilling's expenses in New Orleans amounted to $436.02. Mrs. Stern feels that inasmuch as the immediate need for which the funds were granted has passed, it would be preferable for the sum of $780.48 to be returned to the Edgar Stern Family Fund. This amount, of course, is the net difference between $1,216.50 and $436.02.

Further programs for the purpose mentioned in your letter may be started anew with Southern Regional Council following consideration by our Trustees.

Awaiting your further advice,

Yours very truly,

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND

By J. J. Falgout
Joseph J. Falgout

JJF/jg

cc: Mrs. Edgar B. Stern

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller

April 18, 1962

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Executive Secretary
Edgar Stern Family Fund
1299 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Helen:

Thank you for your kindly note. The disc is more or less behaving itself now and I am putting in nearly full time at the office.

I am glad that you will be able to see Wiley Branton on April 23. He will, as Paul Anthony has let you know, also be available to meet with your Board on May 5.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

2810 P Street, N.W.

Dear Les –

I was blighted to hear about the disc – take care of it. Sorry Mrs. Stein did not rise to the overall budget,

but we'll hope that a
personal appearance
will help in the votes
project — something she
saw somewhere received
her first vote.

Now when possible.

Yours.

Foundations

May 21, 1962

Mr. Joseph J. Falgout
Edgar Stern Family Fund
821 Royal Street
New Orleans 16, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Falgout:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter and check of May 17, 1962, in the amount of $62,000. representing a contribution from the Edgar Stern Family Fund toward the Voter Education Project for the year 1962.

The Council is indeed grateful to the Trustees of the Fund for this fine expression of support toward the Project.

The Council's official receipt is enclosed for your files.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs
Enclosure

cc: Mrs. Edgar B. Stern, 11 Garden Lane
Mrs. Helen Hill Miller

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
521 ROYAL STREET
NEW ORLEANS 16

62000.00
124,000.00

May 17, 1962

Southern Regional Council
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

At the request of our Trustees we enclose our check payable to the order of Southern Regional Council in the amount of $62,000.00 as a contribution for the year 1962 toward your Voter Education Project.

As you know, our Board approved a grant of $62,000.00 a year for two years in support of your Voter Education Project and the enclosed check covers payment for the first year of the grant.

CR
5/21/62
R HA

Very truly yours,

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND

By J. J. Falgout
Joseph J. Falgout

JJF/jg
enclosure

cc: Mrs. Edgar B. Stern

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller

RECEIVED
MAY 21 1962

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Mrs. Hellen Hill Miller
Mr. Maxwell Hahn

REGARDING

Memorandum to each from LWD re: VEP and COPE grant of $5,000 for non-partisan voting registration work in New Orleans.

DATE

June 22, 1962

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT

Voter Education Project Folder

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
521 ROYAL STREET
NEW ORLEANS 16

July 12, 1962

RECEIVED
JUL 16 1962

file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We have received your letter of July 10 and the check for $1,500.00 mentioned therein.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND

By John O. Stuardi, Jr.
John O. Stuardi, Jr.

jg

July 10, 1962

Mr. John O. Stuardi, Jr.
Edgar Stern Family Fund
521 Royal Street
New Orleans 16, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Stuardi:

As instructed by Mrs. Helen Hill Miller over the telephone on July 8, we are returning enclosed the Edgar Stern Family Fund's check for $1,500 transmitted to us by your letter of July 3.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check #C-1001; $1,500.00)

cc: Mrs. Helen Hill Miller

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
521 ROYAL STREET
NEW ORLEANS 16

July 3, 1962

Southern Regional Council
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Mr. Wiley A. Branton

Gentlemen:

At the request of our Trustees we enclose our check payable to the order of Southern Regional Council in the amount of $1,500.00 and request that this amount be forwarded to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

This payment is in addition to the grant in support of your Voter Education Project which was paid in May, 1962 with another payment scheduled for May, 1963.

Very truly yours,

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND

By John O. Stuardi, Jr.
John O. Stuardi, Jr.

JOSjr/jg
enclosure

cc: Mrs. Edgar B. Stern

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller

July 16, 1962

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Executive Secretary
Edgar Stern Family Fund
1299 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Helen:

I have now had an opportunity to read the analysis of grants made by the Fund from December 1956 to 1961. It is an impressive record.

I notice from it that you are now making headway on the TVA foreign visitor center. I think I need not tell you that if there are any ways of an advisory nature that we can be of help either to you or the operating agency, or if we could help with any program service, you have only to ask.

I noticed also your grant to the Governmental Affairs Institute to "study Negro voting in 1960" which is to be published by the Eagleton press. I have the feeling that you must have told me about this before, but let me now say how very interested Branton and I would be in being informed early about the findings.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE EDGAR B. STERN FAMILY FUND
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

MRS. HELEN HILL MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON OFFICE
1299 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.
DISTRICT 7-7374

13 June 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear ~~Mr. Dunbar~~, Leslie

In view of the Stern Family Fund's grants to the Southern Regional Council, and our various other joint ventures, you may want to take a look at the analysis I've just done on the Fund's grants since I have been its Executive.

As ever,

Helen

Helen Hill Miller

RECEIVED JUN 18 1962

RECEIVED JUN 18 1962

file

September 24, 1962

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Executive Secretary
Edgar Stern Family Fund
1299 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Helen:

We are submiting enclosed the first status report of the Voters Education Project. We would like to request that this not be circulated outside the Fund.

Wiley and I would be very interested in any comments you may have after reading the report.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A

Enclosure: #11

November 2, 1962

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Executive Secretary
The Edgar Stern Family Fund
1299 National Press Bldg.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Helen:

Mr. Wagner's letter was so gratifying to me that I thought I would like to share it with you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosure

As of April 1:

New Executive Secretary:

Mr. Victor Weingarten

Correspondence should be directed to:

Mrs. Richard ~~Dammann~~ DAMMANN 10 E 44th
Victor Weingarten Co., Inc/ 17
10 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York

(See ltr: from Mrs. Helen Hill Miller of March 1963)

April 3, 1963

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
1299 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Helen:

We received your letter of March 25. We shall miss you greatly. I learned a good bit from several join ventures with you, and I am sorry that you are stepping out of this field.

On the other hand, I am delighted that you will be writing more. I assume you would not have made the switch unless you wanted to be able to spend more time at the typewriter. Call on us whenever we can be of some help to you.

All the best, and I shall try to look you up the next time I am in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

April 3, 1963

BP MMJ

Barbara,

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller is no longer Executive Secretary of the Edgar Stern Family Fund, but has been replaced by the Victor Weingarten Co., Inc. of New York. Therefore, would you see that she is put on our PRESS LIST as follows:

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
1299 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

At the same time, materials and correspondence for the Stern Family Fund should be directed to the following:

Mrs. Richard Dammon
Victor Weingarten Co., Inc.
10 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York

thanx, mmj

The Edgar Stern Family Fund

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

MRS. HELEN HILL MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

1299 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.
DIstrict 7-7374

Press list

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

This is to tell you that my successor for the time being as Executive Secretary of the Edgar Stern Family Fund, beginning on April 1, will be the Victor Weingarten Co., Inc.; will you therefore please send any correspondence to

Mrs. Richard Dammon
Victor Weingarten Co., Inc.
10 East 44th Street
New York 17, N.Y.

DAMMAN

Henceforth, I shall be a journalist full time; I am writing the report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women this spring, and shall have a new book out in early 1964.

With my very best wishes for the further progress of your project----if and when you are in town I should be very glad to hear about it----I am

Sincerely,

Helen

March 25, 1963

June 6, 1963

Mrs. Marjorie Dammann
Edgar Stern Family Fund — file
10 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Dammann:

I hope you will not hesitate to write or call us when you think we may be of assistance.

I am somewhat puzzled about the request to you from the Inter-Citizens Committee. I do know of their work, and I think it has been extremely valuable and, moreover, well done. I have a high regard for the Rev. C. H. Oliver. We are prepared, therefore, as we have in the past to endorse strongly this activity and this organization.

On the other hand, I have had the perhaps overly optimistic expectation that the Committee's financial problems, for 1963 at least, had been largely cured by a $10,000 grant from the Field Foundation, plus some additional small support from the Aaron Norman Family Fund. I could look into this if you would like, though perhaps you already have the documents before you which make possible an evaluation of financial needs. What the Committee does is, as I said before, extremely meritorious but is, at the same time, relatively a small and inexpensive operation.

Assuming, however, that the financial need is greater than I had realized, I do recommend this program to you.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
10 EAST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Recd 6/4/63

June 3, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I believe that you were notified by Helen Miller that she was retiring from her activities with the Stern Fund to devote full time to writing and that I would be at least temporarily taking up her responsibilities.

Although I am well aware of the fact that you are extremely busy at this historical moment, I am writing to ask what you know about the Inter-Citizens Committee of Birmingham, Alabama, which has applied to the Stern Fund for a grant. The Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, secretary of the Inter-Citizens Committee, has stated that you know of their work, and "we believe will recommend it highly."

You probably know that the Inter-Citizens Committee is not yet tax-exempt, and any grants would have to be made through the Council for Christian Social Action.

With the public eye focused on Birmingham at this particular moment, it would seem that the request has considerable merit. However, with limited funds designated for race relations, the Stern Fund does not wish to water down the effect of its grants in this field. I, therefore, would appreciate whatever guidance and suggestion you would care to make at this time.

I am looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Marjorie Dammann

MD:lws

Marjorie Dammann

June 13, 1963

Mrs. Marjorie Dammann
Edgar Stern Family Fund
10 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Dammann:

I was greatly pleased to receive and read your letter of June 10. I am glad to be reassured that the Inter-Citizens Committee is in moderately good financial shape this year, and glad also to learn that it is looking ahead. As I said in my earlier letter, we have a high regard for its work. If Mr. Oliver did not send you a file of the documents they have prepared on police brutality in Birmingham, I recommend that you ask him to do so; they make horrifying reading.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
10 EAST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

June 10, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for answering my letter about the Inter-Citizens Committee of Birmingham, Ala.

The Rev. Oliver's request was not, as it turned out, for 1963. In a follow-up letter to me, he indicated that "we are well on our way to receiving sufficient funds to meet our budget this year, which is $17,264. We are seeking to raise this amount each year for three years. This means that we are still far from our total goal of $51,792."

In my correspondence with Rev. Oliver, I have asked for information concerning the financial status of the organization towards the end of this summer. As you may know, the Stern Fund has, to date, met but twice yearly. All applications, however, going before the Fund must have sponsorship from at least one of the members of the trustees and/or directors of the Stern Fund. It was in order to evaluate an agency rather than a concrete proposal that prompted me to write you on June 3rd.

Thank you for your prompt and informative answer, and I will not hesitate to write again if we need guidance on matters of this sort.

Sincerely yours,

Marjorie Dammann

MD:las

Marjorie Dammann

DATE

TO Ed Randall

FROM

SUBJECT

March 26, 1962 1,000.
June 1, 1962 1,300.
Oct. 5, 1962 2,500

Jan 17, 1963 2,500

7,300

ivan allen

GA.: Atlanta Augusta Columbus Gainesville Macon Rome
ALA.: Gadsden S. C.: Greenville
TENN.: Athens Chattanooga

MANUFACTURERS OF AMCO SET SNAP-OUT FORMS

Answered by phone

MW 2-0283

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
10 EAST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1963

August 9, 1963

file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I hope you do not mind that once again I am turning to you for advice.

Recently, the Edgar Stern Fund received a request from Edwin T. Randall who produces radio programs on integration which are heard in Alabama. The name of Mr. Randall's company, which is not yet tax exempt although application has been made, is "Friendly World Broadcasting." Most of the Alabama programs are known as "A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie."

I was impressed with the tapes which Mr. Randall had with him when he came to see me, and which he tells me are heard over 42 stations in Alabama. It is apparent that he has been operating on a shoe-string, and it also appeared to me that he was a dedicated person who had succeeded in introducing the concept of integration into the deep South in an honest and effective manner.

In talking with him, I judged that he had some association with you, and I wondered if you could verify this fact and indicate the nature of your relationship. Although "Friendly World Broadcasting" has not yet secured tax exemption, grants according to Mr. Randall, can be made through the Jane Addams Peace Association. He gave me the impression that a grant to the Southern Regional Council for his activities would also be acceptable.

I would appreciate your letting me hear from you about this as soon as possible, since I am going on vacation and am trying to prepare material for the agenda for the next Stern Fund meeting. I hate to interfere with either your busy schedule or a vacation, but I have no alternative since I am aware of your great knowledge and good judgment in the field in which you are working.

Looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Marjorie Dammann

Marjorie Dammann

MD:las

File
Glen Family
Fund

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Hunter, David
c/o Louis Harris & Associates

SUBJECT:

National Public Opinion Survey - Survey #1277A
(national white opinion in regards to racial relations)

DATE

Correspondence dated August 28-
September 4, 1963

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Folder marked: Hunter, Mr. David - Louis Harris & Associates.

feel free to give me a candid reply to it, at your convenience.

We have, for a number of years now, had occasion to work with the Stern Family Fund on various projects, of which the Harris matter is only the latest. These experiences have been rewarding for us and have provided opportunities to contribute more effectively to southern progress. But as I remarked to you one day on the telephone, we have an insistent problem at SRC of nourishing the trunk that makes possible special projects.

I had several conversations with your predecessor, Mrs. Miller, in the winter of 1961-62, and as a result, when we placed before the Stern Family Fund a proposal for assistance to the Voter Education Project we simultaneously applied for general support to the SRC. Support to the VEP was

September 5, 1963

Mrs. Marjorie Dammann
Edgar Stern Family Fund
10 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Dammann:

The enclosures are self explanatory. As far as I know everything is now in place on the Louis Harris project. I hope everything stays that way, and that it works out as we all would like.

I would like to raise with you, in a preliminary way, a question of another kind. I hope you will feel free to give me a candid reply to it, at your convenience.

We have, for a number of years now, had occasion to work with the Stern Family Fund on various projects, of which the Harris matter is only the latest. These experiences have been rewarding for us and have provided opportunities to contribute more effectively to southern progress. But as I remarked to you one day on the telephone, we have an insistent problem at SRC of nourishing the trunk that makes possible special projects.

I had several conversations with your predecessor, Mrs. Miller, in the winter of 1961-62, and as a result, when we placed before the Stern Family Fund a proposal for assistance to the Voter Education Project we simultaneously applied for general support to the SRC. Support to the VEP was

generously given, but general support was not, though in fact, as well as I can recall, no formal word was given to us in response to the application for general support. I assume that you are in possession of Mrs. Miller's files, and if so, you might still have our proposal of February 22, 1962.

Because the need is still with us, and is greater than ever, we would like to raise this question again with the Stern Family Fund. The preparation of proposals is, however, not a lightly undertaken matter. More importantly, we have no desire to trouble you and the Trustees with an application which might fall outside your present interests.

I wonder, therefore, if you could advise me informally whether in your opinion the Fund would be, at this time, receptive to a proposal along the lines of our 1962 submssion, or whether that submission could be, with amendments, reviewed again. One possible amendment might be to apply for support specifically for one or more activities.

I apologize to you for burdening you with this query. I hope when next in New York to get by to meet you, and hope that you may be thinking about a trip to the South, and to Atlanta in particular.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

October 8, 1963

Mrs. Richard Dammann
Edgar Stern Family Fund — file
10 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Dammann:

I hope that you can forgive me for breaking the appointment last Thursday. I'll try again another time.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

November 4, 1963

Mrs. Richard Dammann
Edgar Stern Family Fund
10 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Dammann:

Many thanks for your letter of October 28, and all of your good efforts. I don't know when I shall be in New York again, but do certainly hope that you may have a few minutes when I am there.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
10 EAST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

October 28, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I imagine that you have heard by now that the Stern Family Fund granted the Voter Education Project $20,000 at their meeting held on October 19th, and are giving serious consideration to increasing that grant at their January, 1964 meeting.

Aware of your problems of nourishing "the trunk that makes possible special projects," I took this matter up with Mrs. Stern at an early date, but without success. I would suggest two possibilities to you, however, for the future:

1. Phil Stern, who resides in Washington, became president of the Stern Family Fund at the last meeting. When you are in the Washington area, you might want to go and talk with him.

2. The trustees of the Fund have engaged a full-time executive director who will assume his new duties the end of December, terminating his association with the Ford Foundation. His name is David Hunter. However, his new address is yet unknown. Once he is working full-time in his new capacity, I would suggest that you get in touch with him.

I am sorry I did not get to meet you when you were in New York. When you come again, I hope I shall be more fortunate.

Sincerely,

Marjorie Dammann

MD:las

Marjorie Dammann

~~Foundations~~

File Foundations

December 31, 1963

Mr. David R. Hunter
Executive Director
Edgar Stern Family Fund
800 Second Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hunter:

I heard some time ago that you were going to move over to the Stern Family Fund, and now that the announcement is out I suppose that it is in order for me to properly congratulate you. All the best.

And I am delighted that you will be down here on January 9. We look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND

ANNOUNCES THE APPOINTMENT OF

DAVID R. HUNTER

AS

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Received
Dec. 1963

800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK
YU 6-6620

File:
Foundations - Stern
Edgar Stern
Family Fund

January 2, 1964

Mr. David R. Hunter
Executive Director
Edgar Stern Family Fund
800 Second Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hunter:

I heard some time ago that you were going to move over to the Stern Family Fund, and now that the announcement is out I suppose that it is in order for me to congratulate you properly. All the best.

And I am delighted that you will be down here on January 9. We look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022
YU 6-6620

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT

MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT

EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT

THOMAS B. LEMANN
SECRETARY-TREASURER

MRS. EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
MRS. PHILIP M. STERN
SHELLEY APPLETON
RALPH H. BLANCHARD
RICHARD M. SCAMMON
JEROME B. WIESNER

DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

file

Found in Univ: Edgar Stern Family Fund

January 2, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

When your assistant and I spoke on the telephone arranging Mr. Hunter's appointment with you on January 9, he suggested that perhaps you and Mr. Hunter could get together for dinner the evening of January 8.

At the time of our conversation, I did not know Mr. Hunter's time of arrival in Atlanta; it has now been tentatively set, and seems to be too late to safely schedule a meeting.

Mr. Hunter thanks you very much for your thoughtfulness in suggesting this, and is looking forward to seeing you on January 9, 9:30 at your office.

Sincerely,

Marilynn Meisel

Marilynn Meisel
Secretary to David R. Hunter

File
Foundations
"Stern Family Fund"

January 22, 1964

Mr. David R. Hunter
Executive Director
Edgar Stern Family Fund
800 Second Avenue
New York, New York

Dear David:

It was very good seeing you (though for the last hour or two, I guess, we didn't see much of each other).

I can only hope that I conveyed to you accurately my thoughts and my feelings when you raised the question of Stern and SRC. We have a very high regard, as indeed we should, for what the Fund has contributed and is contributing.

Wiley Branton has sent up the VEP request, and you should have it by now.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

DAVID R. HUNTER

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND

800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017
YU 6-6620

file: foundations

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND

MEMORANDUM

DATE 2/15/6 y

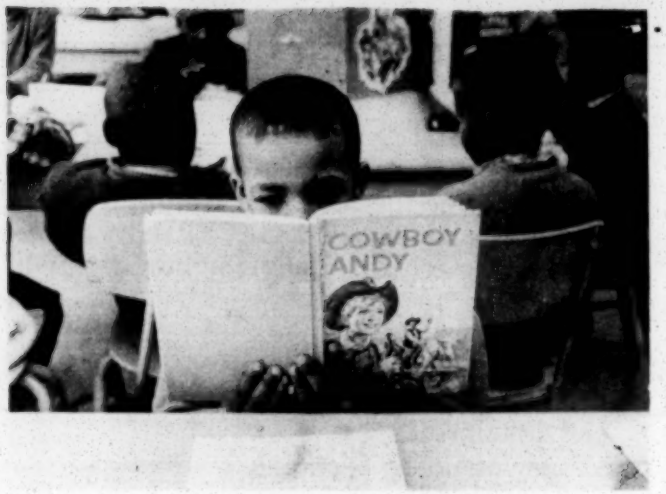
TO: Leslie Hirshbar

FROM: DAVID R. HUNTER

PA - file 7. Y. I

PW

MJ - file



VOLUNTEERS

One of the great advantages of CACEP is that this extra teaching has been by Negro and white volunteer teachers and other competent people. This is the only way such a program can be carried out without high cost to the taxpayers.

CACEP in Pinellas County is operated by the following Steering Committee and Board of Trustees:

Board of Trustees	Steering Committee
Raleigh Greene	Emanuel Stewart
Floyd T. Christian	Rose Hemingway
Donald Baldwin	William Thompson
James Healey	Louis W. McCoy
Bette Wimbish	Frederick D. Burney
Willis T. Spivey	Louis D. Brown
	Sallye Davis
	John H. Hopkins
	Joseph A. Johnson
	E. H. Bowen
	Samuel Adams
	Thomas P. Hardeman

For further information write or phone

COMMUNITY SERVICE FOUNDATION
125 Harbor Bluff Drive
Largo, Florida

What is

CACEP?

CACEP means "Continuing Academic and Cultural Enrichment Program".

This project is helping thousands of Negro students of St. Petersburg to "close the educational gap" that has prevented their gaining first-class citizenship.

The same elements that have made this program successful in St. Petersburg will work in any community:

1. The interest of Negro principals and teachers in improving their schools and communities,
2. A school board that supports such aims,
3. A newspaper that is willing to help this project.
4. A philanthropic foundation to help in coordinating this program.

ACADEMIC IMPROVEMENT

The chief reasons for CACEP in every Negro community are:

1. Those who are behind in school must run faster to catch up in the race for equal opportunity.
2. This means that they must spend more time under competent instruction after school and on Saturday.
3. Because they will be working with white employees, Negro children should spend more time with white people.

Some of the remedial and additional subjects:

art	science
mathematics	social studies
biology	literature
chemistry	music
creative writing	Negro History
dramatics	photography
English	reading
French	Spanish

CULTURAL ENRICHMENT OF SCHOOL, HOME AND COMMUNITY

In St. Petersburg, the Steering Committee has approved the extension of CACEP into the entire home and community environment by means of the following projects:

Community Survey and Planning
Negro Contributions to American Life
Cultural Assemblies
Better knowledge of agencies available to help children and adults
Home improvement for higher living standards and incentive to better education
Universal literacy and reading ability
Better use of schools as Community Centers for adult education, reading and other community activities
Better use of books for cultural and economic improvement
More children in Nursery-Kindergartens for better education of children
Creative activity to prevent juvenile delinquency
Talent Search -- (1) for better jobs; (2) for advanced education
Personal work with parents for better education of children

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

File Foundations: Stern Cross reference -vep

February 25, 1964

Mr. David R. Hunter
Executive Director
Edgar Stern Family Fund
800 Second Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Hunter:

Thank you for your most welcome letter of February 12, in which you inform us that the board of the Edgar Stern Family Fund has approved a grant of $75,000 for the final year of the Voter Project. We continue to be grateful to the board for the generous support which they have given us each year since the project began.

We will be pleased to send you copies of the final report of the project as well as any interim reports or releases which we may issue.

Because of the fact that we still do not know what grants, if any, we are likely to get from Field or Taconic, and our bank balance is getting pretty low, we will be in need of at least $25,000 of the grant by March 15, 1964. If we have not heard from Field or Taconic by April 1, then we probably will need the other $50,000 of the grant by April 15.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

cc: Mr. L. W. Dunbar

February 26, 1964

Mr. David Hunter
Executive Director
Edgar Stern Family Fund — file — Foundations
800 Second Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hunter:

I am enclosing a copy of a manual we have prepared which I thought you might like to have for your files. This has not been given a general circulation; indeed, we are being rather careful as to who receives it. It was intended as a manual for ad hoc and other lay groups.

I want to add my thanks to those Wiley Branton has formally expressed for the Stern Foundation's action on the Voter Education Project grant.

Thank you also for sending me the brochure about CACEP.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Transition Without Tragedy)

File
Foundations: Edgar Stern Family Fund -
Cr. ref. Voter Ed. Proj.

March 17, 1964

Mr. David R. Hunter
Executive Director
Edgar Stern Family Fund
800 Second Avenue
New York, New York

Dear David:

On behalf of the Council I acknowledge with deep gratitude your letter of March 9, 1964, and the enclosed check for $25,000 as the Fund's first payment against a total grant of $75,000 for the Voter Education Project in 1964; our official receipt is enclosed.

We intend to make this a big year, if we possibly can.

We shall let you know as further payments are required.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022
YU 6-6620

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT

MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT

EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT

THOMAS B. LEMANN
SECRETARY-TREASURER

MRS. EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
MRS. PHILIP M. STERN
SHELLEY APPLETON
RALPH H. BLANCHARD
RICHARD M. SCAMMON
JEROME B. WIESNER

DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

March 9, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

3/11/64
RHA

Dear Leslie:

I am enclosing a check for $25,000 from the Edgar Stern Family Fund for the work of the Voter Education Project in 1964. This is in response to the letter from Wiley Branton dated January 20, 1964, and represents the initial payment against a total grant of $75,000. At such time as additional payments are required, please let me know and we shall make them as expeditiously as possible.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

File: Foundations

March 20, 1964

Mr. David Hunter
Executive Director
Edgar Stern Family Fund
800 Second Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

When you were here, I mentioned that I would be sending you a "document" regarding the Council. It turns out to be bulky. It does, however, give a fair picture of what we are about.

Its exhibits show what we have tried to achieve here; viz. an institution balancing strong commitment with objectivity, evolving in our program as circumstances require, and able to take on assignments that no one else can.

Separately enclosed, there is a less forbidding item: a "Program Review and Evaluation." This is the outcome of a self-examination we did last year, and we would like for you to know that it was done.

As you and I understand, this is not sent as an application to the Stern Family Fund for general support of SRC. It is forwarded for your information and use.

I plan to be in New York much of the week of April 13. Would there be a chance to see you? I could call on the morning of the 13th to see about a time, unless you would prefer to suggest one. Except for the afternoon of the 13th and from 12:00 noon on the 15th, I am pretty clear.

Sometime ago Philip Stern wrote, suggesting that

I look him up when next in Washington. I have written to him that I shall be up for the Civil Liberties Clearing House meeting this week.

All the best,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enclosures

LWD/mg

fund-raising book
"Program Review ..."

File
Foundations
Edgar Stern
Family Fund

April 7, 1964

Mr. David Hunter
Executive Director
Edgar Stern Family Fund
800 Second Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear David:

Thank you for your letter of March 30. We have sent to you, under separate cover, ten (10) copies of the "Program Review and Evaluation."

I cannot have lunch on Tuesday, April 14, though I could later in the week. I'll call your office Monday morning.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 4/6/64

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022
YU 6-6620

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT

MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT

EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT

THOMAS B. LEMANN
SECRETARY-TREASURER

MRS. EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
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SHELLEY APPLETON
RALPH H. BLANCHARD
RICHARD M. SCAMMON
JEROME B. WIESNER

DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

March 30, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Mailed 4/6/64

I have read the reports on the work of the Council with great interest, and particularly the program review and evaluation. Would it be possible for me to have 10 copies of that without too much inconvenience?

I expect to be in New York during the week of April 13th as things stand at the moment. Why don't we say lunch on Tuesday, April 14th. Give me a ring on Monday.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

DRH:dr

File: Foundations
Edgar Stern
Family Fund

April 29, 1964

Mr. David Hunter
Executive Director
Edgar Stern Family Fund
800 Second Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

I would like to set out some of the thoughts I discussed in your office earlier this month. They constitute the form of a project for which we are seeking necessary funds. The project is a natural development of our program interests and experience.

The Southern Regional Council joins together a basic commitment for full racial equality with a deep-lying concern for the South's general economic and social development. Moreover, we combine acknowledged research skills with extensive field experience and a close affiliation with the state and local Councils on Human Relations.

We believe these attributes give us an unique opportunity, through a sound program of combined research and field services, to unite the two dominant themes of the present-day South: the drive for racial integration and the struggle to integrate the South into national economic and educational levels.

What is referred to above as an opportunity is also a responsibility, because the litigious issues

of civil rights are beginning now to be superseded by a confrontation with the hard, underlying economic and social problems that must be overcome if integration is to be realized in fact as well as in name, and if this part of the United States is to have social and economic health. The Council can, we believe, make a signal contribution to this end.

I believe that we could best make clear what we propose by instancing two activities now under way:

(a) Beyond the formal act of school desegregation lies (1) the need for policies to achieve unified, non-racial school systems; (2) educational programs to bridge cultural gaps; and (3) marked improvement of southern schools. Despite the widespread and active attention being given the first and second of these needs elsewhere, little official or public notice of them has yet occurred in the South, and none in the rural South. We have engaged a team of Emory University professors to go into two as yet segregated Black Belt counties, to analyze their school situations, and to study and recommend what in these typical Black Belt situations needs to be done to provide a decent education for every child.

(b) One of the persistent national problems is the migration of Southerners, mostly Negro but also many whites, from farms and hamlets to cities. Unskilled in either the economics or the culture of a metropolis, these people become all to usually a public charge and disturbance. In Atlanta, we are engaged in a study of a considerable sample of such people, to ascertain in concrete detail what moving to the city has meant to them in jobs, income, family relationships, schools, etc. The study is being carried on in three parts: Professor Eric Lincoln of Clark College is directing one group of interviews, Professor Joseph Golden of Atlanta University another, and Pat Watters and Margaret Long of our staff are interviewing some of the same samples in intimate depth.

We shall publish these studies when completed later this year. Based on past experience with our publications, they will get reader attention. We hope, as we always do, that they will also stimulate specific action.

We would like, through the proposed project, to translate that hope into a plan. Briefly, the project would:

(1) Carry on, from our vantage point astride the two concerns, continuous research in the practical issues of southern racial integration and economic and social advance.

(2) Undertake special studies of such issues, comparable to the ones described above, but of a scope well beyond that which our present resources permit.

(3) Plan research and publications in close consultation with local and state organizations, with the intent of incorporating research results in planned field programs. In some cases, small grants to the organizations may be called for.

(4) In particular, to set up pilot projects through state and local Councils on Human Relations. These would enlist bi-racial community efforts to cope with practical problems of community development. As pilot projects, they would be undertaken with the intention of furnishing instruction and examples to community groups elsewhere. The pilot projects might be drawn from such fields as the following:

(a) counselling of families newly arrived from the country;

(b) systematic attention to the growth patterns of a city, to try to reverse the traditional policies whereby school, street, park, housing, etc. locations always favored and solidified segregation;

(c) bridging cultural gaps of school children;

(d) elementary job training, especially for service trades;

(e) career counselling of Negro youth.

A further word may be in order about (3) above. The problems of the Negro community are problems for the Negro community. The Councils on Human Relations, being bi-racial, can and in some localities do form an integral part of Negro community life. But there are also countless Negro organizations, and on their vigor and intelligent action a large part of whatever progress the South will make depends. We would intend and plan, through the proposed project, to work closely with as many as resources permit, supplying them with the aids of research and organizational skills and experience. In this connection, the contacts and experience we have gained through the Voter Education Project and through our Special Fund for Educational Projects will be invaluable. Because you are not familiar with the latter Project, we are enclosing illustrative material on two groups with which we are currently working.

We estimate the yearly budget for the proposed project as $40,000, broken down roughly as $10,000 for expanded research activities; $10,000 for field services, including grants to Negro organizations; and $20,000 for pilot projects of state and local Councils on Human Relations. It would not be wise to initiate the project unless funds were assured for a two, and preferably a three, year operation.

We would be pleased to enlarge on or discuss any of the aspects of this project. I hope that you may find it of interest.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

File: Foundations: Edgar Stern Family Fund

STERN FAMILY FUND
55 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10036
YU 6-3481

VJ
PA } for info
MJ - file

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS B. LEMANN
SECRETARY-TREASURER
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
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SHELLEY APPLETON
RALPH H. BLANCHARD
RICHARD M. SCAMMON
JEROME B. WIESNER
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Grants approved by the Board of the Stern Family Fund at its meeting on June 6-7, 1964.

1. New York Medical College, Institute for Developmental Studies, Dr. Martin Deutsch, Director. $30,000 to enable the Institute to prepare and disseminate curriculum materials for disadvantaged children of pre-school age through the third grade and to extend teacher training in the methods and curricula developed by the Institute.

2. Washington (D.C.) Planning and Housing Association, $30,000 to provide a skilled foreman with real estate knowledge for two years as one element in a pilot housin improvement program in a low income area being carried out by Better Homes Inc. The program involves purchase of houses by the non-profit corporation, rehabilitation by the occupants and such professionals as are necessary the whole operation under the supervision of the foreman. Rents are kept low and in the future the purchases are expected to be financed with FHA guaranteed loans. Organization of the neighborhood accompanies and supports the physical rehabilitation of housing.

3. National Council of Churches, National Student Christian Federation, $10,000 for student teams to visit selected college campuses to disseminate information about civil rights and low-income area development programs and to participate with local students and residents in community programs.

4. National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, a dollar for dollar matching grant of up to $15,000 for an action-research project to assess the task of the settlement and neighborhood center in race relations today. The project will be conducted under the direction of Dr. St. Clair Drake of Roosevelt University. The purpose of the project is to study and analyze the role of the neighborhood center in changing neighborhoods and times and to encourage such modification of practice as may be indicated.

5. Columbia University School of Social Work, for a suburban community development project in Freeport and Huntington, Long Island. $25,000 plus dollar for dollar matching up to $25,000 of funds raised through efforts of the community of Freeport. These communities are threatened or already beset by problems attendant upon the move of lower income minorities to the older sections of the suburbs. These problems are typical of experience across the country. Through this project the resources of the university will be coupled with those of the local communities in an attempt to analyze the problems of education, housing, employment, and social relations and to develop effective strategies for coping with them.

6. Syracuse University, $25,000 for a study of trends in income and wealth inequalities in the United States and the development of useful mechanisms for reducing inequalities. The study will be conducted under the direction of Professor S.M. Miller. Special attention will be paid to the impact of the social security and tax systems.

7. Law Students Civil Rights Research Council, $25,000 for an internship program for law students wishing to gain practical experience in civil rights cases. The project will also undertake legal research in civil rights matters.

8. National Urban League, $25,000 for a pilot secretarial training project in New York City and $15,000 for a project in Westchester County, New York to introduce teenagers into industrial and commercial occupations.

9. National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, dollar for dollar matching up to $25,000 to establish a field service to provide technical assistance to local community relations and fair housing committees throughout the country.

10. Southern Regional Council, $25,000 for the general operations of the Council.

File
Foundations - Edgar Stern Family Fund

June 26, 1964

Mr. David Hunter
Executive Director
Edgar Stern Family Fund
800 Second Avenue
New York, New York

Dear David:

I have already, over the telephone, expressed my very real gratitude for the action of the Stern Family Fund in granting $25,000 toward the Council's general support in 1964. I think you know how much this means to us, and not only in a financial way.

We would be glad to receive payment of the grant whenever convenient to you.

I shall be in New York next week; arriving Monday, the 29th, and leaving Tuesday, the 30th at 6:30 p.m. I had hoped to stay a bit longer, inasmuch as I had to come anyway, but that proved impossible. There seems to be, however, some likelihood that I will be back the week of July 6, or the week of July 13, and if so, will not have such a rigid schedule. I shall call your office next Tuesday just to check in.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

MEMORANDUM June 26, 1964

To: NM, et. al.

From: MMJ

Please note the change of address for MR. DAVID HUNTER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND:

PREVIOUS ADDRESS	NEW ADDRESS
800 Second Avenue New York, New York	55 West 44th Street New York, New York

Please change your mailing lists accordingly.

thanx, mmj

VJ
RHA
LD

STERN FAMILY FUND
55 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10036
YU 6-3481

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS B. LEMANN
SECRETARY-TREASURER
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MRS. PHILIP M. STERN
SHELLEY APPLETON
RALPH H. BLANCHARD
RICHARD M. SCAMMON
JEROME B. WIESNER
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

June 16, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

This is to confirm our verbal message that the Board of the Stern Family Fund on June 7 approved a grant of $25,000 to the Southern Regional Council for its general operation.

In due course, we would appreciate receiving a report on the expenditure of the funds and, of course, we will be happy to continue to receive the general program reports of the Council.

Please advise me when you are ready to receive payment of the grant.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

THIS IS TO INFORM YOU

THAT THE NAME OF THE

~~EDGAR~~ STERN FAMILY FUND

HAS BEEN CHANGED TO

STERN FAMILY FUND

THE OFFICE IS LOCATED AT

55 WEST 44TH STREET

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10036

TEL. YU 6-3481

file

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File: Foundations
Stern Family Fund

July 17, 1964

Mr. David R. Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
55 West 44th Street
New York, New York

Dear David:

Your letter of July 9 and the enclosed check for $25,000 has been gratefully received; our receipt is enclosed.

I was in New York for a day a couple of weeks ago and called you, but you were in New Orleans. I do hope I shall have better luck next time.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

STERN FAMILY FUND
55 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10036
YU 6-3481

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS B. LEMANN
SECRETARY-TREASURER
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
MRS. PHILIP M. STERN
SHELLEY APPLETON
RALPH H. BLANCHARD
RICHARD M. SCAMMON
JEROME B. WIESNER
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

July 9, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

7/10/64
RHA

I am enclosing our check for $25,000 as a contribution to the general operations of the Southern Regional Council.

As I indicated in my letter of June 16, we would appreciate receiving a report on the expenditure of the funds in due course, as well as copies of your reports on the work of the Council.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

David Hunter

David R. Hunter

ENCLOSURE

Stern Family Fund

Rec'd 10/14/64

file

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

PA ✓

LD ✓

David R. Hunter

1.

1.

NOT FOR PUBLIC QUOTATION

LWD

STERN FAMILY FUND

Guide Lines for Grants

August 1964

PREAMBLE

It is the purpose of this fund to invest its resources in the improvement of democracy and in strengthening the capacity of individuals and groups to participate fully in all aspects of American life.

To this end, the "personality" of grants will be governed by the following principles:

1. They will be in fields in which imperfections in the operation of American institutions are most relevant such as the position of minorities; the equitable distribution of income, opportunity, justice, education, and power; the representativeness and competence of government.

2. They will be developmental in nature. That is to say, they will help to develop new ways of doing things, new perspectives, new approaches.

3. They will be concentrated in fields and types of activities in which other private and public resources are under-invested.

4. They will be given to people and organizations and for purposes that have the greatest potential for leverage and for helping the major institutions of American society better to move toward the democratic ideal.

Within this general framework, for the period immediately ahead, the Fund will concentrate on the furtherance of the upward mobility of deprived people, with special emphasis on Negroes.

Within that defined area of interest, the Fund will maintain a posture of flexibility and responsiveness. This is in contrast to selecting more narrowly defined fields of interest such as "education of Negroes", "housing", "vocational training", "political participation" or the like.

The reasons for maintaining such a flexible and responsive posture are as follows:

1. There is no one dominant gateway to individual development and effective social and economic participation. Education is important. Family life is important. Social class is important. So are work opportunities, housing, community setting.

2. The Stern Family Fund has not yet been able to identify a particular field in which its resources are large enough to achieve a "critical mass" of influence as was the case with the Ford Foundation investments in the development of educational television or the Rockefeller Foundation in medical education.

3. That being the case, the Stern Family Fund can make its best contribution by investing in projects representing combinations of people with creative ideas, located in the right places, at the right time, concerned with the right issues.

4. The Board and staff of the Fund, like any human group, have a limited capacity to produce themselves the most creative programmatic ideas. If the Fund is known as a place where such ideas can get a hearing, the creative and developmental processes will be nourished.

5. Opportunities for constructive social investment often arise in unexpected places at unexpected times. The Fund should be ready to respond. This doesn't mean disorderly response. It means response to those proposals that fit the general theme and style suggested above. It is intended to achieve a consistent pattern of grant making in combination with a method of exploiting opportunities as they arise or can be stimulated.

Areas of Interest

General Theme: Furthering the upward mobility of deprived people with special emphasis on Negroes.

There are five main areas in which proposals will be welcomed:

1. Initiatives by major institutional systems, or strategically placed people within them, or people with access to them to analyze and modify their practices.

Examples:

a. a grant to a trade union for exploration and possible local experimental project on how established trade unions can better represent the interests of and involve the poor.

b. a grant to an association of school administrators for a series of seminars or workshops for selected school administrators where normal school administration is complicated by poverty and/or racial conflict.

c. a grant to a business leadership group for the development of realistic suggestions as to how unskilled and poorly educated workers can be employed in the private sector of the economy and to suggest appropriate public policy in the light of their findings.

d. a grant to a national social welfare organization for local experiments in the use of sub-professional personnel in a variety of social services. This would serve the threefold purpose of extending the reach of the limited number of professionals in social service, of providing new links with the client group, and of creating new roles for less skilled people.

e. a grant to a unit of organized labor to identify the restrictive characteristics of existing apprenticeship systems, to devise ways and to support experimental local projects for making induction to occupations through apprenticeship more accessible to more people.

f. strengthening the hands of "key" people in the development of new methods and policies exerting a "change" influence on large institutional systems in fields such as pre-school education; new approaches to delinquency; new classroom practices to motivate under-achievers; involvement of residents of poor neighborhoods in decision-making; operations of welfare councils; etc.

2. Critical monitoring of large programs and policies said to be directed to furthering the upward mobility of deprived people.

Grants to interested, competent and objective organizations to examine the effectiveness of selected significant programs.

3. Opportunities for organizational self-direction and self-expression by Negroes.

Examples:

a. grant to an indigenous youth association in a ghetto area.

b. a grant to a southern consumers cooperative to develop experience in cooperatives and in business.

c. a grant to a predominantly Negro organization developing new approaches to the stimulation of Negro business enterprise involving more effective white collar placement, market research and technical assistance to business, and opening up credit resources.

d. receptiveness to support innovative examples of new Negro organizational initiatives.

e. short term training of rising Negro community leadership, not necessarily well-educated.

f. awards to recognize, strengthen, and develop younger Negro leaders who have already proved their potential. Such awards to be appropriate to the person and the situation. Examples: expenses to attend an annual conference of a relevant organization; visits to cities where interesting social development programs may be going on; an amount of money to be devoted to some activity at the direction of the awardee; financing the costs of speaking tour by the awardee; contribution to the further education of the awardee; international travel; etc.

g. a Negro welfare federation (similar to the Jewish Welfare Federation).

h. a "neighborhood foundation" made up of local contributions matched by the Stern Family Fund.

4. Support of selected aspects of organized efforts to secure civil rights for those to whom they are now denied. Limited to potentially effective efforts for which financing has been difficult to arrange.

5. Other. This category constitutes elbow room, room to to grow, room for the unique and unexpected.

File
Stern Family Fund

September 22, 1964

Miss Marilyn Meisell
Stern Family Fund
55 West 44th Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Meisell:

Enclosed is a biographical data sheet for Mr. Wheeler which you requested by telephone this morning.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

cc:

Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 E. 19th Street
New York 3, New York

file
Stern Family Fund
cr. ref.
Rural Advancement Proj

October 2, 1964

Mr. David Hunter
Stern Family Fund
800 Second Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hunter:

This is to place before the Stern Family Fund a joint proposal of the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Southern Regional Council, and the state Councils on Human Relations that are affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

The sponsors of this proposal have faced an area of urgent problems, and have decided that they can contribute best to their improvement by a joint effort. We hope you will find that the proposed Rural Advancement Project merits your support.

Because of the sum involved, we are presenting this proposal to several foundations. As is explained in the proposal, the program is flexible, and depending on funds could be carried on in any number of states up to eleven. We ask, therefore, that you consider it in that light, and we shall, of course, be prepared to keep you advised of fund-raising progress. It is hoped that grants may be for a three-year period, or that, alternatively, renewals up to a third year may be considered.

The proposal is based on experience gained by the sponsors over the past two years in South Carolina. It has, therefore, been tried out, and we think has proved its effectiveness and value.

In addition to the proposal itself, several other documents are enclosed. These are:

1. A descriptive report of the South Carolina project.

2. Copies of programs of conferences held in Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, illustrating the concerns and resources which the Rural Advancement Project will draw on.

3. A memorandum on the program use made of a Southern Regional Council research study, to illustrate opportunities for cooperative use of research findings.

Both Miss Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund (112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York), and I will be pleased to discuss with you any questions you may have regarding this proposal.

We can only hope that the proposal conveys clearly some of the sense of deep need felt for this program by the sponsoring agencies. This is a very special period in American history, where a keen awareness is supplanting past indifference for the human resources -- for the people -- of the country. Nowhere is attention and intelligent help more imperative than in the rural South, where an over-supply of people (on the basis of present economic realities) will either be re-directed toward useful and dignified pursuits, or will inevitably carry their handicaps with them to already overburdened cities of the South and the North.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosures

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

DAVID HUNTER, AND DAVID FREEMAN

REGARDING:

Re: Salaries of SRC Staff

LWD sent Memo regarding this subject to DH, DF, and VE.

DATE
November 2, 1964

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

SEE CORRESPONDENCE-~~FIELD~~- Filed in EAGLE, Vernon - FOUNDATIONS

Rec'd 11/10/64

STERN FAMILY FUND
55 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10036
YU 6-3481

PHILIP M. STERN
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JEROME B. WIESNER
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

November 4, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I wish I knew how to answer your Eagle-Freeman-Hunter letter. I will be having lunch with them next week and maybe there will be a better answer after that, so consider this an interim reply. You are faced with a problem that is universal. I have in my desk drawer a list of fascinating and important jobs for which good personnel is being sought. It is tough. Paul is robbing Peter all over the place.

With specific reference to the two questions you raise, I think I have made it clear to you personally that I think there is still a need for an agency like SRC.

I simply cannot answer question two. I don't know. Certainly one must assume that if you are not able to retain high quality personnel, your chances of getting the kind of financial support you need are thus diminished. It is the same old vicious circle. I don't see how you can do other than whatever is necessary so far as salaries are concerned to retain and attract first rate people. If you go down, then you will go down without having surrendered standards of quality and effectiveness. That's not very

comforting, but it is better than going down with a wimper or maintaining the agency as a hollow shell.

I will write some more after I have had a chance to talk with Dave and Vernon.

Never say die.

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

Stern Family Fund

WB - note #10
PAL
LE - note
VJ
SW - file

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

David R. Hunter

STERN FAMILY FUND
55 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10036
YU 6-3481

PHILIP M. STERN
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JEROME B. WIESNER
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Grants approved by the Board of the Stern Family Fund at its meeting November 14-15, 1964

1. College of the City of New York, Social Dynamics Research Institute. $59,225 for a survey and analysis of local social action programs involving residents of low income communities.

2. Dillard University. $18,000 for preparatory work toward the establishment of a Social Science Research Center at Dillard.

3. Citizens Housing Council of Greater New Orleans. $5,000 toward program development.

4. National Committee for Full Employment. $5,000 for technical assistance in community development to local organizations in low income communities in one city.

5. Metro North Citizens Committee (New York City Mission Society). $25,850 for the student-worker program of development of local leaders in low income communities.

6. Students for a Democratic Society (League for Industrial Democracy). $4,849 for a conference of local leaders engaged in community development programs in various northern cities and Appalachia.

7. National Institute of Labor Education. $18,000 for educational activities with leaders of selected southern unions whose membership is largely Negro.

8. Citizens Research Foundation. $15,000 for a study of the financing of the 1965 New Jersey gubernatorial campaign.

9. International Conference of Social Work. $10,000 toward the expenses of the 1966 Conference to be held in Washington, D.C.

10. NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund. $75,000 toward the work of the Fund.

11. National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. $25,630 for a project in the use of religious resources in furthering equal employment opportunity.

12. University of Michigan, Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge. $29,330 for demonstration, training, dissemination of information, and further pilot work in the use of older peers as educational and socialization agents in schools in low income areas.

STERN FAMILY FUND
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RICHARD M. SCAMMON
JEROME B. WIESNER
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

November 17, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

This is to confirm my telephone message to you that the Board of the Stern Family Fund has decided that it is unable at this time to make a grant for the proposed rural advancement project to be carried out jointly by the Southern Regional Council, the National Sharecroppers Fund and various state councils on human relations.

As you know, decisions on matters of this kind are influenced by many factors. This does not necessarily represent a judgment on the merits of the program.

I know this will be disappointing to you and your colleagues and do hope that you will be able to find the necessary support in other quarters.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

cc: Miss Fay Bennett

November 18, 1964

Mr. Philip M. Stern
President
Stern Family Fund
888 17th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Stern:

I was glad to get your letter of October 12. I am sure that David Hunter has told you what has happened since. I think that John Wheeler would have much to offer the Stern Family Fund, and would himself find it a valued association.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm

cc: Mr. David Hunter

Rec'd 10/14/64

PHILIP M. STERN - President
888 17TH STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

October 12, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is just a note to reinforce what David Hunter has written you about the possibility of our enticing John Wheeler on to our Board. We met with him in Washington recently and David and I were most taken with him -- so much so that I called him in Atlanta to explore this with him even after David had done so in Washington with negative results. Since I have made, in effect, two approaches, I'm not sure it would be appropriate for me to reopen the subject with him, but speaking personally, I would be delighted if you were disposed to do so.

I think you ought to know the procedure we are following in the election of board members this time. All the present members of the Board have been asked to submit one or two suggestions, and then we'll be voting on them all. What I was and am hopeful Mr. Wheeler will do is to allow me to enthusiastically put his name before the Board.

I am grateful for your interest and help.

Sincerely yours,

Phil Stern

Philip M. Stern

STERN FAMILY FUND

MEMORANDUM

DATE 9 Oct. 64

TO Leslie Dunbar

Rec'd 10/12/64 mmj

FROM: DAVID R. HUNTER
Exec. Dir

Can you ask John Wheeler if he would change his mind? He told both Phil and me that he wouldn't and I hesitate for us to press him further. You could however. Let me know. Of course he still would have to be elected but we'd like to have him in the running.

December 11, 1964

Mr. David Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
800 Second Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear David:

Seems to me pretty clear now that I shall not be in New York this mohhh - perhaps not before February. You had suggested that you would like to talk and for that I can always come up specially, if you think it desirable. Please let me know if that is the case.

Merry Christmas,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

Rec'd 1/25/65

VJ
WM
RH
MP
MM
SW-file

STERN FAMILY FUND
55 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10036
YU 6-3481

PHILIP M. STERN
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JEROME B. WIESNER
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

January 22, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We should appreciate it so much if you would change your records of our name and address to read like that on the letterhead above.

Thanks very much.

Sincerely,

Marilynn Meisel

Marilynn Meisel
Secretary to
David R. Hunter

January 29, 1965

Mr. David R. Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
55 West 44th Street
New York, New York

Dear David:

I thought this might interest you.
All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm
Enclosure

File
Stern Family Fund

February 8, 1965

Mr. David R. Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
55 West 44th Street
New York, New York

Dear David:

You may find the enclosure of small value.

The proposal you have from Charlotte seems to me interesting.

Over this past weekend, the Louisiana Council on Human Relations took a long strive toward becoming a reality.

Whatever happened about John Wheeler?

All the best,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure - 1.
Bcc. Helen Adams

Foundations

Stern Family Fund

file

Rec'd 4/8/65

MJ file

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

David R. Hunter

SEVEN MOTIVE IDEAS

Delivered by
David R. Hunter at
American Public Welfare Association
Regional Conference
New Orleans, March 22, 1965

SEVEN MOTIVE IDEAS

Up until this moment Mr. Benner, Program Chairman for this conference has thought I was a reasonably nice fellow. He's going to find out now that I am in fact a double-crosser and am about to do him dirt. In his very kind invitation to me to come here and make a speech at you, he suggested that what was needed for this particular spot on the program was someone to present a "rather broad view of the changes in our society and what the impact of these changes is on our usual way of doing business." I was a good boy and last weekend sat down at the typewriter and did my best to turn out something along those lines. It was insufferably boring and I threw it away and started all over again. My assumption had been that you were supposed to have your sights raised, your perspective broadened, your perception sharpened, and your depths made more profound by being told some of the following things in tones properly sonorous:

..that there are a lot of poor people in this country and we have finally waked up to the fact;

..that people have been leaving the countryside and moving to the big cities;

..that most of these people are poor and thus move to the poor parts of the cities and make more problems;

..that at the same time richer people are moving out of the central cities thus removing their leadership and their taxes from the scene of the battle;

..that many of the poor people have their problems compounded by the fact that they are Negroes, Puerto Ricans, or Mexicans and as such are discriminated against;

..that automation and technological advance are proceeding apace and decreasing the demand for workers of limited skills;

..that poor people are giving birth to more children than they can handle;

..that the civil rights movement is stimulating responses undreamed of a short years ago;

..and other assorted data of a similar nature.

Having compiled that kind of a catalogue I had to say to myself: Confound it! They know all that already. The poor things have paid their money to come to this conference and they can't very well be so impolite as to get up and walk out, but why take advantage and load them with such self-evident stuff. And anyway, if they don't know all that by now, they should, and they can just run right out and read about it in hundreds of newspapers, journals and books.

What I would really like to talk about are some of the ideas and concepts that are currently leavening the policy and program stew in ferment all around us.

The great social and economic "changes" and "movements" alluded to in the catalogue are certainly shaping and conditioning our thoughts and actions and have impact on our usual way of doing business. But I think some ideas and concepts may have as much impact. Some are old ideas resurrected, some are new, some are different combinations of old elements.

To be sure, new ideas and concepts don't just appear. They come out of the heads of people who have been able to look at the big changes and movements with freshness and skepticism; people who have been able to look at a social condition free of the blinders of conventional wisdom and analyze cause and effect in a better way, or invent new tools where the old have been clearly ineffective.

Therefore, I have abandoned even the announced title of this speech and will proceed to share with you some musings about seven ideas that are relevant to what this country is now trying to do to improve the welfare of its people.

Opportunity

The first of these is the idea of opportunity. What's so new about that? What's new about it is that the old word has been dusted off, looked at in a new way, and made the central and unifying concept around which major efforts to improve the lot of American mankind are now being mobilized.

The essence of the idea is that the root cause of many of the individual problems that end up in the case loads of social workers can be found in the fact that the "problem people" have lacked opportunities to achieve some level of legitimate success. Here one must distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate success because there are plenty of racketeers, pushers, thieves, madams and the like who are quite successful in their own terms but not by the prevailing standards of our society.

The importance of the refurbishing of the idea of opportunity is that it forces us to reconsider some of the strategies we have employed in the past to cure social and individual problems. It tells us to look beyond the individual who stands before us and his family more than we have in the past. It tells us to look at the whole system of opportunity in which

this person has been nurtured or deprived of nurture. It tells the professions that are supposed to be helping in the development of people that they should downgrade their motto: "we serve" and put in its place a new one: "our aim is to provide opportunities for our clients to be somebody, to succeed and to help them develop the requisite competence."

What do these high falutin generalities mean? A couple of illustrations:

A young mother eligible to receive AFDC. We can dribble along for years keeping that mother and her children more or less alive by giving her a regular pittance. Alternatively, we can invest heavily in her for a shorter period of time by putting her right to work part time, paid from public funds if necessary, work hard on her educational deficits, particularly reading, even using modern educational technology, reduce her isolation and fear by counseling and organizing her into some sort of group support, feed her into an aggresive job finding and placement service that looks for recruits and looks for jobs, waiting for neither to appear on its doorstep.

A fourteen year old boy in trouble with the police. We can scold the boy, scold his parents, put him on probation and hope for the best. Alternatively, we can press the school

to see that this boy, who is undoubtedly a drag and a nuisance to the teacher, has opportunities to be successful at <u>something</u> in school. We can give this boy opportunities to see what his city is made up of, where people work, that there is something in the outside world for him to shoot for. We can show him people who were just like himself who have made it. This is particularly important for Negroes against whom doors on all sides have been shut until now. We can put him into a series of part time work situations as part of his regular school program to acquaint him with the world of work and the real opportunities that are there for him.

We can work in the community in concert with the most powerful allies we can get to open up job opportunities. This doesn't just mean screaming for publicly financed work programs although there is nothing wrong with that. It also means pressing private employers, big and little, to see what they can do to increase employment opportunities for the less skilled. This may mean breaking down job descriptions into simpler components, it may mean more in-plant training operations, it may mean a much wider use of apprenticeship, which both union and management must support. This is not a subject the private sector can leave to government and then complain when government tries to do something about it.

These are examples of mobilizing and opening opportunities.

Systems analysis

Another key motor idea is that the individual lives, moves, works and is shaped by a system or a series of interlocking and overlapping sub-systems, each with written and unwritten rules. The city is a system and must be seen whole. It is not just a collection of institutions and self interests and independent atoms. The network of welfare services is a system. The slum is a system. Students of business administration are in a system. The system you are in very much determines what you think and how you behave and often severely limits your horizons. What each part of the system does or fails to do affects the other parts. A strategy for improving the condition of man must take this into account, otherwise its plans will be fruitless.

The major implication of this concept is that in planning and carrying out specific programs agency representatives who wish not to waste their time will examine the problem with which they are dealing in all its aspects, noting all of the systemic elements impinging on it, and then attempt to mobilize and systematize as many of these elements as possible so as to accomplish the objective. Social welfare has a lot to learn

from military science in this regard. Back in the old days military planning took account of guns, bullets, tanks and men. Now they speak of weapons systems or delivery systems that represent the effective integration of the component elements to achieve a given end. It is incumbent upon social welfarists to think more in terms of human development systems in contrast to disparate elements such as case work, settlement house, relief check, homemaker, employment office, legal aid bureau, or what have you.

With this way of thinking it is immediately apparent that the social welfare agencies are not in charge of all of the weapons for human development nor in control of all of the fields of battle. There has been something of a tendency in the past for welfare people to think that that was so. The result of such limited perspective too often was that the automatic reflex for a welfare worker was to call up a welfare weapon to deal with a problem that got itself defined as a "welfare" problem. This resulted in failure to marshal potentially effective resources from other parts of the system, resources that in fact might have much greater power than the resources directly available in the arsenal of the welfare agency alone.

This means for example that when you are trying to meet a need for day care you exploit the situation and make it really educational for the children, educational for the junior high school girls who could be assigned as day care aides by the school as part of their education, educational for the mothers.

It means that you build the neighborhood school into a real community institution, used the day 'round and at night, too, by adults and children alike, housing such community services as legal aid, employment service, family service, and the like.

It means that school and private employers operate as a team to set up work opportunities for youngsters that really contribute to their education and education that really contributes to their ability to work.

The systems analysis approach lies at the heart of the community action program of the Economic Opportunity Act. Such a program is by definition one that mobilizes and utilizes the public and private resources of a geographical area to attack poverty with such scope and size as to promise results.

This is a clear call to take the comprehensive view -- to start the local planning for the abolition of poverty from an analysis of the condition of man in the total community. Then move to the development of a stragegy and battle plan. Then to the designation of which troops, that is to say, which agencies, or institutions, or segments of the community are to carry out the plans. It is important to note that there has to be some theorizing in this process, too. To decide on a strategy you have to have a theory about why something is the way it is. Some people may think a boy is delinquent because he was weaned too early. Someone else, because he was not disciplined properly by his father. Someone else because he was caught in a delinquent sub-culture. Someone else because he was lower class. Someone else because boys will be boys. You can't develop a strategy until you have some idea who the enemy is and where. Now, to be sure, you are never going to get full agreement on these matters, but there has to be some dominant theme if your forces are not to be completely immobilized. Professional social workers have an important role to play in helping the community understand the reasons for social problems, to develop sound strategies to attack them, and to establish essential priorities.

One of the major problems now besetting the community section programs in many communities is precisely their double failure to plan on the basis of the total community system and to develop a conceptual basis for action. In far too many places, the community has reacted to the availability of outside help from the Office of Economic Opportunity by in effect simply asking the existing agencies: what do you want to do to contribute to the abolition of poverty and how much will it cost? The agencies have responded too frequently merely in terms of increasing or extending the services they already provide. This approach is not going to get the job done.

Power

A third important concept shaping our current approaches to human development has to do with the distribution of power in the community. Again, this is not an idea new to the world, but it is one that had been more or less forgotten, until a few perceptive observers noted that a sense of powerlessness or disconnection from the mainstream or anomie provided the matrix, the fertile soil for a wide range of social problems. The idea was expressed potently in the titles of two books by people who started life in that condition: Nobody Knows My Name by James Baldwin and The Invisible Man by Ralph Ellison.

Stop and think for a moment how you would feel and behave if nobody who counted knew your name or paid any attention to your views and desires.

Organized welfare has erred in this arena as much as anybody else. Parenthetically may I say that if I appear to be unduly critical of the welfare trade, it is only because this is a welfare audience. Some of these criticisms are even more applicable to other disciplines, not excluding academic and business leadership. It's just that they are not here to listen at the moment. Which, parenthesis within the parenthesis, is a criticism that must be leveled at most professional or interest group conferences. They are too exclusive and end up saying important things to each other when they ought to be talking with other disciplines and groups.

But to get back to the point. Welfare workers have generally failed to recognize the overwhelming contribution of the sense of powerlessness and exclusion to the care and feeding of all kinds of problems of dependency, deviancy, community disorganization, crime and even sickness. This is now being recognized and serious efforts are being made to do something about it. It's not easy, because this is not the way people are used to operating. Organized welfare is used to

providing services to people. It is not used to asking the receiving people to help in deciding what services are to be provided and how they should be delivered. It is uncomfortable if "client groups" present complaints in organized voices that have to be listened to. It is even more uncomfortable if a group that has been served by a group work agency decides that it will do more than just entertain or improve itself and marches on city hall to demand better schools, better housing inspection, better police protection, jobs or what have you. And yet, in most cases, such initiative can only be regarded as healthy and strong and as such should be welcomed by agencies that are trying to make people healthy and strong.

The Economic Opportunity Act specifically says that community action programs shall be developed, conducted and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the area and members of the groups served. It is a challenge to you in your daily operations to invent effective ways of accomplishing this. In general it means inviting people who are poor and ill-educated to participate in decision making, to organize themselves , to speak up, to share in community power, to be listened to, to contribute to a common endeavor.

New roles for new people

The fourth idea in this list is that we need to devote some unfettered imagination to the invention and identification of some new and different functions for two kinds of people: the young and the less-skilled.

There are two reasons for this. One is that jobs are increasingly hard to come by for these two categories of humans. The other is that such people can perform needed functions in the community and that the performance of these needed functions will make better people of the performers and provide more and better services for the community.

Let's take up the question of the less skilled person first, or the sub-professional. The so-called helping professions need these people. They need them because human services are expanding in all sectors, need to be expended more, and most certainly will continue to expand. The shortage of the kind of highly trained personnel which up to now has been thought necessary to staff these services is notorious. Reconsideration of this situation has led many thoughtful people to conclude that a substantial part of the personnel shortage can be met through the proper use of less highly trained staff and particularly people themselves from low income areas.

One highly respected school of social work now has under serious consideration a faculty recommendation that reads as follows: "The service training aspect of the School of Social Work could most effectively be provided by a) training of non-professionals so that we come much closer to meeting the demand for social work services; and b) training professionals to work effectively with and to develop non-professionals."

Another point about the non-professional who himself comes from the ranks of the poor is that in many cases he can actually be more effective in linking clients with services than can the highly educated professional. Still another point is that some people who do not seem to benefit from receiving help often profit indirectly when they are giving help. To be very clear about it we are talking here about school dropouts, former delinquents, long term AFDC mothers and the like.

Some may gasp to contemplate that such people have a constructive role to play in organized social, health, educational and recreational services. Save your gasps. There is already some beginning experience in several cities and some practical suggestions of how to employ the non-professional and the sub-professional in health and welfare services, in schools, in housing, are available.

But, it is just a beginning. The systematic applications of your own imagination as you view your own operations is needed if the full potentialities of this idea are to be achieved. To me, it is one of the more exciting subjects to be putting your mind to these days.

Some of the same considerations apply to the question of developing new roles for youth. Here we can speak about all kinds of youth, rich and poor, suburban and inner-city, college and non-college. One of the ailments of American youth, if we can say that American youth has any ailments, has been that the adult society has not accorded them real duties and responsibilities consonant with their readiness and capacity. If we had any doubts about the vigor, capacity and effectiveness of young people when they are working for something that has meaning for them we have certainly lost those doubts watching the civil rights movement and events on various campuses in recent weeks. There are great resources of strength, commitment, and intelligence among youth that we old fuddy-duddies ought to wake up and take advantage of. We should let them into our policy making councils, we should get them on our staffs, full time or part time, paid or as volunteers, we should ask them to do things for us and actually to run programs. As an

aside, I've seen first rate tutoring programs run by kids. If we fail to encourage and organize these young energies, let us not complain later about the lack of interest in community affairs, hedonism, inertia or all the other things people think are wrong with American youth.

Go to the people

The sixth idea changing our ways of dealing with people with problems is to go to them. As I enumerate these ideas, I am struck with how simple they really are and how slow we have been to perceive them in the first place and then to act on them. And let me hasten to say that there's many a slip twixt the thought and the act. Even though these things are now commonly talked about and even appear in official documents, we are not overwhelmed with examples of performance.

The thought of the "going to the people" idea is that we have made human services increasingly inaccessible to the people who need them most. I think the main reason for this is just thoughtlessness. But there are other reasons such as efficiency of office operations and economy. There is also the fact that many voluntary agencies don't have much to do with poor people or the places where they live.

Whatever the reasons, we are now more aware of the fact that if we are going to reach the problems with which we are concerned we must first reach the people or make it easy for them to reach us. And we must also give concrete expression to our recognition that when a person has a problem he doesn't know what category it fits into. Is it health, is it employment, is it legal, is it domestic relations, too little money, or what?

Obviously what we are talking about here is the delivery of services in low income neighborhoods. Some far sighted people even see this as a community function that ought to be tied in closely with schools, because schools, more than any other institution, are where the people are. An alive and aggressive public welfare department could well take the initiative in this matter. I am not aware of any that have.

In this country we should take note of and learn from the British Citizens' Advice Bureau. These are places spread around town where you can go just to ask a question: where to pay your tax, how to get somewhere. But you can also go in to find out how to get help to pay the rent or to get the installment payment collector off your back. The fact that you are seen going into the Advice Bureau doesn't stigmatize you right off as being poor or problematical.

The act of setting up neighborhood or area centers for services in which a variety of departmentalized services are truly integrated as they reach the client will require a massive. and painful anti-bureaucratic effort. Think of the departmental regulations that will have to be adjusted! Think of the departmental forms that might have to be changed, and even simplified! Think of the supervisors who will have to get used to new ways!

Accountability

The seventh and last idea on today's menu has to do with accountability. That sounds like a funny one to dignify as a big idea. It isn't big if the concept is limited to totting up the amount of money spent, proving that you worked ten hours in the office on Tuesday and three outside, or reporting the number of staff bodies on the job.

The accountability I am talking about is accountability for accomplishing the objectives of your task. This involves clearly deciding and stating what those objectives are, systematically measuring your progress toward them, and then telling the world honestly about your successes and failures. Very, very few agencies, public or private, do this.

To be sure, we have tons of reports telling us of the number of cases handled, the number of placements made, the number of people institutionalized, the number of children attending school, the number of people in the adult literacy class. That's all very well and quite necessary, but it doesn't tell us whether we are really doing the job.

How much was the reading capacity of the people in the literacy class in fact improved and did it help them get employment? Were the minds and hearts of the kids in school really engaged and developed or were only their bodies imprisoned for a few hours a day? Did the institutionalization of the person contribute to his later strength and independence? Did "handling" the case do any more than waste his and your time?

These are hard things to face up to. Any institution, just as much as any person, needs to feel it is accomplishing something. It's must easier to pretend you are accomplishing something than really to find out. Then if you do have the courage really to find out, these things are hard to measure. But who can deny that it is important, particularly in the fields of work represented by the people at this conference, because you and I know that we are failing more than we are succeeding.

But the very process of resolving to account for the results of our activity can help us to improve. In fact, we are not likely to improve our effectiveness unless we coldly analyze how good we are, where we fall short and why. Having done that it is impossible for us to avoid trying to figure out how to do it better.

And this is the great opportunity we have now. The war on poverty is doing two things. It is making money available to finance programs that can convincingly be said to have promise of reducing poverty. This means that if you have a good idea for a new and better approach, the chances are good that you can get it financed. It's nice to know that your good ideas now don't have to be wasted on the empty wind. If they are good enough, and you can sell them, there are not possibilities of putting them into effect.

Secondly, the Office of Economic Opportunity is begging people to think. What an opportunity for institutional self-renewal and for contributing to human progress! Please, please, all you supervisors and bosses, organize this process. Ask your staffs to think. Give them time to think. Require them to imagine. Set up luncheon seminars to discuss better ways of

accomplishing the objectives of public welfare. Ask staff members to write papers on the subject. Invite staff work groups to dream up pilot projects. You have a chance to contribute to a creative process that now can go on in an atmosphere of national receptivity.

Rec'd 5/12/65 file

STERN FAMILY FUND
55 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10036
YU 6-3481

PA
MT - file

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS B. LEMANN
SECRETARY-TREASURER
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SHELLEY APPLETON
RALPH H. BLANCHARD
RICHARD M. SCAMMON
JEROME B. WIESNER
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

NOT FOR PUBLIC QUOTATION

Grants approved by the
Board April 24-25, 1965

1. Dillard University. a) up to $45,000 for three years for a new member of the faculty of business administration to facilitate the placement of students and graduates in New Orleans business enterprise; to develop business internship and training placements.

b) $25,000 for language laboratory equipment to improve the speech of Dillard students.

c) $25,000 for scholarships for 50 boys in the summer pre-freshman induction program.

2. Howard University. $27,000 for a summer course for 20 faculty members from 10 predominantly Negro colleges in modern speech improvement methods and equipment.

3. Johnson C. Smith University. $60,000 over a three year period to establish the Charlotte Placement Bureau. The purpose of this Bureau will be to recruit, screen, counsel, condition and place primarily Negro applicants in local employment. It will work closely with other public and private agencies and with the North Carolina Fund. It will also develop internship and training programs with local employers.

4. Tulane University for the Inter-University Placement Center. $60,000 over a three year period to establish the Center. The purpose of the Center will be to facilitate the placement of primarily Negro college trained applicants in New Orleans business enterprise. It will work with the placement officers of Tulane, Dillard, Loyola and Xavier Universities and employer representatives to this end.

5. League for Industrial Democracy. $32,500 for one year for training of younger civil rights and community development leaders from northern low-income urban areas.

6. Urban Training Center for Christian Mission. (Chicago) $20,000 over two years for the West Side Organization for Full Employment, an organization of residents of a low-income area to which trainees at the Center are assigned for field experience.

7. University of Chicago. $25,000 for an experimental summer school for freshmen and sophomores from an inner-city high school near the University of Chicago. Purpose of the summer school is to develop methods, personnel and curriculum best suited to insure continuation of education beyond the high school for students in a school of this type.

8. Columbia University School of Social Work. $42,000 to establish a welfare law testing resource to cooperate with agencies and attorneys throughout the country in testing constitutional and legal issues in welfare law and administration.

9. New Orleans Urban League. Grant of $48,750 over two years reported for establishment of Youth Development and Adjustment Program to recruit, screen, counsel, condition and place young primarily Negro applicants in newly opening job opportunities in New Orleans. Also to establish mechanism for sub-contracting federally financed Neighborhood Youth Corps and On-the-Job Training projects and to develop other in-service training situations in local business enterprise.

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File — Foundations — Stern, 1965

April 29, 1965

Mr. David Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
55 West 44th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hunter:

This is to place before the Stern Family Fund a request for renewal of its grant in support of the general operation of the Council.

Enclosed with this letter are the following documents:

(a) Audit, 1964;
(b) Approved budget, 1965;
(c) Annual Report of the Executive Director for 1964.

These enclosures, particularly the third, describe at length our activities during the period of the 1964 grant. It was a year of rather ceaseless and, we hope, fruitful work.

We found in 1964 a steadily growing involvement with the new federal civil rights and poverty programs. This has mounted during the early months of 1965. We are witnessing the creation of a large new federal bureaucracy, experimentally organizing itself to administer untried laws. We are engaged not only in a consultative (and, frequently, field) association with

the federal offices, but also with community groups learning their way in this new administrative world. We also propose to keep the federal programs under constant study and evaluation.

Our publication plans for 1965 include studies of housing segregation and the conditions of migrant farmers. These reflect a determination, which will pervade all our programs, toward grappling with hard economic and educational problems that underlie the more dramatic civil rights issues. In cooperation with certain state Councils on Human Relations, we shall be doing field work among Negro farmers. We expect also to undertake this year a planned program of human relations education within the southern labor movement, thus resuming a work we dropped in late 1958; the full program is contingent on funds applications, but prospects seem encouraging, and Dr. Emory F. Via, now associate professor of Labor Education at the University of Wisconsin, will join our staff in September to direct this work. We shall give considerable emphasis to the student programs of the state Councils on Human Relations (described in my annual report), encouraging their further growth.

In 1964, the Fund contributed $25,000 toward our general support, as well as a heavy appropriation to the Voter Education Project. The VEP's field work is now finished, through we believe its resumption is desirable and could well be discussed. The writing of the final report is in progress, and negotiations for its publication are under way. Your grant toward our general support proved indispensable, and it is our hope that you will think its renewal merited and, if possibe within your program, on a multi-year basis.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js
Enclosures - 3.

Memo from **PAUL ANTHONY**

file Steve Farmer Fund

Thursday AM

LWD:

Dave Hunter called saying he either had lost or had not received a "final reporting" of VEP. Told him of the statistics released on Dec. 15. He requested that the totals be read to him. Was done and he seemed satisfied.

PA

✓ report - VEP

✓ renewal - VEP

proposal

talked on phone 5/4/65

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired, otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

1207 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To ~~MR. & DAVID & &~~ MR. DAVID HUNTER MAY 7, 1965

Street and No. STERN FAMILY FUND — file

Care of or Apt. No. 55 West 44th Street *Destination* New York

CAN HAVE LUNCH WEDNESDAY, MAY ~~8~~ 12. WILL PHONE YOUR OFFICE MONDAY AFTERNOON TO SEE IF THIS IS POSSIBLE FOR YOU STILL.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR

Senders's name and address (For reference)

Sender's telephone number

Rec'd 6/3/65 Foundations file

STERN FAMILY FUND
55 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10036
YU 6-3481

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS B. LEMANN
SECRETARY-TREASURER
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SHELLEY APPLETON
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JEROME B. WIESNER
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

June 2, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Sent 6/8/65

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We would appreciate it very much if you could send a copy of your latest annual report to members of our board of directors. The names and addresses are as follows:

Mr. Philip M. Stern - 888 17th St. N.W. Washington, D.C.
Mrs. Edgar B. Stern - 11 Garden Lane, New Orleans
Mr. Edgar B. Stern, Jr. - 520 Royal Street, New Orleans
Mr. Thomas B. Lemann - Monroe & Lemann, Whitney Building, New Orleans
Mrs. Edgar B. Stern, Jr. - 6 Garden Lane, New Orleans
Mrs. Philip M. Stern - 2301 S Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
Mr. Ralph Blanchard - National Health & Welfare Retirement Association, 800 Second Avenue, New York, New York
Mr. Richard Scammon - Governmental Affairs Institute, 1726 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.
Mr. Ferd Kramer, Draper and Kramer, 30 W. Monroe, Chicago, Illinois
Mr. W. Willard Wirtz - Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., ATTENTION: MRS. MAY

Dr. Jerome Wiesner, School of Science, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.

Thank you very much.

Marilyn Meisel

NM ✓
JS ✓ 7-1-65
Ret w/ file Stern family fund

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

Rec'd 6/30/65

June 25, 1965

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT

MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT

EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT

THOMAS B. LEMANN
SECRETARY-TREASURER

RALPH H. BLANCHARD
FERD KRAMER
RICHARD M. SCAMMON
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
MRS. PHILIP M. STERN
JEROME B. WIESNER
W. WILLARD WIRTZ

DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The office of the Stern Family Fund has moved to 21 East 40th Street, New York, New York 10016. Telephone number: 532-0617.

file

June 25, 1965

Mr. David Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
55 West 44th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

Enclosed is an advance copy of our latest effort. Perhaps only fools tread in on a subject like this, but I hope you will share our admiration for the job Pat has done.

Probably you have heard (the news seems to have spread pretty widely) a report about me. I am coming to New York about October to replace Maxwell Hahn at his retirement. This was not an easy decision to make. I hope sometime I can have a chance to talk with you about it. As a matter of fact, the offer was made to me the day before you saw me in Atlanta. The next day, I realized I wanted to talk with you about it, even though my mind was far from being made up then. I called your hotel and left word, hoping that we might get together for a drink before you went off to the airport. But I must have called too late.

If we can get it typed today, we shall send you the "illustrative material" I proposed; if not, it will be off the first of the week.

One of the things I can look forward to is the opportunity to see more of you and to work with you.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js
Enclosure - 1.

-2-

file - foundations
" Stern Family Fund"

June 30, 1965

Mr. David Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

I am enclosing these things:

(1) A background memorandum which was done in a great hurry in early ~~May~~ June for the Ford Foundation staff. We were asked 15 specific questions and, given the hastiness with which it had to be done, tried to answer them fully and honestly. Looking it over, I decided that it might, as well as any other recent document we have, provide the kind of background you and I discussed.

(2) I asked Paul Anthony to keep a log of his activities during the week of June 7, and it is enclosed. No week is like another: involvements and problems change. I particularly asked Anthony to do this log because his job reflects a wide range of SRC interests and activities; only incidentally and occasionally, however, does it indicate the information and research work that are such a great part of the Council's program.

I think this may well be enough to inflict on you. I hope it will serve the purpose, and

let me know if it does not.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

Rec'd 6/3/65

STERN FAMILY FUND
55 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10036

YU 6-3481

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT

MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT

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SHELLEY APPLETON
RALPH H. BLANCHARD
RICHARD M. SCAMMON
JEROME B. WIESNER

DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

June 2, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Don't forget you are going to send me a log of illustrative SRC involvements.

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

File - Foundations

June 1, 1965

Mr. David Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
55 West 44th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

It was good seeing you last week. We shall, within a fortnight or so, send up to you the illustrative material you and I discussed, dealing with what we do here.

The idea you discussed with me about a grant payable in matching chunks is a most interesting one, and could, I believe, actually be of some value to us. It might be very hard to adjust to, however, in 1965, given the fact that your Board will not meet before October.

In the spirit of purely factual reporting, I repeat what I said to you last week; viz., loss of the Stern grant during 1965 would be practically a disaster to us. We shall do all we can to extricate ourselves from this possible problem, but I cannot be sanguine at the moment.

Well, all this you have heard before.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

PA ✓
MS - file

STERN FAMILY FUND
~~21 EAST 40TH STREET~~
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
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MRS. PHILIP M. STERN
JEROME B. WIESNER
W. WILLARD WIRTZ
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

July 1, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I had heard about your move to the Field Foundation in Washington. As a matter of fact, I was cursing you because you had been so poker-faced when we talked in Atlanta. I take it all back. I got your message at the hotel just as I was rushing to get out of town.

Needless to say, I am delighted at the news and look forward to having you close at hand where I can pick your brains more frequently.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

July 7, 1965

Mr. David R. Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hunter:

In Mr. Dunbar's absence from the office I am having sent to you 15 copies of Encounter With the Future. There is no charge.

As soon as Mr. Dunbar is back at his desk, I'm sure you will be hearing from him.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

File
Stern Family Fund

PWK
FA
LD

MEMORANDUM July 6, 1965

To: BCCook
MPAnderson

From: MMJohnson

Bernice,

Please package up 15 copies of ENCOUNTER... and send today to:

Mr. David R. Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
(label attached)

Mattie:

For your information and records.

Rec'd 7/7/65

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
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MRS. PHILIP M. STERN
JEROME B. WIESNER
W. WILLARD WIRTZ
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

July 6, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Encounter With the Future is a classic. Please send us (and bill us for) 15 copies. It's required reading for my board members.

What is the general plan of distribution for it?

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

file

July 16, 1965

Mr. David R. Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear David:

I was delighted that you liked Encounter. I hope by now that you have got the full 15 copies. Let me know if you wish more.

We did not do a press release, but we did distribute them widely to the press (we have 3 press lists, and we sent it to the top 2, but not to the lowest, less selective ones). We also sent it to several of our other regular lists, and in addition compiled (as we usually do) a long list of individuals in politics, civil rights, church, and writing circles to whom we sent it; some of these same individuals are on our regular list, and got it routinely as well. The response has been extremely gratifying. It has been remarkable how many people have gone to the trouble of writing a letter, as you did, and it is also deeply pleasing that quite a number of busy people took time to read it almost as soon as they got it. Maybe some time soon we'll make a composite of some of these letters and show them off to a few people such as yourself.

One eagerly awaited reaction came in yesterday by telephone. John Lewis, Chairman of SNCC, called to say, "it's very good," repeated several times. My estimation of him goes up.

We are also beginning to get some bulk orders; for example, Matt Ahmann is buying 300 copies for his National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

You certainly may share the memorandum and Paul's log with whomever, in your discretion, you choose.

It is true what we said in the memorandum that we have not had much working relationship with the NCC during the last year or more. We can talk about this some time. But I think when the NCC set up its Religion and Race Commission it manifested right off a tendency to work almost exclusively with the direct action people and (what I think was its most effective performance) as a Washington lobby. This is still on the whole true, though we were pleased that at the last quarterly meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference (June 16)) the NCC showed up for the first time, I believe, in over a year. In some other ways, too, communication is being restored, and we are happy that this is so.

The haste in which the memorandum was done may have led to some over-statement: "factional strife of New Orleans" was probably not an altogether accurate term. The liberals over there are not, however, addicted to mutual cooperation, and this applies to the Negro community as well as the white. We never, for example, were satisfied with the local VEP program. But, this too is something we may chew around at another time.

I am delighted about John Wheeler.

Now for really important matters. Paul Anthony will succeed me as Executive Director of the Council.

We shall effect a gradual change-over, but he will be in office no later than October 1. Rather than add in this letter to what you already know about Paul, I am enclosing a copy of John Wheeler's announcement to other members in the Council.

We were in the midst of exchanging plans with Field for public announcements when news came of Governor Stevenson's death. I don't know when the Foundation may now think it appropriate to make a public announcement, and we shall hold back here for a while.

To what John Wheeler says, I can only add that I was personally delighted that Paul was chosen. I hope that you and he can early have an opportunity to know each other better.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

PA
MJ-file

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS B. LEMANN
SECRETARY-TREASURER
RALPH H. BLANCHARD
FERD KRAMER
RICHARD M. SCAMMON
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
MRS. PHILIP M. STERN
JEROME B. WIESNER
W. WILLARD WIRTZ
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

July 12, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thanks very much for the Ford memo and Paul Anthony's diary. Both are very informative and perspective engendering. I wish outfits like yours could systematize some kind of reporting like that for interested onlookers.

Two points I'd like clarification on when next we meet:
1) the absence of working relationship with NCC, and
2) "factional strife" in New Orleans.

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

P.S. May I assume that I could share both of these on a confidential basis with any of my board members who might want to see them? Incidentally, we have invited John Wheeler to join the board and Ted Jones, President, Supreme Life Insurance Company of Chicago.

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

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W. WILLARD WIRTZ
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

July 23, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

This is to confirm arrangements for the meeting in North Carolina to discuss the subject of increasing the competence of Negroes to participate in the political process in the south.

Place: Quail Roost Conference Center, Rougemont, North Carolina (8 miles from Raleigh-Durham airport), operated by the Learning Institute of North Carolina (tel. 919-477-2025).

Time: 10:30 A.M. Friday, August 6 through supper.

Arrangements: For those who wish to sleep over, there are accommodations at Quail Roost. If you wish to stay overnight, please advise Mrs. Mary Reeves, North Carolina Fund, Box 687, Durham, North Carolina.

If you will also advise Mrs. Reeves of your arrival time at the airport either Thursday evening or Friday morning, she will arrange for transportation to meet you and get you to Quail Roost.

Sincerely,

Dave

David R. Hunter

8/10
8/10
Ent 733

File - Fds
Stern

August 12, 1965

Mr. David Hunter
Director
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Confirming our telephone conversation of yesterday, we are going ahead as I described with developing thoughts for a program of political education for Negro voters in the South. We are aiming to have a memorandum prepared in approximately one month.

We believe that there is every reason to do this with thoroughness. Our intention is, therefore, to consult widely with experienced people as well as to engage in staff discussions and planning here. We hope in this way to draw up a view of what is needed; a description of the more important ~~working~~ currently going on; an indication of available resources, including those of the campuses; and, finally, our suggestions as to how additional program should be structured and the responsibilities for it allocated.

I suggested to you yesterday that, instead of the Stern Family Fund making a special planning grant to us for the expenses of this work, we could draw on the funds remaining in the VEP account.

This would permit us to accomplish this assignment and to undertake preliminary development work that might be in order for later program.

Although difficult to estimate precisely, because we do not exactly and fully know the expenses of preparing the final VEP Report, there is approximately $15,000 surplus in the VEP account. There were numerous contributors to the VEP, but it is our opinion that use of this money in the way suggested here would be properly of concern only to the three principal contributors: Stern, Taconic, and Field.

Inasmuch as this use is hardly different from the purpose of VEP, we hope that we may have your concurrence. I have had an opportunity to discuss this by telephone with Taconic, and have its complete concurrence.

So, we are off, and I hope the plane gets in the air.

Needless to say, we are still anxiously hoping that the Stern Family Fund will again, at least for this year, see its way clear to renewing its general support of the Council.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

See Stern Family Fund

PA ✓
SA ✓
MI - file

September 1, 1965

Miss Marilynn Meisel
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Meisel:

I have your letter of August 30. I had told Mr. Hunter that we would have our memorandum completed in "about a month." It makes some difference whether the month is dated from the Quail Roost meeting on August 6 or my telephone conversation with Mr. Hunter on August 11. But either way, I think we shall have it finished during next week or early the following week.

In the meantime, you might call to Mr. Hunter's attention my letter to him of August 12. It would be most helpful to have his response.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 8/31/65

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
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DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

August 30, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Mr. Hunter wonders when he can expect something from you by way of a follow up of the meeting at Quail Roost August 6.

Sincerely,

Marilynn Meisel

Marilynn Meisel

File - Stern Family Fund

PA
MJ - file

September 8, 1965

Miss Marilynn Meisel
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Meisel:

Mr. Dunbar is away from the office today, so I am taking the liberty of forwarding on to you a copy of his letter to Mr. Hunter of August 12. I'm sure Mr. Dunbar will be, as I am, curious to know where the letter might have gone astray.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

Rec'd 9/8/65

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
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JEROME B. WIESNER
W. WILLARD WIRTZ
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

September 7, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks very much for your letter of September 1 about the report on the Quail Roost meeting.

You mentioned in that letter one from you to Mr. Hunter of August 12. I have checked our files and haven't been able to find such a letter, nor does Mr. Hunter recall receiving it. I wonder if it would be possible to send another copy? Our curiosity is piqued.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Marilynn Meisel

Marilynn Meisel

file

file

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
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MRS. PHILIP M. STERN
JEROME B. WIESNER
W. WILLARD WIRTZ
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

September 10, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

We never received your letter of August 12 and thus have never replied to your query.

We would consider your proposed use of the VEP balance in accord with the purposes of that grant. You have our authorization so to do.

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

Janet - file Stern Family Fund - Cr. ref - V.E.P. - 1965

File Cy

VIA AIR MAIL
SPECIAL DELIVERY

September 16, 1965

Mr. David Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

Dear David:

Enclosed is our report, "Programming for Civic Education."

A number of additional copies are available but we will withhold distribution until we hear from you.

We have concentrated on the programs which seemed most desirable and workable. Developing the mechanics for getting these programs underway would, of course, require some additional thought and work.

It is very fortunate that Les will be on hand in New York to discuss this with you immediately. Sam Adams, who did most of the work on this, and I will be eager to know your reaction.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:nm
Enclosures

File - Stern Family Fund
Cr. Ref.
V.E.P. 1965

September 21, 1965

Mr. David Hunter
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

As you can see from the enclosures we have submitted copies of this memorandum to Taconic, Field, and RBF as contributors to VEP. I am also sending a copy of the memorandum to Vernon Eagle.

It was good seeing you last week.

All best regards. May the good Lord inspire and guide you on October 2 or whenever it is your Board meets.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures: copies of ltrs from LWD to Max Hahn and Dave Freeman of 9/22/65 transmitting memorandum "Programming for Civic Education"

File Stern Family Fund - 1965

October 15, 1965

Mr. David Hunter
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Thank you for the confirmation of the Fund's grant of $10,000. We are, as always, grateful to the Board and share with it the concern that we develop both new and Southern support. We shall make every effort to meet the conditions of this grant.

One matter has come up that I have wanted to discuss with you by telephone. Our Development Committee met last Sunday, heard of this grant, and discussed ways of meeting the provisions of it. They, as well as the staff, will attempt to find Southern donors. They did express some concern that initially we would be able to get as much as $1,000 from Southern industries and small foundations. Their feeling was that we might, in at least some promising instances, have to expect smaller, initial grants and work up.

As an outgrowth of this discussion, they reviewed the whole question of asking support from SRC Members (Board). Except for the very

early days, Council Members have never been solicited. They did recommend a change in this policy, and our Executive Committee approved this change on Monday. Our communication going to the Members will stress that we do not expect or even wish them to "compete" with other agencies surviving on individual contributions. However, should Members be disposed to contributetto SRC, they should know that we need such support and must have it from the region.

Both committees requested that I determine from you whether or not, in the case of our Membership only, if funds collected could, in totals of $1,000, be counted as fitting the Fund's conditions. Their feeling was that a matching provision would be more appealing and would more dramatically show the need for our developing Southern support.

To the extent that this process may develop a new and stable source of support for the Council, albeit likely a modest one, I agree with the above thinking and arguments.

Our Development Committee is anxious to get out a letter, but we shall, of course, await your reaction before doing so.

Our financial situation is somewhat complicated by the good news, which you have probably heard, that the Ford Foundation is giving us $324,000 a year for 3 years. This grant is well structured to see that the money is not spent for general operations. There is a 20% overhead tap, but the commitments of our proposal will take most of this, and we may have to work to see that the grant does not actually cost general operations money. It won't, but we will have to alert to see that it does not. I am certain future fund-raising for general operations will not be any easier as word gets around about Ford's generosity. All of which is to say, there is more reason than ever to move on the matter of Southern support.

Incidentally, the Ford grant gives us enough funds to cover the salary of a VEP director, which means that we can at least re-staff that position, and be in a better position to develop programs.

Vernon Jordan has been appointed the VEP directorship, and he will be back on the staff December 1 or shortly thereafter. I think Vernon will do a good job in this, and that his tremendous number of contacts throughout the region will be a real asset. For the first time I am happy that Vernon has had the experience of his temporary work with the Regional Office of Economic Opportunity.

I will not generally burden you with such long letters, but these events have all run together at one time, and I thought you would be interested in knowing about them.

I shall be in New York October 26 - 28 and would like very much to see you then, if at all possible. Except for 11:00 a.m., on the 27th I have no commitments. If you think you could see me during this time, would you suggest a date and a time, or I will check with you on the morning of the 26th.

Again, my real gratitude for your interest in our welfare.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
bc: Mr. John H. Wheeler
Miss Josephine Wilkins

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS B. LEMANN
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MRS. PHILIP M. STERN
JOHN H. WHEELER
JEROME B. WIESNER
W. WILLARD WIRTZ
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 14, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

This is to confirm our telephone message to the effect that the Board of the Stern Family Fund approved a grant up to $10,000 conditional on its being matched in contributions of no less than $1,000 each from individuals* resident in the south, foundations with headquarters in the south or corporations with operations in the south.

When you are able to certify that these conditions have been met, we will forward the funds. In order to keep the check writing process to a minimum, we would appreciate receiving requests for payment as infrequently as possible, consistent with your own operational requirements.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

* not state councils — big single givers

file

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

MT

October 15, 1965

NOT FOR PUBLIC QUOTATION

Grants approved by the Board
October 2, 1965

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS B. LEMANN
SECRETARY-TREASURER
THEODORE A. JONES
FERD KRAMER
RICHARD M. SCAMMON
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
MRS. PHILIP M. STERN
JOHN H. WHEELER
JEROME B. WIESNER
W. WILLARD WIRTZ
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

1. CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, $10,000 outright and $10,000 to be matched dollar for dollar for college and graduate school scholarships for young people who have demonstrated leadership capacity in civil rights activity and are judged by a selection committee as people for whom further education will be of particular importance. Special emphasis on awards to young men.

2. National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, $40,000 ($20,000 definite for the first year, $20,000 contingent on satisfactory review of first year of experience for a two year program of technical assistance to community centers serving primarily Negro communities in Alabama and Mississippi).

3. Opportunities Industrialization Center, Inc., Philadelphia, Pa. $51,000 for one year to provide technical assistance to other cities wishing to establish similar programs of motivational and vocational training in low income communities.

4. $20,000 contingent on local contributions of at least $5,000 for studies of public attitudes on critical racial integration issues in one southern state and the presentation of this information in a form useful to policy makers.

5. Foundation for Voluntary Welfare, Belmont, California, $30,000 for a one year program to be conducted by the National Association of Manufacturers to develop, experiment with and promote the use of new methods for use by private employers for upgrading the educational and skill levels of poorly educated employees.

6. Alabama Council on Human Relations, up to $10,000 if matched dollar for dollar within one year for the publication of The Southern Courier, a newspaper circulated and sold at cost devoted primarily to civil rights and community development news that does not appear in commercial papers in the state.

7. Up to $50,000 for studies of the effectiveness of the handling of the "unattractive client" by the public employment services.

8. National Association of Social Workers, partial support for an analysis and classification of social work jobs with a view to assigning realistic entrance qualifications for them and establishing more adequate pay scales. This is expected to have the double effect of making more efficient the deployment of professional personnel and to provide more job opportunities in the social services for people of less skill and training.

9. Southern Regional Council. Atlanta, Georgia, up to $10,000 for the general operations of the Council if matched in contributions of no less than $1,000 each from individuals resident in the south, foundations with headquarters in the south, or corporations with operations in the south.

Smaller grants made between January 1, 1965 and October 1, 1965

Northern Student Movement , up to $2,500. Will match funds of half the salary of a secretary.

Morgan State College, $2,000 toward expense of a conference on Cybernetics, Society and the Negro.

Dillard University, $1275 for graduate school application aid.

City of Mountlake Terrace, Washington, $1,000 as a terminal grant to round off first grant of February 1964. Matching amount to be raised by city of Mountlake Terrace. Municipal "workshop" internship program for high school students.

United Fund of Greater New Haven, Inc., $2,625 for five scholarships per year for three years to train indigenous recreation leaders for service in low income areas.

University of Mississippi, $2,000 for exchange program between ten University of Mississippi and ten Long Island University students.

Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc., $1600 to enable four people to participate on workshop on birth control held in summer 1965 at the University of Chicago.

United Negro College Fund, $3,000.

United Nations Association of U.S.A., $2,000 for Disarmament Panel of Citizens Committee for International Cooperation Year.

Tulane University, $900 for stipend for a summer intern to work in office of Louisiana Governor.

Institute for Policy Studies, $500 for workshops for people from Miss., Alabama and Georgia who have been active in the civil rights movement.

Institute for Policy Studies, $3,000 for Milton Kotler to work with the First English Lutheran Church in Columbus, Ohio in developing a plan for a neighborhood foundation.

Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc., $3,000 for initiation of an Intra-Uterine Contraceptive Device Clinic by the New Jersey Morris Area, Inc. Planned Parenthood Center.

Stanford University, $2,500 for student radio station study of students involved in civil rights activity in the south during summer of 1965 and taping of programs for college radio networks.

University of California, School of Social Welfare, $3,000 for supplemental funds to aid minority group students of social work under the Work-Study program.

Gulf South Research Institute, $3,000 for developmental research in Louisiana.

Cornell University, School of Industrial and Labor Relations, $3,000 for a CORE leadership training project.

League of Women Voters Education Fund, up to $3,000 for a New Orleans registration drive of League of Women Voters (if matched on a 2 to 1 basis with local contributions of funds originating in Louisiana).

10/20/65 file

MS - file

STERN FAMILY FUND 1965
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
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W. WILLARD WIRTZ
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 19, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

This is to acknowledge your letter of October 15. I discussed the question you raise briefly with John Wheeler and I don't know whether he has had a chance to talk with you since or not.

The basic purpose of the strings attached to our grant was to promote new and substantial southern sources of support for SRC, and I believe any recession from this position at the present time would not be in accord with this objective.

Therefore, I believe I must say that our position on this is intransigent, and that the terms of our grant letter should be adhered to strictly.

I hope this doesn't make things too difficult for you.

My present plan is to be out of the city on October 26-28. Sometimes the best laid plans go agley, so you might telephone my office when you have arrived in New York to see if they did.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

File
Foundations
" Stern Family Fund"

December 2, 1965

Mr. David Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

Dear Dave:

Finally I have had an opportunity to read your speech delivered in Tampa. It is an excellent one. Did the social workers really understand what you were telling them?

Where do we stand on our considerations about a future VEP? Taconic and Field have requested that we rush a proposal, at least a tentative one, to them within the next week. You may want to discuss this with Les. Would you like a copy of this proposal purely for your information?

I still look forward to an opportunity of talking at length one of these days.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

my file

Joel Hunter

DOING BETTER AT DOING GOOD

Delivered by
David R. Hunter at
Testimonial Dinner for
Joel D. Hunter
National Association of
Social Workers
Tampa, Florida
October 6, 1965

We are all lucky to be living right now. That sounds like an idiotic thing to say when shooting wars are going on and threaten to burst their bounds. When poor countries the world over are not catching up with the rich countries, and, in fact, the gap is widening. When gross injustice and inequality of opportunity exist in all our states. When people who try to change this are ostracized, beaten and even murdered with impunity. When millions of the citizens of this uniquely endowed nation live out their lives in wretchedness.

We are lucky because we have a chance to do something about it. We have a national atmosphere supportive of new energies and ideas. No longer need we be afraid to voice a new idea or a thought divergent from the orthodoxy of the moment. No longer are we discouraged from rethinking a policy or proposing a different approach because nobody will listen anyway -- "go fight city hall". City Hall is on our side now.

You might think everybody would be delighted with such a state of affairs and take off in a burst of energy. Not so. It works that way with some. But for others -- too many -- it's really more comfy just to complain; to take refuge in the excuse "they" won't do anything about it anyway so why try.

With this excuse gone, or at least shot full of holes, we stand naked before the challenge to come up with something and to accomplish something. And this is where the people in this room and others like us stand today.

I suspect that if you scratch most of the people here you will find some kind of do-gooder not very far beneath the surface. You wouldn't be pals of the blushing honoree if you weren't. I venture to guess that every one of you is helping to raise money for some institution or service, acting as a volunteer, sitting on a board or committee, working in social service, or doing something for somebody else in a very personal way.

If this is a correct guess, it follows that you must also be spending a considerable amount of time, whether you are a professional or amateur, wondering if you are doing it right. And is what you are doing important? Is what you are doing more than just a job, or just something to keep you busy and make you feel good? Is what you are doing really making a difference and moving toward whatever the objective may be? Does it represent a strategy based on a correct analysis of what the problem is and how to solve it? Is it really going to get the job done?

I know that these are the kinds of questions that have bugged your guest of honor all his life, and I guess when you get right down to it, that's why he's the guest of honor.

This is not supposed to be a eulogy and it's not going to be. I'm not the one to do that anyway. I'm completely objective about everything else in life but Joel Hunter I'm afraid I could be accused of a little bias in favor.

But the things I would like to talk about in the next few minutes are things he has long been concerned about. If a little sermony comment slips in here and there to the effect that people ought to behave in this way or that way, the chances are he is looming in the background as a practical working model. It seems to me there have been three broad deficiencies in the performance of those who do good. In case there's any doubt in your mind, by doing good I mean improving the workings of our democratic system, speeding the obsolescence of injustice and inequality, relieving and preventing individual suffering.

The first of these three deficiencies is our too frequent failure to have a good theory about why something is the way it is. Without this how can you develop a sensible plan of battle to do something about it? You can't. Back in the old days it was theorized that bad blood caused a lot of physical ailments. Obviously the thing to do was to draw off the bad blood with leeches. It didn't work because the theory was wrong. To take an illustration closer to home it used to be theorized that more Negro women than white have illegitimate babies because they are shiftless, immoral or do it just to get on relief. The obvious thing to do on the basis of that theory is to punish them and teach them morals. A better theory is that this situation persists because in the slavery days many Negroes were not allowed to marry and men were not allowed to head families. Since slavery days our society has not provided Negro men with education and jobs so they could support families. And yet sex goes on. Thus white middle class family patterns have not been nurtured. This theory dictates an entirely different strategy of action.

The second of the deficiencies is the lack of total system thinking. Anyone who makes a speech loves to throw out a phrase that sounds profound and that will quickly move into the language like "affluent society" or "the invisible poor" or "the New Deal". "Total System thinking" is my contribution for the evening. What does it mean? It means that too many of us are trapped in our own little labyrinths and fail to see the total system. Our vision is restricted by the paths we are familiar with, by our agency or organization, by our academic discipline, by the particular segment of the community we move in and the way it does things. It means that we forget too easily that the community is an intricate system of interacting elements. But, if we don't think of the community as a total system, we are bound to fail to achieve what we would like to. Our tendency is to shove community "problems" off to those who are supposed to deal with problems like teachers, social workers, policemen, and doctors when in fact it may be some quite different element of the community system that holds the real key to solution of the problem. Take housing for instance. We are short of decent housing for low income people. Well, then the obvious thing is to turn to the public housing authority to build low cost housing for low income people. No doubt, but maybe as much or more impact over the long haul can be made indirectly by figuring out ways of inducing mortgage money to flow toward low income people and perhaps even subsidizing it. We have done this for middle income people and more low income people than is commonly thought own or want to own their own homes. So this brings in the banking community, another part of the system.

Or take the question of income itself. If you ask me, the biggest single thing that would provide more housing faster for low income people would be to raise their incomes. Somehow or other this is too simple a view to be very popular yet. But just you wait and see. One of these days you're going to find the local association of manufacturers and the real estate board promoting higher wage levels in their communities as a good way to produce not only more and better housing but more business all across the board. They will even be out there plugging for the reverse income tax or guaranteed minimum income for all and abolition of the means test as logical hard-headed measures to make our economy hum even faster than it now is. Just you wait and see.

But the point here is that the resolution of the problem of housing for low income people doesn't just belong to professional housers and do-gooders. Other even more important elements of the total community system have to get into the act if we are going to see real progress.

Or take the question of delinquency. This is supposed to be something that policemen, social workers and ministers deal with. Not even teachers. Teachers throw the delinquents out. And certainly not businessmen and labor leaders! "Who, me, hire a kid with a record! Not me, buddy, he'd steal me blind."

A close look at many a delinquent boy -- I think most myself -- will show a boy who has had success at practically nothing (not even evading the cops), who has no feeling of being a part of the main stream of his society, has no access to the symbols of status that make a man important, has little skill, doesn't really think he is ever going to amount to anything, and moves among people pretty much like himself. If his delinquent behavior is going to be changed these conditions have to be changed. It will take action by many parts of the community system to do this. The policeman, social worker and minister can't do it alone. You can't just leave it to them. Teachers will have to see that the boy, particularly at a very early age, has some success in school even if he can't get through all the prescribed work that the present regulations say he must. Employers are going to have to give jobs to young people with pretty limited skills and train them on the job, even train them to read. They should be helped by government with this and given tax incentives to do so. Where unions control access to employment, they are going to have to open up a bit, particularly in the building trades, loosen up apprenticeship requirements, let some youngsters in. Too much of their effort now is limited to passing resolutions that kids should stay in school longer and somebody ought to do something about school drop-outs. Just staying in school longer isn't going to do the trick for many. Saying that is really just an evasion of the problem.

In short, to tackle almost any given problem many parts of the community system must move if solutions are to be found. The levers that must be pulled are in many parts of the system, not just in the social agencies and institutions that have been set up by the community to handle "problems". The roots of those problems spread all through system. The banker has a role to play not just as a member of the board of the United Fund but also as a banker to see what he can do within his own system to bring to bear the potent weapons of money and credit. The same with the large employer in the community. It may well be that more can be done with school drop-outs, once they have reached that stage, through education and training on the job in the plant than by trying to push them back into school or put them in training camps. The store and the factory are the real world. Your honoree tonight has always understood this and operated on the basis of that understanding. In Chicago, he ran a very fancy agency that provided highly professional family service. But, I think he spent as much time running around town pushing and prodding other parts of the community system as he did running his own agency. He became a coffee addict in the process and passed it on to me.

The third broad deficiency in the field of doing some good seems to me to be too frequent satisfaction with pronouncements as a substitute for accomplishment. Or stated another way, too ready an acceptance of going through the motions as a substitute for results. That is one of the exciting things about the period we are living in right now. We are learning something about getting things done. It is this that creates the atmosphere of movement. It is this that really gives us the chance to refresh ourselves, to shake ourselves up a bit, to re-examine things we've been doing for years and throw some of them out, to pull up our breeches and step out toward new horizons.

But don't let me get carried away. We must pause and recognize that both professional and amateur doers of good have been notoriously feeble in the getting things done department. Superb at viewing with alarm. Superb at limning the problem. Superb at suggesting what ought to be done. Feeble at getting it done. How Come? I think the reasons are several fold:

One, community problem solving is not a high status occupation in American Society; two, doers of good tend to be incestuous; three, they tend to be too pure and unwilling to make deals and ally themselves with people unlike themselves; and four, they tend to be unsophisticated about the nuts and bolts of community decision making, coalition building, and the use of power. I don't pretend to be an expert on the dynamic of social change. Some large tomes have been written on the subject and I'm not sure anybody is really expert. However, it does seem to me you can say certain things about it without fear of jeopardization, in the words of a popular Australian song. Some things just happen in a community, some happen because of national leadership or inducement, some things happen because influential local people decide they will happen, and some things happen because irresistible pressure is consciously applied.

In its hierarchy of values America does not assign high status and influence to people whose major interest is doing good. This is one of the reasons why some of the social objectives we all would like to see have not been achieved. However, all is not lost, if do-gooders recognize this, recognize the limitations on their role, but at the same time recognize and exploit what they do have to offer decision makers and influentials. They have knowledge, analytical tools, program planning skills, and the time to work at it. These are precious resources for decision makers whose primary interests lie elsewhere than in your particular social objective.

The trick then is to establish effective relationships with the people who really can throw their weight around in community decision making and offer them the help they need (and sometimes even want) and that you can give. This means that more often than not, the do-gooder will abjure the role of front-runner. The war on poverty didn't get launched by doers of good, but it can't run without them.

A second obstacle to getting things done is the fact that do-gooders tend to be incestuous. I hasten to say that they aren't the only ones. So are dentists and plumbers. The difference is that dentists and plumbers are only trying to accomplish dentistry and plumbing. Do-gooders are attempting to accomplish community growth and development and therefore, they cannot afford just to have relations within the family. They've got to spread the word around in other families and other neighborhoods, if they are going to get anywhere. But, alas, how much time we all spend at meetings of the converted talking to the converted.

A third obstacle to accomplishment is the tendency of doers of good to be too good and too pure. They find making deals or getting into rough and tumble situations distasteful. They figure a good policy is a good policy and if you won't buy it all, don't buy any of it. Or if an office holder who might support you on an issue is a venal man you shouldn't talk to him. Or you refuse to impart some technical assistance to an indigenous organization pressing for better garbage collection, for better handling at the welfare office, for better housing inspection because they are apt to be bumptious and obstreperous and might even picket city hall. Picketing city hall might be just the thing to do at that particular time, even though it's not nice.

A fourth obstacle to achievement is lack of sophistication about the nuts and bolts of community decision making. Who has the dominant voice on this or that issue? What are common interests around which you can put coalitions together to accomplish a given end? Where are the bodies buried? Power is expressed in many ways and is vested in many places. Who's got the action in your town and how can it be persuaded, seduced or pressured in the direction you want it to go? These are questions and calculations that should be as much a part of a campaign to accomplish a social objective as the definition of the objective itself. You may rest assured that the questions were asked and the calculations made at the national level prior to the passage of the recent spate of social legislation. Can a local community afford to do less?

Your guest of honor, I think, is known not only as a nice guy but as one who gets things done. All of these things are in his bag of tricks.

The theme of this speech came out this way because the finger now points at local cummunities. This is not to say much more doesn't need to be done at the national level. Much has already been done but the story is far from complete. I, personally, think the federal government must move much more strongly in providing jobs for less skilled people. It must do more to help the financially strapped cities. It must install a more equitable tax system. It must have more meaningful national income maintenance policies. These things will come. But under much of the recent legislation in health care, manpower development, community mental health, public welfare, economic opportunity, and education, states and local communities are called upon to assume tremendous new responsibilities. The point is they can now get financial and technical help to do it. But they must pick up the ball and run. The manna from Washington isn't going to flow unless there are local programs and effective local organizations for it to flow to. We tend to think that everything is done by Washington now. It's not. Far from it. A couple of figures prove this: state and local expenditures for domestic programs are now double those of the federal government; state and local government employees outnumber federal civilian employees by 8 million to 2.5 million.

So that's the picture. Certainly in this area if this many people turn out to honor a man of social purpose and action one can only be optimistic that the will and the know-how are here to do the job.

File
Foundations - Stern Family Fund
Cr. ref.
Dec. 1965
"Proposal"

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL

December 7, 1965

Mr. David Hunter
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Enclosed is a copy of the proposal which is being sent today to Field and Taconic.

I will appreciate knowing of your reaction.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:nm
Enclosure

Foundations - Stern Family Fund
Rec'd 12/8/65

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS B. LEMANN
SECRETARY-TREASURER
THEODORE A. JONES
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RICHARD M. SCAMMON
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
MRS. PHILIP M. STERN
JOHN H. WHEELER
JEROME B. WIESNER
W. WILLARD WIRTZ
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

December 7, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

How about this?

"The Stern Family Fund has supported a number of activities directed to the extension of equal rights and opportunities to all Americans."

The names of the members of our board is a matter of public record and may be taken from the letter head.

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

STERN FAMILY FUND

REGARDING

Reese Cleghorn and book on Voter Education asking guidance on what could be said regarding foundation interests, principles, etc.

DATE

12/3/65

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

STERN FAMILY FUND

file

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

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STERN FAMILY FUND

Grants Approved by the Board in 1966

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS B. LEMANN
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MRS. PHILIP M. STERN
JOHN H. WHEELER
JEROME B. WIESNER
W. WILLARD WIRTZ
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Institute for Local Self Government - $30,000 for a one year project on Redress of Citizen Grievances to inventory present state and local government procedures in California for dealing with citizen grievances; to draft new legislation and administrative procedures to provide effective, accessible and inexpensive grievance machinery.

National Committee on Employment of Youth - $45,000 for one year to provide technical assistance to civil rights organizations on youth employment programs.

Citizens Crusade Against Poverty - $35,000 matching for one year pilot project of Southern Rural Action Project to develop northern community support for southern community organizations in rural low income areas.

Association of Huntsville Area Contractors, Alabama - $75,000 for one year to enable this group of business leaders in the Huntsville area to encourage and guide the adoption of its Total Resources Development Program in other southern communities.

Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Religious Action Center, Washington, D.C. - $18,000 for a four week seminar in Washington for 21 interdenominational theological students on the processes of government and the role of non-governmental groups in shaping public policy.

Joint Negro Appeal, Chicago - $15,000 for one year to strengthen and expand the operation of a united giving organization in the Negro community of Chicago.

New York University - $11,000 for one year to develop plans and curriculum for higher education for the sub-professional.

NAACP Special Contribution Fund - $25,000 for six months to strengthen the NAACP with expertise to assist in reducing racial imbalance in public schools, particularly in larger northern cities.

American Society for Public Administration - $30,000 for one year to provide summer internships in state and local government and quasi-governmental agencies in the South for Negro college students.

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice - $25,000 on a matching dollar for dollar basis as a final grant for its work in achieving equal employment opportunity among the suppliers and contractors of Catholic institutions.

Columbia University - $43,500 for one year to renew the original Stern Family Fund grant to establish the Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law in 1965 as a welfare law testing resource.

Foundation administered study project - Up to $35,000 to help plan the formation of a major developmental institution in the field of mental health in order to open new approaches to the subject. Plans are being worked out under the leadership of Dr. Reginald Lourie, Director, Department of Psychiatry, Children's Hospital in Washington, D. C.

Urban America, Inc. - $250,000 over 5 years to provide resources to be used in a revolving fund as "seed" money for not-for-profit housing construction under Section 221 (d) (3) of the 1961 Housing Act.

Plan of Action for Challenging Times (PACT), San Francisco - $25,000 for 12-18 months to assist in the development of a program of locating, recruiting, training and placing over-qualified, under-employed minority group members in middle level positions in private enterprise.

Foundation Administered Fellowship - $7,500 for a 4 month executive recruitment training program for Ulric Haynes, former White House staff member prior to employment by Spencer Stuart & Associates, management consultants. They will organize a new subsidiary to specialize in the recruitment of Negroes for corporate management.

Syracuse University, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs - $15,000 over 2 years to support a project on development of specific social goals and indicators for a "Great Society".

American Foundation on Non-Violence - $60,000 to assist the Southern Christian Leadership Conference further to develop substantive urban program and leadership competence at several levels.

Grantee to be determined - $15,000 to contribute to initial costs of providing technical assistance to a community corporation to be established and governed by residents of a predominantly Negro low-income area in New York City.

Foundation for Voluntary Welfare - $19,000 to develop and operate for a trial period a computer based system of matching low-skilled people with available jobs in Indianapolis as a model for other communities.

City of Atlanta - $23,000 for one year for staff assistance for the Mayor of Atlanta to help develop a strategy and action to mobilize the city's forces to attack the problems of the slums.

Social Development Corporation - $75,000 to assist the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department to experiment with and develop new methods of organization in low income areas that will enable the trade union movement to address itself more effectively to the problems of the working poor.

Institute for Policy Studies - $50,000 for general support of the organization, which was established in 1963, to research, analyze, criticize and propose public policy.

Foundation Administered Project - $57,000 to undertake research in local and national transportation policy with a view to contributing to the development of sound national comprehensive urban planning policies.

TOTAL: $984,000

STERN FAMILY FUND

New Orleans Grants Authorized in 1966
(no board action)

Bureau of Governmental Research	
a) General contribution	$ 1,500.00
b) For study of New Orlean's finances	6,500.00
Citizens Housing Council of Greater N.O. Area - program development	3,000.00
Congregation Temple Sinai	1,000.00
Cultural Attractions Fund	38,178.92 ($33,000 plus matching of $ 5,178.92)
Isaac Delgado Museum of Art	250.00
Dillard University -	
a) for scholarships for boys in pre-freshman induction program	25,000.00
b) for tree work	5,000.00
c) for study of goals and objectives in light of new conditions	10,000.00
d) for testimonial dinner March 1966 for Dr. Dent	9,284.67
Foundation for a Better Louisiana	2,500.00
Friends of Cabildo, Inc. - one time gift for May 1966 exhibit on Louisiana Indians	1,000.00
Greater New Orleans Educational TV Foundation	150.00
Junior Achievement, Inc.	250.00
Louisiana Civil Service League	200.00

Metairie Park Country Day School - Grant of 100,000 payable not later than 3 years from 4/21/67 (40,000 paid 12/30/65)	$ 60,200.00
National Municipal League	25.00
New Orleans Branch of the National Urban League	60.00
New Orleans Home of Incurables	250.00
New Orleans Jewish Welfare Fund	44,000.00
Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana	2,500.00
Sara Mayo Hospital - Capital Fund Drive	5,000.00
Trinity Episcopal Church - summer enrichment program for disadvantaged pupils	2,500.00
Tulane University -	
1. Grants out of $200,000 payable 1964 - 1966: Assigned portion for following purposes:	
a) Summer Internship Program for Political Science Students in local and state government, summer 1966	6,000.00
b) To support 1966-1967 Southern Assembly (American Assembly)	10,000.00
c) For employment of disadvantaged high school students in summer work in research projects at Tulane for which they will be paid	6,900.00
2. Unrestricted gift payment (50,000 a year, 1964, 1965, 1966) (1964 payment effected 11/16/64)	50,000.00

United Fund for Greater New Orleans Area	$ 25,000.00
Xavier University - for community relations work	10,000.00
Young Audiences, Inc.	100.00
TOTAL -	$326,348.59

STERN FAMILY FUND

Small Grants (up to $3,000)

1966

$1,500 matching for project in Fayette County, Tennessee on voter education and community development conducted by Cornell University students.

Greater Cleveland Associated Foundation - $938.19 - to provide half the cost of an intern to spend summer 1966 working with Cleveland Foundation.

Institute for Policy Studies - $1,000 - for a seminar on public policy reporting.

Foundation for a Better Louisiana - $2,500.

City College of New York - $3,000 - supplement to original grant for report of social action programs conducted by Dr. Kenneth Clark.

Institute for Policy Studies - $3,000 - for Mississippi Development Foundation.

National Urban League - $350.00 - for Ron Davis Dance Group.

Community Service Foundation, Florida - $2,400 - for study of off-shore workers.

CORE Scholarship Education & Defense Fund - $3,000 - for study of welfare practices.

Atlanta University - $2,500 - to hold a business conference to help speed development of independent Negro business.

National Committee for Support of Public Schools - $3,000 - (matching) - to help organization explain the Massachusetts State Board of Education's responsibilities under the new racial imbalance law.

National Opinion Research Center - $3,000 - study of public opinion on foreign affairs.

Trinity Episcopal Church, New Orleans - $2,500 - summer enrichment program for disadvantaged pupils.

Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc. - $1,600 - for participation of four people in Summer 1966 workshop on family planning conducted by Dr. Donald Bogue, University of Chicago.

Richard Elman - $1,000 - fellowship to research a book about a changing community in California.

Council for Public Schools, Inc. - $3,000 matching - for cooperative program of education between urban and suburban schools in Boston area.

Daytop Village, Inc. - $3,000 - for work with narcotics users in Greenwich Village, New York.

The Cornerstone Project, Inc. - $1,500 - for seminars in the problems of poverty in the urban ghetto.

Social Welfare Research Council - $3,000 - for research and analysis of the impact of certain experimental programs under development in the New York City Welfare Department.

National Association for Community Development - $3,000 - for preparation of policy positions and conferences relative to the poverty program.

City College - $3,000 - to assist in the publication and distribution of a report on social action programs prepared by Dr. Kenneth Clark.

American Jewish Committee - $2,500 - for educational work in connection with the review of citizen grievances against the police.

Fair Campaign Practices Committee - $2,500 - contribution.

Operation Exodus, Inc. - $1,000 - for bussing of Negro pupils to integrated schools in the Boston area.

Educational Projects, Inc. - $2,500 - for development of national plan for educational aid to disadvantaged students below the top ranks.

Center for Urban Education - $1,250 - for half the cost of preparation of a report on the Riots of the 1960s for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.

American Heritage Foundation - $2,500 - general contribution.

Harmonie Associates, Inc., Indiana - $1,000 - matching for a community development project involving 25 Peace Corps returnees.

TOTAL - $61,038.19

STERN FAMILY FUND

1966 contributions made without Board action

United States Association for the United Nations	$ 500.00
Foreign Policy Association	100.00
Daniel Chester French Foundation	50.00
Lenox Library, Inc.	25.00
Massachusetts Audubon Society	25.00
National Audubon Society	25.00
National Conference of Christians and Jews	300.00
National Jewish Hospital at Denver	25.00
Opera Society of Washington	850.00
Pittsfield General Hospital	25.00
Shaker Community, Inc.	8,000.00
Adlai E. Stevenson Memorial Fund	1,000.00
The Hospitality and Information Service for Diplomatic Residents and Families	500.00
United Negro College Fund	10,000.00
Citizens Committee on Children of New York City, Inc.	1,500.00
American Jewish Committee	1,000.00
Boston Symphony Orchestra, Inc.	675.00
National Recreation and Park Association, Inc.	10.00
Metropolitan Crime Commission	250.00
TOTAL -	$24,860.00

January 20, 1966

Mr. David Hunter
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

This is just to bring you up to date on our efforts to meet the matching funds provision of the Stern grant. We have raised two contributions from individuals of $1,000 each, and have promise of two others, though I am a little uneasy that they haven't come through at this point. We are working on the possibility of a fifth and, of course, looking for other possibilities. We will send you an official accounting on all of this later, but I did want to let you know that we are making some progress on this.

Whenever it's appropriate, I would like to discuss with you further what interest, if any, the Fund might have in support of the new voter project. At this point we hope the Project will be underway on a substantial basis by the end of this month. We will keep you informed.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

February 3, 1966

Mr. David Hunter, Director
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

Dear Dave:

It is necessary for me to be in New York on February 9 and 10. I have appointments on both days for lunch but no other commitments at a specific time. If possible, I would welcome the opportunity to meet with you. On arrival I shall call your office to see if this is possible.

I amconvinced you travel more than I do, but I will hope for the best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Air Mail

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

EL
ES
MJ

Grants approved by the Board
of the Stern Family Fund,
February 4, 1966

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS B. LEMANN
SECRETARY-TREASURER
THEODORE A. JONES
FERD KRAMER
RICHARD M. SCAMMON
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
MRS. PHILIP M. STERN
JOHN H. WHEELER
JEROME B. WIESNER
W. WILLARD WIRTZ
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

GRANTEE: Institute for Local Self Government, California

PROJECT: Redress of citizen grievances

AMOUNT: $30,000

TIME PERIOD: One year

PURPOSE OF GRANT: To inventory present state and local government procedures in California for dealing with citizen grievances; to propose and promote new legislation and administrative procedures to provide effective, accessible, and inexpensive grievance machinery.

The salient features of the proposal are:

..an inventory of present practice (and lack of practice) in state government, seventeen cities over 100,000 population, and significant procedures elsewhere in the state.

..based on this, and an analysis of shortcomings, to define new procedures and draft model legislation.

..to promote adoption of the recommendations through a conference, publications, and the normal channels of communication to the constituency of the Institute (appointed and elected officials of local government

throughout the state).

RATIONALE AND BACKGROUND: An increasingly raw spot in big cities is the fact that many people, particularly poor people, who feel themselves aggrieved by some action (or inaction) of government agencies (welfare, police, housing, employment, schools, etc.) have no effective way of complaining. The dominant motif is: "Go fight city hall!" This makes for frustration, bitterness and unrest which, in turn, creates an atmosphere, particularly in ghetto areas, that adds to the already monumental difficulties of establishing effective improvement programs.

The latest testimony on the subject comes from the McCone report on Watts: "...a new mechanism for processing complaints against the police involving a strengthened civilian board of police commissioners and the appointment of an independent police inspector general (is needed)."

Other testimony comes from new legal service offices established in low income areas where the attorneys find that much of the business brought to the offices represents allegations (and the reality) of arbitrary or inequitable and unappealable actions by the public agencies that intervene so much in the lives of the poor. Further examples abound.

The impact of government actions on the lives of all citizens is growing. It is particularly significant in the lives of the poor. The general absence of simple, accessible, and inexpensive procedures for objecting to decisions or non-decisions by bureaucrats is a serious weakness in the democratic organization of urban areas.

The project of the Institute for Local Self Government offers an opportunity to bring to bear some serious attention to the problem by the organization that represents local government in the largest state of the union. The shock of the Watts riots adds to the receptivity in the state. Hopefully, thought and action on the matter in California will be visible enough to provoke national notice.

GRANTEE: National Committee on Employment of Youth

PROJECT: Technical assistance to civil rights organizations in the youth employment programs on the war on poverty.

AMOUNT: $45,000

TIME PERIOD: One year

PURPOSE OF GRANT: To add two professional consultants experienced in youth employment programs to the staff of the

National Committee to advise civil rights groups (NAACP, CORE, Urban League, etc.) concerning the ways in which they can understand, support, participate in, monitor, criticize and help youth employment and training programs such as the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Manpower Development and Training programs, and Youth Opportunity Centers.

One of the consultants will be detached to work in the national office of CORE. He will a) advise the CORE national staff, board and commissions on policies and questions related to youth employment; b) assist CORE chapters in developing programs and evaluating local program proposals under consideration by community action boards, on many of which CORE members sit; c) helping community groups in the south not formally affiliated with CORE, but which look to CORE for leadership.

The second consultant will office at the NCEY and serve the other civil rights organizations nationally and locally.

RATIONALE AND BACKGROUND: All of the civil rights organizations are searching for constructive roles to play in improving Negro life under the new conditions of law and public policy. All agree that the preparation of Negroes for employment, along with basic education,

is top priority. Because of the complexity of the realities of that simple phrase, "preparation for employment" and the magnitude of the actions required, the determination of useful roles for these organizations is not a simple matter.

Outside of government itself, the National Committee on Employment of Youth is the most knowledgeable organization in the field. In the past it has helped to shape some of the national policies that are now reflected in legislation and programs and remains close to the agencies carrying them out.

With an enlarged and specialized staff the NCEY will be able to help the civil rights organizations employ their strengths constructively toward new program development and application.

GRANTEE: Citizens Crusade Against Poverty

PROJECT: Rural Action Project in the South

AMOUNT: $35,000

TIME PERIOD: One year

PURPOSE OF GRANT: To provide matching funds for the pilot phase of a new program to link resourceful support groups in the north and west with Negro "grass roots" organizations in the deep south.

The elements of the proposal are as follows:

..for the pilot phase of the program a number of northern support groups will be identified and linked with local community organizations in Mississippi and Alabama to ascertain whether or not the idea has merit and is viable.

..the support groups will be encouraged to assume a continuing responsibility for raising funds for the Mississippi and Alabama local organizations. Some of the grant funds will be used to match these contributions. The funds could be used for community center construction, for educational programs, for voter education, for emergency relief -- whatever the circumstances call for and the groups decide.

..the southern groups would be selected on the basis of judgments about their potential capacity to thrive and be effective; and their real involvement of the local residents in running the organization, deciding policy,etc.

..some of the grant funds will be used for staff to locate and mobilize the southern and northern groups and help them to establish effective communication and working relationships that will stand up over time.

RATIONALE AND BACKGROUND: In spite of the recent civil rights legislation and the intense activity of civil rights organizations of all kinds in the deep south in the past couple of years, there are still powerful barriers to full participation by Negroes in all aspects of community life. These barriers are rooted in established southern institutions and ways of doing things and have proved to be extremely resilient in the face of legal, political and social efforts to change them.

If the pace of change is to be maintained at a tolerable rate substantial motive power must come from the Negro community itself in expressions that are firm, constructive, sustained and strong. This proposal represents an attempt to devise a new kind of machinery that will help the Negro community strengthen itself so that it can continue to exert the kind of constant, not always dramatic, pressure for improvement in the larger community and the Negro community itself. Given the weak economic position of most Negroes in the south and the lack of effective organizational experience and tradition, steady and substantial outside help is needed. The establishment of close identification of interested northern groups with particular localities and organizations in the south is felt by the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty to be a promising method of assuring such support.

GRANTEE: Association of Huntsville Area Contractors, Alabama

PROJECT: Total Resources Development Program

AMOUNT: $75,000

TIME PERIOD: One year

PURPOSE OF GRANT: To enable the Association of Huntsville Area Contractors to encourage and guide the adoption of its methods of "human resources development" in other southern communities. To "equip key and indigenous citizens of a community for catalyst roles in the development of broad based (local) programs."

The salient elements of the project are as follows:

..The Huntsville program will be used as a classroom ("We are well aware, too, that those who teach learn the lesson twice as well.")

..Invitations to come to Huntsville individually and in groups will be issued to southern businessmen, city officials, students, selected civic leaders, teachers, ministers.

..In Huntsville, depending on the nature of the group, they will be exposed to discussions, observation, individual conferences. Subjects covered will include employment opportunities, training, housing, health and welfare, community action, recreation, public accommodations, police protection, education, bi-racial committees,

government programs, business leadership, chamber of commerce programs, minority representation, etc.

..Travel and living costs for the participants are paid by AHAC out of the grant. AHAC contributes staff time, services and facilities. When a local community requests consultation on the spot, AHAC staff, or local AHAC members, will travel there.

..The "courses" at Huntsville will be of three main kinds: one-day visits by community leaders (about 200); three-day observation and discussion tours for planners and doers (about 100); and five-week internships or apprenticeships for student leaders, white and Negro, who could be expected to return to and be active in their own communities (about 20).

..Interpretive literature and training materials will be developed and distributed for use in other southern communities.

..A modest amount is included in the budget for an evaluation ten months after the beginning of the project.

RATIONALE AND BACKGROUND: The Association of Huntsville Area Contractors is an organization of business leaders in the Huntsville area established to open employment and other opportunities for Negroes and to stimulate and carry out itself programs to up-grade the qualifications of Negroes for these opportunities. Thirty eight companies

belong to the Association.

Since its establishment in September 1963, it has effectively inspired or undertaken itself training programs ranging from the most elementary basic education to higher mathematics and electronic technology. It has helped to develop training placements in local industry. It has mobilized outside public and private resources to attack conditions that restrict opportunity for Negroes (particularly education and housing).

In short, it is an unusually successful assembly of local business leadership in an Alabama community that has succeeded in developing a strategy appropriate for many southern communities and marshalling the resources to effectuate it.

GRANTEE: Union of American Hebrew Congregations Religious Action Center, Washington, D.C.

PROJECT: Contemporary social issues seminar for theological students

AMOUNT: $18,000

TIME PERIOD: four weeks

PURPOSE OF GRANT: To finance a four week seminar on social issues and the democratic process for 21 Protestant, Catholic and Jewish theological students at George Washington University.

The seminar will be conducted jointly by the Religious Action Center, Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Harvard Divinity School.

The purpose of the seminar is to give students a working knowledge of the processes of government and the role of non-governmental groups in shaping public policy.

To this end, the seminar will cover such subjects as:

..the two party system

..how the legislative process works (visits and talks with legislators, lobbyists and government officials)

..the war on poverty (including one week of work in Washington projects)

..the economics of poverty (viewpoints of business, labor, government, social critics and the poor)

..government social programs (HEW, Labor, HUD, NLRB, etc)

..church-state issues in education and poverty programs.

..the civil rights movement and government programs in civil rights.

..regulatory agencies (FCC, FDA)

..foreign affairs (meetings with State Department people and non-governmental organizations in the field)

Grant funds will be used for travel and expenses of 21 students, faculty and lecturers, administrative costs and publication of papers.

RATIONALE AND BACKGROUND: The most progressive ecclesiastical leaders are recognizing that most conventional theological education does not adequately equip students to understand and prepare themselves for action on contemporary social issues.

With the church and temple assuming ever more active temporal roles there is a serious gap in the preparation for the clergy and the rabbinate.

Summer seminars alone aren't going to do the job. The kind of content planned for the 1966 Washington seminar needs to be injected into the blood stream of theological education. However, the seminar is seen as a useful interim measure with worthwhile substantive content for the participants and as a prelude to efforts to introduce similar content into the normal educational system.

GRANTEE: Joint Negro Appeal, Chicago

PROJECT: Strengthening and expanding the organization

AMOUNT: $15,000 (one-third of the budget)

TIME PERIOD: one year

PURPOSE OF GRANT: To contribute to a strengthened and expanded operation of a united giving organization in the Negro community of Chicago.

To consolidate its present position and grow beyond it in promoting effective Negro participation in the support of community institutions the Joint Negro Appeal will set up an office with two professional and two clerical workers under the guidance of a lay board.

Any agency in Chicago of the type normally supported by United Funds is eligible to receive contributions from the Joint Negro Appeal. It is implicit in the set-up, however, that programs with primary focus in the Negro community would receive priority consideration. In Chicago, social agencies receive only 20% to 40% of their budgets from the Annual Crusade of Mercy. The balance they must raise themselves.

RATIONALE AND BACKGROUND: One of the themes of interest to the Stern Family Fund is support of Negro initiative and strengthening of conventional (and unconventional) institutions based primarily in the Negro community. The theoretical basis for this is that in a pluralistic society healthy intergroup relations are encouraged when the various groups in the society have strong institutions which provide opportunity for self-expression and prideful identification. At the same time they provide "platforms" or bases of power from which groups with some internal cohesion can "negotiate" with the rest of the community.

This is in contrast to an unrealistic conception of an ideal community as a more or less homogeneous melange.

The Joint Negro Appeal represents such an institution. Its plans for strengthening and expanding also come at a time when Negro incomes are rising and the middle class is increasing. The Appeal represents one vehicle for the more effective mobilization of these new strengths in support of community development.

The experience of the Chicago Joint Negro Appeal will be watched by other cities already interested and could be influential in the general development of this new type of institution in the Negro community.

GRANTEE: New York University, School of Education (Department of Educational Sociology for Human Relations and Community Studies)

PROJECT: Higher education for the sub-professional

AMOUNT: $11,000

TIME PERIOD: One year

PURPOSE OF GRANT: To finance a period of development of detailed plans for opening higher education opportunities for the "non-professional" and "sub-professional" and "drop-out" ready for re-entry into the educational system.

The salient features of the idea are as follows:

..students would in the main be drawn from the increasing number of sub-professionals employed in education, health and welfare programs under the impetus of the war on poverty. These are low-income people. As a result of their new employment many of them will be motivated to get more formal education.

..the purpose of the program would be not just to sign up new kinds of students for existing courses, but to re-arrange curricula, administration, and methods to insure that they catch up and are able to complete a real educational experience. The purpose is to fit the educational process to the students, not to fit the students to the mold.

..reasonable credit would be given for certain kinds of past experience and for the current supervised "field work" they will be in at the time of enrollment.

..it would not be intended to provide a second rate higher education or to establish a diploma mill. Students would be expected to perform what is expected of a college graduate.

..to overcome the too frequent fate of demonstration programs, that nobody else picks them up, promotion will be built in from the start. This strategy will call for

working with accrediting agencies, employing organizations, universities, professional associations and federal state and local government agencies. Curricula, syllabi, texts, etc. will be distributed and some of the components organized for easy application elsewhere.

RATIONALE AND BACKGROUND: Substantial numbers of people whose schooling has ended with high school or even before are later motivated to get more education. This motivation arises from maturity, a recognition of the value of education, a re-awakening to new opportunities that can't be reached without more education.

Adequate formal educational arrangements for such people are practically non-existent.

On the demand side both public and private sectors of the economy increasingly need manpower with higher educational qualifications. In the large numbers of unschooled people are extensive potential human resources. But there is no way for them to "get back in" now.

New York University, the largest private university in the country, located in the heart of the biggest city, wants to take its responsibilities to this group seriously and now sees a way to do it.

The basic concept is that the new "non-professional" group is the most accessible to ideas of opening up new career lines which can be reached through the route of additional formal education of a kind they can handle. If this is not done many of the new sub-professional kinds of jobs will be better than what now exists but may still represent another dead-end plateau, albeit at a higher level. The promise of this proposal is that the new sub-professional jobs could become doors to the even higher development of considerable wasted human potential.

GRANTEE: NAACP Special Contribution Fund

PROJECT: Panel of advisers to assist in efforts to reduce racial imbalance in public schools.

AMOUNT: $25,000

TIME PERIOD: Six months

PURPOSE OF GRANT: To strengthen the NAACP with expertise to contribute constructively to the reduction of de facto school segregation, particularly in the large northern cities.

The NAACP will enlist a panel of experts to be called on regularly to participate in the complex and detailed negotiations in the big cities to suggest and urge practical ways of organizing the schools to try to keep racial separation from increasing and hopefully to reverse the

trend. It is recognized that this phenomenon is inextricably linked to residential patterns. Nevertheless, there are measures within the power of school board and city administrations that can be taken to modify racial school patterns to some degree.

The experts will be assigned to study specific school situations on behalf of NAACP and make recommendations for organizational and policy changes.

All of them will be respected men of standing whose recommendations can command attention.

RATIONALE AND BACKGROUND: It is generally accepted that segregated education is inadequate education. The reasoning leading to this conclusion is too well known to need repeating. It is also clearly realized now that the simple removal of legal barriers to racial integration in schools automatically doesn't integrate them. It is much more complex than that. At the same time, racial imbalance in schools is a constant and visible irritation to Negro ghetto residents.

The NAACP is undertaking a two-pronged drive on de facto school segregation: legal and non-legal. On the legal side they are attempting to develop clear law with reference to de facto segregation. On the non-legal side, they are attempting to encourage, help and pressure school

boards and administrations to take positive preventive and corrective measures. The present proposal would strengthen the latter efforts.

The main thrust of the federal agencies concerned with the state of education for Negroes in the big cities is toward the improvement of education, rather than toward desegregation. One of the strongest and most constant responsible force pushing for the reduction of school racial imbalance is the NAACP. To accomplish the objective requires more than just push. To arrive at meaningful school organization and practice that moves toward racial balance and doesn't hurt the educational process takes considerable know-how, a know-how not possessed by very many people. The kind of people who would comprise the NAACP panel of experts are in great demand and are very difficult to mobilize on an unplanned, ad hoc basis when crises arise. If they are regular members of the panel, they can plan their time accordingly and make a much greater systematic contribution.

GRANTEE: American Society for Public Administration

PROJECT: Summer internships in state and local government and quasi-governmental agencies for Negro college students.

AMOUNT: $30,000

TIME PERIOD: One year

PURPOSE OF GRANT: To place 15-20 Negro college juniors in summer internships in state and local government offices and/or quasi-governmental agencies such as community action programs under the poverty program. Also, to place 5-10 Negro college teachers of public administration and related courses in predominantly Negro colleges in internships at higher levels.

The salient features of the proposal are:

..ASPA will recruit promising juniors who may or may not yet have made career decisions to participate in the program.

..Intern placements will be made in the south.

..The agency in which the student intern is placed will be expected to pay the salary of approximately $75 per week.

..The student interns will attend regular seminars to increase the learning content of what they are doing and will be individually counseled. For the faculty interns individual contacts with university people and public

administrators will be arranged in addition to seminars. ..The faculty group will be advised by ASPA concerning development of public service oriented programs in their own colleges.

RATIONALE AND BACKGROUND: One of the growingest "growth industries" in the United States is state and local government. In future years this arena promises to provide increasing employment opportunities. Negroes are still not adequately prepared for these opportunities in numbers proportionate to their numbers in the general population. Also, state and local governments in general have not moved as fast as the federal government in promoting equal opportunity and helping to prepare new personnel.

While "Negro colleges" in the past have concentrated relatively heavily on preparing their students for certain limited public service occupations (e.g. teaching in segregated public schools), they have not yet caught up with the vast range of increasingly accessible higher level opportunities in state and local government. A special effort is needed to attract capable students to the field and to encourage the colleges themselves to be alert to the opportunities and better to prepare students for them.

The summer internship device is a practical one for moving in this direction. It serves as a supplement to the regular term academic work of students and faculty. It recognizes that many of the students involved must work in the summertime because of their limited financial resources. It puts students and faculty in touch with the real world of public service.

March 3, 1966

Mr. David Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

Dear David:

Enclosed is a clipping from the St. Petersburg Times about your father. Our Research Department turned this up, and we thought you would be interested in the event it hadn't been called to your attention.

Our luncheon for the Attorney General was a good occasion.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

March 8, 1966

Mr. David Hunter
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear David:

I shall be in New York on Thursday and Friday, the 10th and 11th with a very full day on Friday, and an uncertain one on Thursday. I will call your office Thursday morning to determine if there is any possibility of our getting together.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

March 14, 1966

Mr. David Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

Dear David:

My quick trip to New York developed an impossible schedule by late morning on last Thursday, and there was no need to bother you further to determine if you were available.

While there is no urgency, I would like an opportunity to discuss with you our matching grant and to determine if the Fund has any interest in the new Voter Education Project. I shall try again when the next trip is scheduled but if you feel it necessary, I would be happy to come to New York for that purpose at your convenience.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS B. LEMANN
SECRETARY-TREASURER
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MRS. PHILIP M. STERN
JOHN H. WHEELER
JEROME B. WIESNER
W. WILLARD WIRTZ
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

May 4, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I'm sorry to have to tell you that Mr. Hunter is not going to be in town on May 12 or 13. His apologies for being so difficult.

Sincerely,

Marilynn Meisel

Marilynn Meisel

May 2, 1966

Mr. David Hunter, Director
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

Dear Dave:

It is likely I will be in New York on May 11 for a meeting of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty. Is there any chance that you will be in town and available on Thursday, May 12, or the morning of Friday, May 13?

As in the past, nothing is pushing but at your convenience I would very much appreciate an opportunity to have a brief meeting with you.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

MS
file
Foundations -
Stern Family
Fund

Grants approved by the
Board of the Stern Family Fund,
at its meeting May 19-20, 1966

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS B. LEMANN
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JOHN H. WHEELER
JEROME B. WIESNER
W. WILLARD WIRTZ
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

GRANTEE: National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

PROJECT: "Project Equality"

AMOUNT: Terminal grant of $25,000 on a matching dollar for dollar basis.

TIME PERIOD: One year.

PURPOSE OF GRANT: To renew the original Stern Family Fund grant of $25,630 made in November 1964 to the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice for its work in exploiting the purchasing power of Catholic institutions to achieve equal employment opportunity among its suppliers and contractors.

RATIONALE AND BACKGROUND: The rationale for Project Equality is based on the fact that Catholic institutions represent one of the largest buyers and builders in the United States and can exert a special influence on enterprises that deal with it. This influence is exerted not only to elicit pledges of non-discrimination but also to help suppliers and contractors accomplish the objectives of equal employment opportunity. This extends to advice on how to recruit Negro employees and how to utilize to the full the capacities of present employees and upgrade them to better jobs.

The program is now operative in four dioceses: St. Louis and Detroit (May 1965), San Antonio (August 1965) and Hartford (November 1965).

In Detroit the project has become interreligious with the joining in of the Council of Eastern Orthodox Churches, the Jewish Community Council and the Protestant Council of Churches. The four faiths established a non-profit corporation headed by a former business man to carry out the program.

The project maintains close working relationships with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. So far over 6000 firms have signed their commitment to the program. By the fall of 1966 it is expected that over a billion dollars purchasing power will be engaged in the program.

In the near future the project in cooperation with Science Research Associates of Chicago and New York University will undertake a study to ascertain the reliability of the most common employment tests used to measure the ability of minority group persons on the job.

It is expected that this grant will result in several additional dioceses committing themselves to Project Equality; that other interfaith projects similar to that in Detroit will be set up, and that other funding sources will be encouraged by the matching provision to contribute to the program on a longer term basis.

GRANTEE: Columbia University

PROJECT: Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law

AMOUNT: $43,500

TIME PERIOD: One year.

PURPOSE OF GRANT: To renew the SFF grant to the CORE operation of the Columbia University Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law for one year.

RATIONALE AND BACKGROUND: The Center began operations in September 1965 (SFF grant, $42,000, April 1965). It moved rapidly into action and engaged itself through test cases with a number of important issues in public welfare. It has filed cases on the "substitute parent" policy of several states; eviction from public housing without stating the grounds or affording a hearing; eviction of mothers with illegitimate children; the right of privacy of welfare clients; certain restrictions on the use of welfare grants (e.g. telephone); the right to invoke the Fifth Amendment without losing a welfare grant. It is about to file a case in Georgia challenging the policy that denies aid if a mother finds work (even for as little as $10 per week) on the grounds that she is fully employed.

The Center has also prepared a Handbook on Welfare Rights for lay people in Georgia and surveyed the welfare practices of that state. It has prepared a memorandum analyzing ten areas of public assistance which warrant legal testing. This has been widely circulated to attorneys and social agencies, published in the New York Law Journal and will be published by the American Law Institute and the American Bar Association. It has conducted training sessions in Washington, D. C., New Haven, and Detroit and will soon do so for the American Civil Liberties Union, NAACP and CORE. The Director also serves as one of the three editors of the bulletin of the New York University Project on Social Welfare Law.

The Center received a grant from OEO effective June 1, 1966 expanding the welfare law testing service and for certain additional training, legal analysis, surveys and the preparation of manuals. With that grant four additional attorneys, a social researcher, and four secretaries will join the staff.

The Director of the Center makes the case for an additional year of support from private sources on the grounds that financial independence of government for the CORE staff is desirable for the legal testing service which usually challenges some government policy or practice. In addition to that reason there are useful functions of the Center not financed by OEO. These include production of a book of curriculum materials for schools of social work on legal rights of welfare clients; working toward the pulling together of various interests in the field and the possible establishment of an integrated national center in place of a number of scattered efforts.

MENTAL HEALTH

GRANTEE: Foundation administered study project.

AMOUNT: Up to $35,000.

PURPOSE OF GRANT: To help plan the formation of a major developmental institution in the field of mental health in order to open new approaches to the subject. Such new approaches would be concerned particularly with the more effective application of mental health knowledge and skills in community action programs and the development of technique and organization in mental health to reach populations now unreached. Details are being worked out between the foundation and Dr. Reginald Lourie, Director, Department of Psychiatry, Children's Hospital of the District of Columbia.

RATIONALE AND BACKGROUND: A small foundation cannot hope to contribute importantly to research in mental health or to the development of new therapeutic or management techniques unless it just happens to strike it lucky.

There may, however, be an opportunity to contribute to filling a gap in the "delivery system". Effective methods for applying psychological insights and skills in large scale social and educational programs have not been developed. Neither have ways been invented to apply what have heretofore been highly individualized clinical techniques on a group basis or through intermediaries to large low-income populations.

Dr. Lourie and others concerned about this problem believe that there is a systematic approach to it that could be undertaken with the investment of modest resources.

VENICE BIENNALE

GRANTEE:

AMOUNT: Up to $9,000 to be matched from other sources.

PROJECT: For preparation of architectural plans for a new or remodeled American pavilion at the Venice Biennale Art exhibit.

PURPOSE: It is expected that the holding of an architectural contest for the development of plans will result in the provision of either public or private funds for the construction or remodeling of the presently inadequate building.

GRANTEE: Urban America, Inc.

PROJECT: Not-for-profit housing.

AMOUNT: $250,000

TIME PERIOD: Five years.

PURPOSE OF GRANT: To provide resources to be used in a revolving fund as "seed" or "front" money for not-for-profit housing construction under Section 221 (d) (3) of the Housing Act of 1961. In order to create a fund of at least one million dollars, the $250,000 from the Stern Family Fund is to be matched by at least $750,000 from other sources.

RATIONALE: This action is an attempt to speed up the construction of low cost housing under the relevant legislation. The revolving fund should have a multiplier effect of perhaps 30 to 1 in making housing available at rentals lower than most other standard private housing, but just above public housing rates. It is hoped the revolving fund will foster racially mixed housing, and that similar contributions by other foundations and community development funds will be stimulated.

GRANTEE: PACT (Plan of Action for Challenging Times), San Francisco.

PROJECT: Lateral entry of minority group members into middle management.

AMOUNT: $25,000 ($20,000 on a dollar for dollar matching basis; plus $5,000 outright to be used to promote similar programs in other communities around the country.)

TIME PERIOD: 12-18 months.

PURPOSE OF GRANT: To assist in the development of a program of locating, recruiting, training and placing over-qualified under-employed Negroes and Mexican-Americans in middle level positions in private enterprise in the San Francisco Bay Area.

RATIONALE AND BACKGROUND: Until very recent years college trained Negroes and Mexicans could find work only in a limited number of places: civil service, teaching, Negro insurance, Negro law, dental or medical practice. Now with equal employment opportunity more widespread many white dominated enterprises would welcome mature members of these minority groups in more responsible positions. But they can't be found ready made with the necessary qualifications nor are they present in sufficient numbers in lower grade positions available for upgrading to fill the potential opportunities. Men who graduated or received some college training ten to fifteen years ago are now established in jobs in one of the traditional sectors, they have family responsibilities, their salaries are adequate, but in many cases they may in fact be underemployed in terms of their potential and they may wish that they could move into the new kinds of positions in private enterprise now opening up.

PACT has placed nearly 550 men and women in white collar jobs, 85 of them entered as executive trainees or have moved into middle management. It is now operating a Small Business Development Corporation with a grant from the Economic Development Administration. The corporation has offered management training aid or assisted with loan applications for over 650 minority owned or operated small businesses. It has operated a busy counselling service for young people in the area and is about to open a clearing house of educational and financial aid and guidance information for disadvantaged students and school counsellors.

In addition to scouring the area for opportunities for lateral entry to middle management and finding and counselling candidates, PACT will arrange in-service or special training for the candidates including salary supplements where necessary. Application for federal funds for these "training supplements" is being made under the Manpower Development and Training Act.

PACT will locate candidates, assess their qualities, recommend them to companies and work with the companies to develop more or less individually tailored "induction" or training plans.

GRANTEE: Foundation administered fellowship.

PROJECT: Recruitment of Negroes for corporate management.

AMOUNT: $7,500

TIME PERIOD: Four months.

PURPOSE OF GRANT: To grant a fellowship to Ulric Haynes, former African Affairs Adviser, National Security Council, The White House, for intensive training in executive recruitment. The training will take place at the Harvard Business School's Advanced Management Course at the University of Hawaii, June 20-July 30, 1966. Following the training period he will be employed by Spencer Stuart and Associates, Management Consultants of New York, Chicago, London, Paris, Zurich and Frankfurt. A new subsidiary of Spencer Stuart will be organized to specialize in the recruitment and placement of under-utilized talent from all races with special, though not exclusive emphasis on Negroes.

RATIONALE AND BACKGROUND: There are very few Negroes in middle and top management of publicly held corporations. At the same time there is considerable talent to be found among mature and highly qualified Negroes in government, educational institutions and social agencies. Almost without exception, this pool of talent is not even considered for placement in corporate ranks. The reason seems to lie in the prevailing methods by which corporations fill executive positions. The executive recruiting firm plays an important role in this process.

At the present time not a single such firm makes any effort to recruit and train Negroes for its clients. It is, therefore, safe to assume that the number of Negroes in middle and top management positions could be significantly increased if executive recruiting firms were to begin recruiting from among the well qualified Negroes currently employed outside of business.

An assumption would be that for competitive reasons, once this service is established, other executive recruitment firms would be encouraged to take similar steps.

GRANTEE: Syracuse University, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs

PROJECT: Social goals and indicators for a great society.

AMOUNT: $15,000

TIME PERIOD: Two years.

PURPOSE OF GRANT: To support an effort to develop more ambitious and specific goals for "Great Society" programs and more detailed indicators of successes and failures. The objective is to analyze the substance of government and private programs and to develop greater capacity for constructive criticism by community leaders.

The project will be under the leadership of Bertram Gross, Professor of Political Science at the Maxwell School.

The results will be reported in a special issue of The Annals designed to break ground for a new annual Presidential report to Congress, the Social Report of the President to parallel the present economic report.

It is hoped to replace some of the present glittering generalities with goals specific enough "to be fought over and acted upon", to introduce ways of regularly measuring progress, to add social goals and measurements to the existing sophisticated ecnomic and fiscal ones.

Some of the areas of importance to the quality of American life that would be covered are the following:

--political participation: participation in elections; organization of unorganized interests; barriers to registration and voting; distortions of apportionment.

--freedom from discrimination: fuller treatment of the position of minorities.

--civil liberties: the effective protection of the freedoms of speech, assembly, organization, dissent, academic inquiry, political protest, worship; due process protection by courts, police, government organizations, private employers, unions; the role of educational institutions and mass media.

--reduction of poverty: poverty as deprivation of income, assets, public services, opportunities for upward mobility and social participation; time phased goals for reduction in number of people below minimum levels; trends and goals with reference to the employed poor, the unemployed, the aged, the young, urban slums and ghettos, depressed rural areas; upward adjustment of minima to reflect increasing productivity and changes in living costs and content; changing definition of poverty in "post-industrial" society; and

--employment and leisure

--learning and education

--health and well-being

--crime, delinquency and social breakdown

--the built environment

--the natural environment

--the arts and humanities

--the production of knowledge

--the mass media

--individual group values

--societal feedback: provision for correcting performance and adjusting goals; the effect of goals on data and data on goals; data collection through regular series; anticipatory studies, special inquiries, multiple feedback through many channels.

RATIONALE AND BACKGROUND: This proposal is a creative attempt to limn the total fabric of American society including those qualitative aspects that have heretofore been left to vague moralizing or viewing with alarm.

It is an attempt to describe regularly and more systematically what American society is, where it wants to go and what progress it is making in getting there. Periodic reminders of this nature to the nation could be an important factor in popular consideration of public policy.

While very sophisticated policies to achieve and indicators to measure over-all economic growth and stability have been developed, this has not been true of other areas that vitally affect the quality of life.

Stern Family Fund

Grants up to $3,000

January 1966 - July 1966

$1,500 matching for project in Fayette County, Tennessee on voter education and community development conducted by Cornell University students.

Greater Cleveland Associated Foundation - up to $1,500. - to provide half the cost of an intern to spend summer 1966 working with Cleveland foundation.

Institute for Policy Studies - $1,000 - for a seminar on public policy reporting.

Foundation for a Better Louisiana - $2,500.

City College of New York - $3,000 - supplement to original grant for report of social action programs conducted by Dr. Kenneth Clark.

Institute for Policy Studies - $3,000 - for Mississippi Development Foundation.

National Urban League - $350.00 - for Ron Davis Dance Group.

Community Service Foundation, Florida - $2,400 - for study of off-shore workers.

CORE Scholarship Education & Defense Fund - $3,000 - for study of welfare practices.

Atlanta University - $2,500 - to hold a business conference to help speed development of independent Negro business.

National Committee for Support of Public Schools - $3,000 - (matching) - to help organization explain the Massachusetts State Board of Education's responsibilities under the new racial imbalance law.

National Opinion Research Center - $3,000 - study of public opinion on foreign affairs.

Trinity Episcopal Church, New Orleans - $2,500 - summer enrichment program for disadvantaged pupils.

Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc. - $1,600 - for participation of four people in Summer 1966 workshop on family planning conducted by Dr. Donald Bogue, University of Chicago.

Richard Margolis - $2,703.00 - for evaluation of Stern Family Fund grant to National Committee against Discrimination in Housing (June 1964).

Richard Elman - $1,000 - fellowship to research a book about a changing community in California.

Jules Koslow - $2,019.00 - to evaluate Stern Family Fund grant to National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice (Project Equality).

Council for Public Schools, Inc. - $3,000 matching - for cooperative program of education between urban and suburban schools in Boston area.

Ben Zimmerman - $464.09 - to do evaluation of New Orleans Urban League Youth Development Project.

Daytop Village, Inc. - $3,000 - for work with narcotics users in Greenwich Village, New York.

The Cornerstone Project, Inc. - $1,500 - for seminars in the problems of poverty in the urban ghetto.

Social Welfare Research Council - $3,000 - for research and analysis of the impact of certain experimental programs under development in the New York City Welfare Department.

TOTAL $47,536.09

File
Foundations
Stern Family Fund
Cr. ref
Southern Courier
re: Courier's
Courier review
of New South

July 26, 1966

Mr. David R. Hunter
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

Dear Dave:

We were somewhat upset about the Southern Courier's review of New South not because it chose to be very critical of it, but rather because we felt that four very fine writers were attacked personally, rather than having their articles reviewed. It was on this basis that we expressed unhappiness to the Courier. Until this time, I had had no reason to believe that we didn't have a great deal of mutual respect, and a fairly high degree of cooperation.

We, for instance, attempted to help get them extra manpower for coverage of the Alabama elections. And, the Alabama Council has been carrying on a rather vigorous effort to promote subscriptions and contributions for the Courier. The only other indication we have had about this is a letter from Robert Smith of July 25th to Margaret Long. Maggie had written expressing certain specific disagreements with the review, but also stating very strongly that she felt the Courier had a right to say such things as they so chose. The last paragraph of Smith's letter frankly irritates me. But, so be it. This is a time of great misunderstanding and distrust down here, and I suspect we will have to live through a great deal more of it

before it begins to improve.

I'm still hopeful of discussing with you at some point our efforts of meeting the provisions of the Stern Fund's matching grant. To date, having begun rather vigorously last November, we have raised all of $4,300 that meets the requirements of the grant. Three southern foundations have discouraged us, though the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation has invited us back for discussion with their new Executive Director in the fall. There has been no luck with business other than one $500 contribution from the Sonoco Company in South Carolina. The effort has generated several thousand dollars more than the sum mentioned above. But it becomes increasingly clear that a thousand dollars is still a great deal of money in terms of southern philanthrophy. In fact, this total has been raised from thousand dollar contributions from three of our members and a thirteen hundred dollar contribution from a church here in Atlanta.

If it is satisfactory, with you and the Board, I would prefer waiting until well into the fall to submit an accounting of the funds raised and to receive from Stern such funds as we may have qualified for. However, I do not want to lose any income from this grant by waiting too long. Could you give me some guidance on this?

Come September I will be heading North again, and will hope to have an opportunity to talk with you.

We were very disappointed that you were unable to attend the Capahosic Conference on the work of the Voter Education Project. I thought it an extremely worthwhile meeting.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS B. LEMANN
SECRETARY-TREASURER
THEODORE A. JONES
FERD KRAMER
RICHARD M. SCAMMON
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
MRS. PHILIP M. STERN
JOHN H. WHEELER
JEROME B. WIESNER
W. WILLARD WIRTZ
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

July 18, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks very much for your "Field Activities Newsletter." I think it is useful. Keep it up.

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

STERN FAMILY FUND

MEMORANDUM

DATE 15 July

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: DAVID R. HUNTER

I don't know Michael Lottman personally, nor have I had a chance to read some of the specific pieces he tears into. That certainly was an intemperate review of How South. How reflective is it of a general attitude on his part (or of the Southern Courier) toward SRC?

file Stern Family Fund
cr. ref. Atlanta, City of
& U.S. Conf. of Mayors.
re: possible Foundation support for additional personnel in Office of Mayor, Atlanta

August 23, 1966

Mr. David Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

Dear Dave:

Here, finally, is the memorandum on the needs of the Mayor's office. I trust John will follow through with you on this.

Of course, I have no idea how your Board will feel about this, but after giving it some thought it seems to me a worthwhile idea and a sound use of funds. While it didn't seem wise to mention it in the memorandum, this could be the beginning of having on the Mayor's staff an individual responsible for long-range planning with special concern for race relations.

If more detail is needed, I will try to provide it.

Best.

Sincerely,

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

cc: Mrs. Anne Moses
Office of the Mayor
Atlanta

John Feild
U. S. Conference of Mayors
Washington, D. C.

MEMORANDUM August 23, 1966

To: Mr. David Hunter
Stern Family Fund

From: Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council

Re: The Need of Private Support for Additional Personnel in the Atlanta Mayor's Office.

- : -

In Atlanta the office of the Mayor is essentially one of very limited power. There is also very limited staff and budget. Much of what is accomplished is done by the strength and skill of the individual. From this base of power, or lack of it, Mayor Ivan Allen is determined to abolish the slums of Atlanta.

Correctly, Mayor Allen analyzes the slum situation, which is economic as well as racial, as the major problem of the city; one long overlooked, and one which can no longer be ignored or approached with half measures.

(Unlike a number of cities, it is realistic to believe that Atlanta's slums can be abolished. Slum areas are in relatively small, isolated pockets. No large ghettos exist though some are growing.)

The Mayor's approach is the only available one. This is essentially a matter of attending to detail. It calles for constant dealing with and badgering department heads and other city officials. It requires constant attention to what public funds -- and occasionally private funds -- are available to be used. It requires complex dealings with a number of individuals ranging from community leadership to "black power" advocates.

There is inadequate staff, really no staff other than the Mayor himself, for this purpose. It would help considerably if the Mayor could have a highly qualified person to work with him as a special aide to attend to some of the details outlined above. There would even be an advantage to the individual being an employee subject only to the Mayor's direction.

Insert I

There seems to ~~me to~~ be several advantages to such an experiment. What, for instance, can be accomplished where there is an all-out effort to eradicate slums in a large city? What might develop in the future structure of the Mayor's office if such a program were inaugurated under private auspices? What advantage would there be to a Mayor in having such a special aide who could attend to details and emergencies, but also who would specialize in "looking ahead" to long range programs?

2

To attract a highly qualified person a salary of $15,000 would be needed. In addition, it would be desirable to have available $3,000 or more for incidental expenses, travel, and other needs not met in the city budget.

If the U. S. Conference of Mayors could sponsor this program and request of the Stern Family Fund a grant of $18,000 for one year, this interesting program could be developed. In the process, a critical need of an outstanding public official could be met.

File
Stern Family Fund
Cr. ref.
Atlanta City of
re: Foundation Support
for additional Personnel in
Office of Mayor.
Cr. ref.
U.S. Conf. of Mayors
re: Same

September 14, 1966

Mr. David Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

Dear David:

Enclosed is a proposal concerning the office of the Mayor of Atlanta.

I trust it is at least satisfactory enough to begin the process of consideration.

As you know, we have been having our troubles here recently, and enclosed are several clippings concerning some of the Mayor's role in them.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures
cc: Mr. John Feild
U. S. Conference of Mayors

A PROPOSAL

to the

Stern Family Fund in Support of a Special Project
with the
Office of Mayor of the City of Atlanta

- : -

In Atlanta the office of the Mayor is essentially one of very limited power. There is also very limited staff and budget. Much of what is accomplished is done by the strength and skill of the individual. From this base of power, or lack of it, Mayor Ivan Allen is determined to abolish the slums of Atlanta.

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There is inadequate staff, really no staff other than the Mayor himself, for this purpose. It

would be of considerable help if the Mayor could have a highly qualified person to work with him as a special aide to attend to some of the details outlined above. There would even be an advantage to the individual being an employee, subject only to the Mayor's direction.

There seems to be several advantages to such an experiment:

(1) There would be great value in having one individual attempting to coordinate all of the internal affairs of the city as they relate to the Mayor's office on the problems of Atlanta's slums. And, there would be considerable value in determining to what extent such coordination could successfully bring to bear all of the city's resources simultaneously.

(2) Such an individual, if properly alert and informed on the possibilities for public funds, could determine just what would occur in a controlled situation such as that of Atlanta when maximum use is made of available federal programs.

(3) In a city such as Atlanta there are a tremendous number of private resources. As is typical of most cities, there is little coordination of these resources and, perhaps, at any given time only a small amount of the potential resources of these groups are brought to bear. What would happen if one individual saw to it that there was coordination among the private groups and that maximum resources from the private sector were directed to this need at one time?

(4) There seems to me to be a great deal to be gained from determining, under a set-up such as the proposed one, the relationship

of federal and city governments. Clearly, this is a relationship which is being redefined and changing. Would not something of value be learned in this area from such an effort?

(5) Perhaps most important of all, this could be a reliable experiment to determine whether or not there can be created within the city government structure this new role; professional guidance, sound coordination, and the direction of public and private resources to a major onslaught on the problems of the inner-city.

To attract a highly qualified person a salary of $15,000 would be needed. In addition, it would be desirable to have available $3,000 or more for incidental expenses, travel, and other needs not met in the city budget.

The United StatesCConference of Mayors is very interested in this project, and may write the Fund concerning it.

P.A. - fyi.

file - Stern Family Fund 1966

September 23, 1966

Mr. David Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. Hunter:

I am replying to a request made by your secretary on the telephone yesterday to provide you with an analysis of the status of our fund-raising efforts to match the $10,000 grant from Stern Family Fund.

Mr. Anthony is involved in a court case this week and has asked me to pass the following information on to you.

We have received two individual contributions of $1,000 each and one contribution from Trinity Presbyterian Church here in Atlanta of $1,300.00. Two individual pledges have been made of $1,000.00 each; $500 of which has already been paid on one and $600 on the other. The remaining $900 of these two pledges is expected to be in our hands by the end of the year. Therefore, the total amount accounted

for to date, both raised and pledged comes to $5,300.00.

There are prospects of our receiving a fourth contribution of $1,000 from a business concern in Louisville, Kentucky, but we have had no concrete word on this one recently and, therefore, are somewhat skeptical as to whether it will come through.

q Mr. Anthony expects to be in New York October 4 - 7 and would very much like an opportunity to come in to see you. If any one of these days would be convenient for him to do so, please let him know.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

5,300
1,000
11,300
11,
7,600

File — 1966 MJ

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

NOT FOR PUBLIC QUOTATION

Grants approved by the
Board of the Stern Family Fund
October 5-6, 1966

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS B. LEMANN
SECRETARY-TREASURER
THEODORE A. JONES
FERD KRAMER
RICHARD M. SCAMMON
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
MRS. PHILIP M. STERN
JOHN H. WHEELER
JEROME B. WIESNER
W. WILLARD WIRTZ
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

GRANTEE: American Foundation on Non-Violence

AMOUNT: $60,000

PURPOSE: To assist the Southern Christian Leadership Conference through the American Foundation on Non-Violence further to develop substantive urban program and leadership competence at several levels.

Since pursuit of this objective represents some new dimensions for SCLC this grant is for a planning and trial run exercise over an initial six month to one year period. If the methods prove workable and the objectives appear to be attainable the program will be expanded, imbedded as a permanent feature of SCLC and further financing sought from other sources.

The objectives will be sought through the following means:

..an educational and "joint-thinking" approach tailored to the requirements and characteristics of three kinds of people:

a) top community leadership
b) neighborhood leaders
c) neighborhood youth and students

Continuing development of substantive program content, an "agenda" and schedule of priorities for SCLC itself and for the "dialogue" and training operation would be developed through discussions between SCLC leadership and some of the consultants provided for in this project. It would also be developed, refined and elaborated as a continuing process growing out of the give and take of seminars and workshops.

American Foundation on Non
Violence (Cont'd)

..the educational and dialogue activity would be carried out in three main ways:

a) The Semi-Annual Urban Leadership Seminar. Ultimately there should be a continuing conversation taking place among Negro and white leadership of the 16-20 largest American cities. This grant will provide for three seminars involving ten key leaders from each of three cities for two or three days, each seminar thus having thirty participants. One of the three seminars will focus on three northern cities, one on the south and one on border cities. It is hoped that this will create the habit of such dialogues in a non-crisis atmosphere which should help to obviate the crises or deal better with them when they arise. They will also help to elaborate viable substantive objectives for SCLC itself and to advise white leadership of these objectives.

b) The Neighborhood Leaders Conference. Three-day training conferences for sixty resident neighborhood ghetto leaders followed by monthly meetings and seminars, augmented by a reading program and newsletter and a "technical assistance" service by SCLC professional staff. During the "trial" period three such conferences will be held in Chicago.

c) Youth and Student Workshops. Ten youths from each of six "critical" neighborhoods will be selected by the neighborhood leaders after the Neighborhood Leaders Conference. They will be taken to a camp site near Chicago for a three-day workshop. The workshop curriculum will include the philosophy of non-violence and urban issues. The hoped for product of the workshop will be a group of ten young people returning to their neighborhood as a constructive action group to work at specific tasks in association with the adult leadership. There will also be follow-up and continued contact by SCLC staff. As youth led activities develop, students from other parts of the city will be invited to volunteer for specific projects. During the trial period there will be three such workshops.

The consultants will be the best people available in urban subject matter as well as in the most effective educational techniques applicable to the three types of "students".

BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE: This proposal represents an attempt on the part of a national civil rights organization with wide popular appeal to move toward an even more sophisticated analysis of and manner of dealing with the urban issues affecting the poor and members of minority groups developing a stronger organizational base and leadership to provide the necessary "follow-through".

This is a particularly important time to lend support to an organization with the capacity to sustain a constructive militance in ghetto communities and help to channel it in positive directions.

To enhance the effectiveness of this non-violent militancy, the effort to which this grant is directed, will further strengthen the capacity of disadvantaged people to use non-violent method; refine and elaborate substantive program objectives with the help of experts and of ghetto resident leaders; increase the knowledge and competence of community leadership up and down the line in the complexities of urban problems; establish steady and continuing contact, dialogue and training activities with local leadership; train and involve the young people who will be assuming leadership roles in the future.

GRANTEE: To be determined

AMOUNT: $15,000

PURPOSE: To contribute to the initial costs of providing technical assistance for a community development corporation in developing its substantive program and priorities. The corporation will be established and governed by the residents of a predominantly Negro low-income area in a large eastern city. It will attempt to work with the business and governmental leadership of the larger community toward the economic, social and physical reconstruction of the area.

GRANTEE: Foundation for Voluntary Welfare

AMOUNT: $19,000

PURPOSE: To develop and operate for a trial period a computer based system of matching low-skilled people with available jobs in Indianapolis as a model for other communities.

The project will be carried out as a joint enterprise of the Foundation for Voluntary Welfare, the National Association of Manufacturers, the General Electric Corporation, and Flanner House, a community organization serving primarily the Negro community of the city.

The elements of the proposal are the following:

.. a sample of job applicants who have experienced serious unemployment in recent years will be selected.

.. they will be interviewed in depth to ascertain their real qualities and capacities to as great an extent as possible and far beyond the kind of information that now appears on conventional application forms.

.. this information will be analyzed and coded and put on an electronic data processing file in a new "language". This will comprise a "thesaurus" of terms realistically describing personal characteristics in terms that may have relevance to capacity to do a job.

.. at the same time available jobs in the city will be listed, analyzed, broken down into functional components, and described in terms that can be translated into the language used to describe the characteristics of job applicants.

..the data on job applicants will be filed by teletypewriter in the General Electric computer center at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.

.. to fill a given job the data file at Valley Forge will be searched by teletypewriter from

Foundation for Voluntary
Welfare (Cont'd)

Indianapolis. If no one in the file fills the bill, the job specifications may be relaxed somewhat and an analysis made of the prospects that some training could bring some applicants up to minimum qualifications. If there is an excessive number of "matches", additional qualifications for the open position could be entered and the electronic file re-interrogated to pull out the best qualified people available.

.. the experience in Indianapolis will be written up and published and the NAM will sponsor workshops in other communities to explain the system, interpret the findings and encourage emulation if results warrant.

BACKGROUND
AND
RATIONALE An important factor in maintaining unnecessarily high employment and under-employment among less-skilled people is lack of information. This is of two kinds: Ignorance of job opportunities on the part of the job seeker and ignorance of the real qualifications of the applicant on the part of the employer. The present organization of the labor market does not provide this information adequately particularly for people with marginal skills.

Three elements in combination give promise of improving the situation: a) a more refined analysis and description of the minimum capacities required to perform a given job or parts of it; b) a more refined analysis of the real capacities of people who have too readily been consigned to the scrap heal of "unskilled" or "unemployable"; c) the use of electronic data processing equipment that makes it physically possible to store and instantaneously retrieve masses of information.

The development of a system based on these elements was one of the priority recommendations of the National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress in its report of February 1966.

Whether ultimately the system will end up as a government operation, private, or combination of the two is unknown. Whatever the outcome, the methodology needs now to be worked out and applied in actual conditions.

GRANTEE: City of Atlanta (Georgia)

AMOUNT: $23,000

PURPOSE: To assist the Mayor of Atlanta to staff and organize the office of the Mayor better to develop a strategy and action to mobilize the city's forces to attack the problems of the slums and improve the condition of the people now resident there.

Foundation funds will be used to pay the salary of a special assistant to the Mayor experienced in urban affairs, capable, with the Mayor's political leadership, of meshing the resources and energies of the disparate elements of the community in concerted action, and knowledgeable about securing outside resources to help with the task.

This will be an experiment and demonstration of the value of such a staff and function in the Mayor's office of a southern city with a "weak mayor" system. If the demonstration warrants such action the Mayor will attempt to establish the staff and function as a permanent feature of his office. The U.S. Conference of Mayors will observe the experience and report on it to other cities in similar situations.

BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE In coping with the crisis problems of cities and, even more important, developing and implementing policy and strategy for healthy urban development that will obviate the crises, the mayor's office is the key command post. Only the mayor has comprehensive responsibility. Other functionaries have restricted concerns for education, housing, welfare, public safety, etc. Elected representatives have comprehensive concern, but are limited to policy formation through legislation. Only the mayor is concerned with policy formation and execution.

Without strong and capable leadership from the mayor's office and the mobilization of internal and external resources by him the inexorable forces tending to break down the economic and social order of the city are not likely to give way.

What this means is that the modern mayor must be a "system analyst" and operator. He must view the city as a system made up of interacting sub-systems and impinged upon by regional and national systems. The trick for the mayor is to mesh these systems so that their own "rules-of-the-game" and self-serving objectives are to the greatest degree possible induced to serve the purposes of the general welfare and development of the community. How can the mortgage banking system better produce low cost housing?

How can the customs , leadership patterns and aspirations of the low income Negro community best be mobilized to push constructively for upward mobility? How can the needs of industry for skilled personnel be made a force to speed up the training of unskilled people? How can the resources of federal agencies and foundations be marshalled to support orderly and equitable development? Most cities now exploit only a fraction of the outside resources potentially available to them because they don't know how to go after them or to use them efficiently.

All of this takes know-how. To be deployed most effectively that know-how must be in, or close to, or at the beck and call of the mayor's office.

Atlanta is one of the bellwether cities of the south with outstanding leadership in the Mayor's office. The general climate in the city is such that well reasoned and executed policies and programs have a favorable environment in which to confront the complex problems of today's cities.

These circumstances make it an opportune time and place to try to improve the capacity of the Mayor's office to perform the dynamic role it should and for the experience to be visible and hopefully influential elsewhere.

The plans for the project were developed jointly by the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the Southern Regional Council, and the Mayor of Atlanta.

GRANTEE: Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO

AMOUNT: $75,000

PURPOSE: To assist the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department to experiment with and develop new methods of organization in low income areas that will enable the trade union movement more effectively to address itself to the problems of the working poor.

The vehicle for this new approach to presently unorganized people will be the "community union." In contrast to the traditional bases of union organization -- a trade, a plant, or an industry -- the base here will be the geographical neighborhood or multi-neighborhood.

The basic purpose of the community unions will be to provide a means for people with presently inadequate means to raise their standards of living, to secure more responsive and comprehensive human services within their communities, and to exercise a proportionate share of democratic power.

Since the context in which the community union will operate is more complex than the employer-employee relationship which underlies conventional union organization, unconventional and untried methods will have to be used.

The characteristics of a community union as now envisaged will be as follows:

.. it will be limited to a defined geographical area and its members will live in that area.

.. it will be governed by local residents.

.. it will mesh the traditional trade union function (focusing on the worker's needs) with the modern community service center function (whose concern extends beyond the workers to his family and community).

.. it will provide a forum for discussion of public issues of the community and for concerted expression of the views of the residents.

.. it will provide certain services and programs for its members (credit unions, purchasing cooperatives, health clinics, legal services, Operation Head Start, basic education, on-the-job training, housing rehabilitation, recreation, counseling, etc.)

.. it will help to mobilize programs for its community supported by outside resources (federal government, United Fund, etc.)

.. it will be eligible for direct support from community action agencies, the United Fund, foundations, trade unions, etc. although basic financing should come from membership dues to insure a healthy degree of local autonomy.

.. it will actively disseminate information in its area about existing programs and resources.

.. it will provide grievance machinery for the local residents for complaints about schooling, housing, police, and other public services.

.. independent local public review committees will be set up to act as a "conscience" and evaluator of community union activities generally. Church and civic leaders from outside the ghetto as well as from within would serve on these committees.

The Industrial Union Department plans to start in three communities: Los Angeles (Watts); Delano, California, a migratory labor center; and Chicago. This will be followed by expansion to five additional locations.

BACKGROUND
AND
RATIONALE Effective ways of helping the residents of low income areas to mobilize their own resources to help themselves and to advocate their legitimate claims upon the community at large are still at an embryonic stage in America. This is true in spite of the rhetoric and effort that has been expended on the subject in recent years and in spite of the repeated evidence that this is an urgent need in social, economic and political development.

The trade union movement, or at least a part of it, has the tradition, experience and institutional structure which, if applied to this new arena, could make an important contribution.

At the present time unions are widely regarded by the deprived and dispossessed as constituents of the affluent society and often as obstacles to opportunity for those not already "in". The more forward looking union leadership wishes now to change both image and fact and to make the trade union movement more relevant to the problems of the present day disadvantaged.

GRANTEE: Institute for Policy Studies

AMOUNT: $50,000

PURPOSE: General support

The Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. was established in 1963 to research, analyze, criticize and propose public policy. It is located in Washington but has no organic connection with government and does not accept government grants in order to safeguard its objectivity. In addition to its research and publishing activities, it conducts workshops and seminars and cooperates with a number of universities in post-graduate study programs.

In its first three years, it has worked in a wide range of public policy fields,including education, international affairs, urban problems, poverty, civil rights and law. It has compiled a record as a relevant, dynamic and effective institution playing an important role in American society.

The Stern Family Fund has already contributed $100,000 to the Institute, plus some special project grants. The Institute is now undertaking to raise $1,500,000 before September 1967 to draw down a contingent grant of approximately $500,000.

GRANTEE: Foundation administered project

AMOUNT: $57,000

PURPOSE: To undertake research in local and national transportation policy with a view to contributing to the development of sound national comprehensive urban planning policies.

###

File Stern Family Fund

December 13, 1966

Miss Marilynn Meisel
Secretary to Mr. David Hunter
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

Dear Miss Meisel:

Thank you for the response to my phone call about the matching grant. While it may be a foolish hope, there is some chance we can meet the remainder of the $10,000 sum after the first of the year. We will, therefore, not request payment until that time.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
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W. WILLARD WIRTZ
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

December 9, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

From the attached copy of the letter sent to you by Mr. Hunter last October, it would seem that if you would like a check from us for the amount you have raised so far, you should write us a letter requesting it, giving details about the matching arrangements.

Sincerely,

Marilynn Meisel

Marilynn Meisel
Secretary to
David R. Hunter

October 14, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

This is to confirm our telephone message to the effect that the Board of the Stern Family Fund approved a grant up to $10,000 conditional on its being matched in contributions of no less than $1,000 each from individuals* resident in the south, foundations with headquarters in the south or corporations with operations in the south.

When you are able to certify that these conditions have been met, we will forward the funds. In order to keep the check writing process to a minimum, we would appreciate receiving requests for payment as infrequently as possible, consistent with your own operational requirements.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

* not state councils - big single givers

See Stern Family Fund

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

LES
VJV
MJ-16

NOT FOR PUBLIC QUOTATION

Grants Approved by the Board
of the Stern Family Fund,
February 9-10, 1967

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS B. LEMANN
SECRETARY-TREASURER
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DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Henry Street Settlement - $15,000 for the work of the National Commission on Resources for Youth. The Commission, a new organization, proposes to search out innovative and promising programs and practice in child and youth development. It will evaluate them, describe them, identify underlying general principles and concepts and attempt to make them "contagious."

The need for this service arises from the fact that there are many good ideas for new and promising approaches that never get widely enough known, understood or emulated. The Commission hopes to correct this by systematically searching for social inventions that show promise and vigorously "marketing" them through all appropriate media and methods.

At the outset while it develops its own competence and style the Commission will concentrate on the subject of "youth serving youth."

For information: Mrs. Mary C. Kohler, Managing Director, National Commission on Resources for Youth, 36 West 44 Street, New York, New York.

Interracial Council for Business Opportunity. $50,000 for two years.

The Interracial Council for Business Opportunity now operates in four cities to stimulate the development of Negro owned and/or managed business enterprise. Its method is to bring the successful businessman into an advisory or counseling relationship with the aspiring newcomer or struggling entrepreneur with potential for expansion or a more substantial operation.

This grant is a contribution to the costs of inaugurating the first ICBO program in the deep south in New Orleans.

For information: Mr. John Patterson, Executive Director, Interracial Council for Business Opportunity, 110 East 23 Street, New York, New York.

NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund. $60,000 for three years.

This grant is a contribution to the Legal Defense Fund to enable it to retain the services of three new interracial law firms in Charlotte, North Carolina, Little Rock, Arkansas and Memphis, Tennessee. The establishment of the new firms was contingent on the availability of some security in their early uncertain days.

The Legal Defense Fund is providing this minimum of security by guaranteeing a retainer on a declining basis for the first three years of the new firms. The firms will handle cases for the Fund in accordance with its normal procedures.

The rationale for this grant is fourfold: a) that the establishment of interracial law firms in the south in itself is a desirable goal, b) that better service in civil rights matters will be available through these firms, c) that the firms will be better able to compete for commercial practice than were the Negro attorneys operating alone or as individuals, and d) new economic enterprise often develops out of successful law offices.

For information: Mr. Jack Greenberg, NAACP Legal and Defense Fund, 10 Columbus Circle, New York, New York.

U.S. National Student Association. $35,000 for two years to foster the development of college programs to encourage undergraduate students to participate in domestic community development and public affairs programs. To the greatest extent possible these activities will be organized as a regular part of the formal curriculum and students will receive credit for them. In these cases, the program will be somewhat similar to existing honors or independent study programs. The "research" will consist of field experience in real life work in the community.

The students will take related course work, prepare reports, and participate in faculty-student seminars.

A national advisory board will be set up consisting,

among others, of:

Dr. Arthur Brobeck, Center for Urban Education, New York, New York

Dr. Edward Eddy, President, Chatham College, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Professor Sol Gordon, Director, Project Beacon, Yeshiva University, New York, New York

Dr. Martin Myerson, President, State University of New York, Buffalo, New York

Dr. Herman Niebuhr, Assistant to the President, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. Franklin Patterson, President, Hampshire College, Amherst, Mass.

Dr. Harold Taylor, past president, Sarah Lawrence College

The rationale for the grant is that both students and community will benefit from this kind of systematic recognized involvement. In addition to the educational values flowing to the student, the community institutions will gain from the extra hands and wider citizen understanding of their functions and community problems. One of the complaints of many students today is that their formal schooling is too distant from the world of reality. This program is a move to counterbalance that academic tendency.

For information: Mr. David Steinberg, Director, Civil Rights Programming, U.S. National Student Association, 2115 S Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

National Social Welfare Assembly. $20,000 for the U.S. Youth Council to hold a series of regional conferences to study and discuss the Freedom Budget. This represents one aspect of a wider Youth Council program built around this subject.

The Freedom Budget is the expression of a broad program to abolish poverty developed under the aegis of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. It encompasses seven basic objectives including full employment, adequate wages, decent living standards for those unable to work, eradication of slum ghettoes, adequate medical care and educational opportunities, air and water purification, full production and high economic growth.

The Youth Council believes that a program of such broad scope represents an excellent vehicle around which to develop educational activities among student and youth groups and that it points the way toward many different kinds of constructive personal activity (community organization, counseling, tutoring, study groups, voter registration, local surveys, etc.) by their members.

For information: Miss Charlotte Roe, National Affairs Project Director, U.S. Youth Council, 236 E. 46th Street, New York, N. Y. 10017.

Citizen Exchange Corps. $30,000 to pay off a bank loan to The Citizen Exchange Corps guaranteed by the Stern Family Fund.

The Citizen Exchange Corps organizes reciprocal visits of people from many walks of life between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. The program is partially but not completely self-liquidating since the participants pay modest fees for enrolling in the program.

During the summer of 1966, 500 Americans visited the Soviet Union accompanied by teaching personnel from the U.S., who conducted seminars and discussions among the participants during the trip.

It is the objective of CEC to develop very large scale exchanges with a view to promoting peace through understanding through broad contact between masses of people rather than between specialists and technicians exclusively.

For information: Mr. Stephen D. James, Executive Director, Citizen Exchange Corps, 550 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

cc: John & Roy Wheeler + Leo Sumner 3/30/67 vrj

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

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W. WILLARD WIRTZ
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

March 27, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I'm afraid the chances of our helping with VEP are practically nil. We are overcommitted right now and have to be very stingy for a while.

Sorry.

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

8

File - Stern Family Fund 1967

March 28, 1967

Mr. David Hunter, Director
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

Dear David:

A strep throat has delayed somewhat the letter I promised last week concerning our needs for the Voter Education Project.

In summary, we raised last year approximately $350,000 for the Voter Education Project and had budgeted for this year, and likely next year, similar amounts. Of this amount the Curriers gave us $150,000 for 1966. We had anticipated similar support this year. As you well know, their tragic death has changed things considerably and it is out of the question that Taconic could continue this support. (In fact, while we hope for continued assistance to our regular program it is unlikely that Taconic will be able to help the Voter Education Project at all.)

The decision to renew with some changes the Voter Education Project was made after considerable thought on the part of a number of people. While we do not see this as a permanent part of the Council, we do see this program as a uniquely important need for the immediate future.

Enclosed you will find a summary report of the Project's operation for last year and an indication of

of the plans for 1967. Enclosed also is a copy of the audit which will reflect in detail the income and expenditures for the Project.

Please know that we are sincerely grateful for your consideration and guidance.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures - 2.

See Stern Family Fund

June 30, 1967

Mr. David R. Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

Dear Dave:

Enclosed is our receipt for the Fund's grant of $10,000. We are deeply grateful, and thank you sincerely.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

Copy to RPH July 5, 1967 wj

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
532-0617

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
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JOHN H. WHEELER
JEROME B. WIESNER
W. WILLARD WIRTZ
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

June 26, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

It indeed gives me great pleasure to be able to enclose our check for $10,000 in response to your letters of September 23, 1966 and June 13, 1967 showing that the matching requirements set by our Board of Directors in October 1965 have been met.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

$10,000.00
6-29-67
C.R.

File
Stern Family Fund

June 13, 1967

Mr. David Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

Dear Dave:

Under the most incredible circumstances we have finally matched the Fund's grant of $10,000 according to the stipulations outlined in your letter of October 14, 1965.

The Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation of Winston-Salem, North Carolina has made a grant to SRC in the amount of $50,000. This is not general support, but is given in support of our Voter Education Project. I assume, however, that this still is within the stipulation since it is, of course, in sppport of one of SRC's programs.

As you may know, we have tried for some years to interest the Babcock Foundation, with no success whatsoever. This year we were hopeful of some support, but we never imagined it would be so large an amount.

The grant, of course, greatly relieves the gap left by the Curriers' death. In the long run I think this first significant southern support will be as helpful as the funds themselves.

This comes as a relief for me also since we certainly need and had anticipated the Stern grant of $10,000. You may be interested to know that to date, we had otherwise raised only $6,865 that could properly fit your matching provision. Frankly, I was beginning to be very discouraged that we were going to raise the total amount this year.

It occurs to me that your father mentioned that you were taking quite a long vacation. If this does not reach you until your return, I hope it was a good one; if it has not yet begun, I hope it will be a good one.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

CROSS REFERENCE

Memorandum to: Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy, Taconic
Mrs. Helen Hill Miller, Edgar Stern Family Fund
Maxwell Hahn, Field Foundation, Inc.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America have contributed $200 to the Voter Education Project.

Notes on the conversation at Brookings Institution,
April 14, 1961

Transmission of know-how from Federal administrators and specialists in the US government to opposite numbers in the emerging nations, especially the techniques of communication which make transfer successful, were discussed under the three heads of

International conferences
Teams sent abroad
Visits to the United States.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

Since, on any given day in the year, some twenty to thirty international conferences are in session with US participation, avoidance of waste motion is clearly worth while. Conferees were in substantial agreement that large conferences, except possibly for highly technical discussion of scientific specialties, are unlikely to serve a useful purpose. The ritual under which platform speakers read inches-thick papers that have already been circulated aloud to plenary sessions should be courageously discarded. While initially it is likely that various participants would arrive without having done their homework, if successive conferences operated on the assumption that they had completed it they will be successively less desultory. In any case, far more attention is obtained if authors of papers summarize their contents briefly. The structuring of a conference around a minimum of plenary sessions was highly recommended: size of attendance makes for irresponsibility unless broad opportunities and free time for talk by twos and threes, or for discussion in groups of seven or eight, are built into plans from the first. Actually, one member of the group affirmed, a conference is usually valuable chiefly as an opportunity to get together with a certain number of individuals whom one wants to see----as a chance to talk with X, Y and Z----and organizers of conferences do well to recognize this fact. Exchanges of opinion in an intimate climate, rather than dissemination of facts, are what makes meetings worth while.

Quoted examples of procedure included:

1) the conferences for diplomats organized by the American Friends Service Committee in Switzerland; at these, some 30-35 participants foregather for at least seven days; they bring their families, and the wives attend the evening sessions. Procedure has gravitated away not only from too many prepared papers but from too many well-known consultants. After an opening plenary session, at which a personality such as Henri Spaak may be the speaker, the meetings on the following days are in groups of eight or nine. In exceptional instances, however, fruitful gatherings with quick osmosis can be held over a long week-end, especially if the meeting is held in a sufficiently isolated place to exclude other interests.

2) the gatherings organized by the Markle Foundation with US-Canadian participation for the ranking, by a rather wide assortment of laymen, of young doctors in terms of their capacity for future leadership. Provision is made for each of the laymen to spend at least a half hour with each of the young doctors; general sessions are short enough not to wear people out; time is allowed for people to walk and talk.

3) Given a legitimate---and concentrated---common interest among people at home in the same technical language, a case was made for the possibility of handling large groups---the Institute of International Education has held gatherings of 1000-1500---but these must be broken up so that individual participants can communicate with one another.

But it was agreed that the techniques for successful interchange between US administrators and technicians from the emerging nations probably must differ from those just cited to take account of: language difficulties; relatively less---often far less---common ground in technical matters; the shyness of inexperience; emphasis on new status; political incompatibilities.

With more than forty new nations suddenly appearing on the international scene sheer numbers are bothering both the US and the UN; in addition, complications arise from differences in levels of society, almost of civilization itself. In meetings with an African group, it was suggested, twice to three times the free time should be allowed, to permit absorption of new ideas in a context and a language both of which are unfamiliar. The person who plans the conference must know who can and will speak, remembering that status and rank are important, that a professor and a social worker will not talk in the same place. When it comes to persons speaking up and saying their piece, it must be remembered that many are shy and that the kind of person who elicits admiration in many of the new nations is often the person who holds off rather than the one who hits the deck with all four feet at once. Many participants sit while papers are presented, muse a good deal before they say anything at all. What are now the peripheral parts of conferences, one member said, should be made their center.

Built-in systems of evaluation, to find out what really did happen at a given conference, would enable assessment and improvement---if a conference is a bust, its pattern need not be repeated.

Debriefing of US personnel attending conferences can help assess the extent to which communication was accomplished. Empirical knowledge of the US image created at a given gathering obtained as part of the reporting and tied in with it, can be of use next time.

Should current patterns of reporting be radically altered? "Objective" reporting puts a tabu on transmission of the emotions, the warm human feelings which may be sloppy but whose presence or absence constitutes the essence of the event; under present practice, the cable that is sent is usually a pale shadow of what the reporter actually thought took place.

Debriefing of US delegates should be paralleled by the most complete possible information on the image of the US position taken away by their opposite numbers. Who knows what the emergent African group is thinking? How can a feed-back be facilitated? Instances of impressions becoming known three, six, nine months after the event were cited. The US should not go into a situation with the sole purpose of establishing its point of view; its representatives should be actively concerned that their opposite numbers make known their points of view. Once again, time for talk by twos and threes is of the essence.

Some of the opposite numbers, it was suggested, are engaged in looking at what the US has to offer that they may get, rather than setting forth what they want: the process is not unlike that of a univeristy whose fund-raisers look over existing foundations, find what they are likely to support, and then phrase a program to fit these interests. In between the US telling and the less developed countries taking, there is often no time for finding out what they want.

Who should go to conferences? (Not the tired, the listless, the travel-hungry, experienced observers of junketeering interjected.) How solve the dilemma of political protocol versus ability---for instance, in the chairmanship of a conference? A double set-up, with the presidency providing place for the person of status and the working chairmanship for the person with a skill in this particular kind of activity, was noted as one example of a solution.

TEAMS SENT ABROAD

Selection of personnel for conferences is part of the larger subject of selection of teams to go abroad. Technical assistance uses 85 per cent of the people and 15 per cent of the money in foreign aid; who are the right ones to transmit it?

Differentiation was suggested between the team that goes out for a short trip to get a fast impression, and the team that settles with a project in a remote corner of an underdeveloped country to work for the long term, though some were skeptical of the soundness of this distinction.

On short trips by top personalities, the amount of time spent is itself taken as a significant communication: does the US visitor come to lunch or stay to dinner? On a go-round of the new nations, not going somewhere assumes a positive connotation.

Again a distinction was suggested between a visitor of political status whose coming shows the US presence, and a visitor whose trip is not symbolic but for the purpose of the communicating knowledge,---a dam expert, for instance. This proposal too was countered by affirmation that the dam expert's schedule is likewise carefully clocked, though it is important to a smaller number of people.

A criterion suggested for length of stay was that the purpose of most teams should be to show what the people visited can do, not what the team can do; if the team can elicit leadership to pick up when it leaves, the mission is accomplished; if it cannot find such leadership it should leave anyhow; if it finds that its opposite numbers are beginning to lean on it for initiative and decisions, it should also leave.

Missions should be designed in terms of the skills of their members. Among criteria should be a man's ability to communicate in his own language; this is quite as important as facility in the language of the area he goes to serve.

How can a personnel system gauge prospective team members' capacity for empathy? A member remarked that attention to personality clearance was quite as desirable as to security clearance. For some years all people sent abroad by the American Friends Service Committee, and for the past year and a half all persons going out under ICA have had long consultations with psychiatrists; if a couple is to go, both man and wife are included in this type of preparation and evaluation.

Can the organization's own personnel staff be trained to judge potential appointees in terms of their reactions to their previous experience in local environments? Is this preferable to the use of outsiders? Mention was made of the personnel system of Unilever in London in which such assessments are made internally. Courage is required of the personnel man who makes a decision to send or not to send on the basis of such a judgment; but his judgment must in any case serve as a rough and ready substitute for trained advice in organizations not equipped with psychologists and psychiatrists. One of the private organization executives present affirmed that use of psychiatric skills before appointments are

made saves mistakes costly both in dollars and in bad impressions.

A member remarked that if one can find a candidate for appointment who is a good American in the sense of disregarding stratification in the social structure, many difficulties can be avoided. The quality of empathy was considered as especially important in the personality of the team leader.

A person with the capacity for rapport, one member suggested, can convey more than some one without that quality who is technically more qualified than he; in the less developed countries, teams are rarely working at the very outside edge of knowledge. Some disagreed: Cultural empathy is indispensable for longer missions, but on technical work for the short term, qualification in a given specialty may be more important than the capacity to communicate. In such cases, African countries frequently prefer a few top notch specialists for a short term.

How important is it to involve other national governments in the selection of teams to go to their countries? Because of the number of foreign students who have been in the US over the past five or six years, professors and other specialists are now personally known to men who have become officials back in their own countries; Americans requested by them by name are assured of far quicker acceptance than teams composed of members whom they do not know.

Two different sources of appointment of persons who serve abroad without success were distinguished: when the US sends teams representing what the US thinks the country needs as opposed to what it requests; and when the US sends persons for whom specific requests, often on a high political level come from the host countries, but who are in fact unsuited to the work.

In the case of visits abroad by top US personnel, there is value in sending a team whose subordinate members permit them to be eyes and ears for their principal while he is engaged in the formalities which are unavoidable but which contribute less to his sense of what is the current focus of interest of the country than talks with students and others by his aides, meetings arranged for his wife, contacts at varied levels.

To what extent should US civil servants who are not in the foreign service be given leaves of absence for tours abroad? Has the civil service structure lagged in recognizing that overseas duty is here to stay? Forceful action at top level would be required to loosen up existing regulations; it was held necessary.

TVA's experience was described: TVA alumni, it was pointed out---for example, in the twelve-member firm that includes Messrs. Lilienthal and Clapp, all are alumni---are now to be found all around the world. But staff who are currently serving the TVA can perhaps do more on the spot, by letting people come to see them doing the job they know how to do, and ask questions, rather than by going into another country to tell people what to do. Visits to the less well developed areas of TVA show how farm plans can be set up: for instance, TVA made one area into a demonstration area within three years by moving in a work force and bulldozers: farmers could then come and see what they could do with similar terrain over a longer time.

Recent questions by visiting administrators include: how did TVA persuade farmers to use fertilizer; to become test demonstrators. The way this was done in the TVA may not be the best way for Central America, but at least it shows one method of handling problems that Central America is going to have to live with.

This system of responding to questions rather than going in to transmit knowledge regardless of felt needs was applauded; on the other hand, there is a problem in waiting to have opposite numbers tell what they want: in many cases, while they are aware of the ultimate end that they desire, they have little competence in choosing the means to reach it. Planning for economic take-off is complex in any case; without initial experience or hiring outside experts, it can flounder.

Is it desirable wherever possible to establish simultaneously a US team, and an opposite-number team, with the two working together? If the two can be fused in a single operation, there is assurance that something will be left in active status when the US personnel return.

To what extent, and in what capacities, is the use of Negroes desirable on US teams? Members expressed varying views: Sending Negro ambassadors to all-white countries shows the US as a heterogeneous country, with full participation by its minorities. But sending a Negro ambassador to Liberia, as has been done for fifty years, may have a different impact: colored to colored is not necessarily good when the receiving country assumes that the colored population in the US has a second-rate image, and infers that the country to which colored US personnel is sent is therefore regarded as second rate.

When this question is put in colored countries in a general form, the majority of replies are usually unfavorable; on the other hand, there are instances where able Negroes, even if initially received with some reluctance, have done outstanding jobs and provided quicker acceptance for their successors. Some observers think individual American Negroes who are competent are more effective than individual whites of equal calibre.

The maxim of not sending any ill-prepared people was held to be fully applicable in the case of Negro appointments; a shortage of Negroes with training adequate to top-level appointments---ambassadors, team chairmen---was felt. But many are currently quite well enough qualified to serve well as members of teams, and they should not be denied jobs in Africa because they are Negroes. It is important to identify and use contributions of the colored in this country, many of whom do not now apply for Federal service on the assumption that they cannot rise above a certain level. If they are named to teams, however, they must be a genuine part of the operation, not just come along.

VISITS TO THE UNITED STATES

Reference was made to recent research on the results of visits to this country; some have certainly made a negative impact on the visitors. The length of stay is apparently important.

Use in briefing visitors can well be made of Americans who themselves have gone abroad and floundered in a strange language and undergone frustrations; such persons have more of a feel for foreigners coming here.

As an example of a current ICA program for training in communications media, the University of Indiana's work was described: eleven months of theoretical training is followed by experience in an American community managing a community undertaking and guiding American volunteers. This is Point Four in reverse: recently, in Indianapolis, a Better Breakfast Week, a campaign to stress the importance of school children having an adequate meal on which to start the day,

was conducted by these trainees, who got experience in mounting a teaching operation in a foreign culture very comparable to the experience of US teams that go abroad.

(The total number of ICA former participants now runs to some 12,000 in 35 countries.)

Some 600 trainees in public administration are ordinarily in this country at any given time, usually brought under ICA auspices: follow-up at home includes the Libya civil service act and the Japanese personnel appeals system. On the other hand, it was thought that public administration training here tends to be either too superficial or too detailed.

It also seems possible that most trainees from less developed countries are routed around to too many places, for too short periods. This practice may be the result of a failure on the part of US agencies to recognize the difference between the capacity to take in a great deal in brief sophisticated exposures shown by visitors from Western Europe in the days of the Marshall Plan and the need for time to absorb on the part of the visitors to whom most of what they see is entirely new.

Are the visitors who come the people who are best qualified to make use of the experience? To what extent can US agencies affect their selection? In the Indiana program, for instance, about a third of those who come have to be given intensive training in English; in prior education their range is from less than high school to M.A. degrees. A certain number can only be classed as sightseers--sometimes the person who comes is the prime minister's nephew. TVA staff noted an improvement in the quality of visitors to the Valley as time has gone on. ICA participants are related to projects in their home country, though selection there may be narrowly limited by the number of people who are trained at all. Standards must range, it was thought, and many persons with little training are nevertheless important to have visit this country. For instance, a group of labor participants from Indonesia, none of whom spoke any En glish, gained much from a recent trip in which they had to depend on an interpreter. More and more, because of the availability in the selecting country of previous returned visitors, the choosers know the conditions to which their visitors will come; in certain specialties, ICA makes a vigorous effort to establish policies for selection; TVA, while it makes no effort to screen its ordinary visitors, does apply criteria to those who wish to come as trainees.

List of Participants

Chairman: James M. Mitchell, Esq., Director, Conference Program on Public Affairs, Brookings Institution

Colin W. Bell, Esq., Executive Secretary, American Friends Service Committee

The Hon. Chester Bowles, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs

Dr. Robert Calkins, President, Brookings Institution

Dr. Albert Dent, President, Dillard University

Vernon Eagle, Esq., Executive Director and Treasurer, New World Federation

Paul L. Evans, Director of Information, TVA

The Hon. Roger Jones, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration

R. A. Kampmeier, Esq., Federal Executive Fellow, Brookings Institution; Assistant Manager of Power, TVA

The Hon. John Macy, Chairman, Civil Service Commission

William Morris Maier, Esq., attorney; Chairman, International Service and Affairs Division, AFSC

Roy McCorkel, Esq., American Friends Service Committee

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller, journalist; Executive Secretary, Edgar Stern Family Fund

Miss Marguerite Owen, Washington representative, TVA

Albert Sims, Esq., Vice President, Institute of International Education; Director, University Relations, The Peace Corps

Philip Stern, Esq., Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, Department of State; board member, Edgar Stern Family Fund

Dr. Mottram Torre, psychiatrist; Assistant Director, World Federation for Mental Health

The Hon. Aubrey J. Wagner, Director, TVA

The Hon. G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs

Dr. Gerald Winfield, Chief, Communications Media Staff, International Cooperation Administration

TRANSFER OF RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE FROM FEDERAL AGENCIES TO UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

A CASE STUDY OF TVA

An Interim Report

of a Brookings Institution Fellowship study

by Roland A. Kampmeier

Asst. Manager of Power, TVA

Washington, D. C.

April 1961

TRANSFER OF RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE FROM FEDERAL AGENCIES TO UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

A CASE STUDY OF TVA

Note: This report is in process of revision. Parts have been discussed with some of the TVA staff, but the conclusions have not been submitted to TVA. Accordingly, it should not be assumed that proposals outlined herein will be adopted by TVA.

Introduction

Domestic agencies of the U. S. Government--particularly those engaged in developing basic natural resources--have acquired experience that should be useful to the underdeveloped countries as they seek to develop their own basic natural resources.

Each Federal agency should review and strive to improve the means for transferring its experience to other nations. These should include:

Information and training for foreign visitors
International conferences
Publications and films
Technical assistance

The following pages explore, as a case study, the opportunities of one agency, the Tennessee Valley Authority, for service in each of these ways.

Background

TVA was created to help develop the resources of a lagging region of the United States. One of the considerations in its establishment was a growing recognition that a lagging region prevents a nation from achieving its full economic potential--that the more prosperous regions would also gain from the social and economic improvement of the underdeveloped regions. It is now beginning to be recognized that much the same principle applies on a global scale.

Progress in the Tennessee Valley is helping to demonstrate to people in other regions of the world that their idle resources can be forged into effective economic tools. A number of the emerging nations have asked TVA for help in planning, organizing, and training activities. They see hopeful examples in TVA's regional program that crosses state boundaries, in TVA's multipurpose development and unified management of a river system. They see in TVA a dedication to the development of resources at the lowest possible cost for the benefit of all the people.

As Justice William O. Douglas reported several years ago, the

> . . . Tennessee Valley Authority program is not only well known to countless Asiatics, even in the remotest reaches of that continent, but has come to mean to them a symbol of a hopeful new way of life for themselves and their children. The TVA idea fits their needs and will go a long way toward solving many of their basic problems.

Nearly 25,000 observers from almost 100 countries have visited TVA since World War II. Several hundred have stayed for training periods of weeks or months. (See attached recent visitor statistics.) Several dozen regional development programs throughout the world have been patterned in varying degrees after the TVA example. Scores of ex-TVA men have worked in such programs. There have been on loan from TVA, for overseas assistance, approximately 30 experts in such fields as engineering, electric power, health and safety, geology, and personnel administration.

TVA should plan to do more in the future, however, than it has done in the past. President Kennedy urged, on Feb. 12, 1961,

. . . that we lose no opportunity to share the great experience of the TVA with other nations faced with the gap between resources and development. I want the agency to study ways in which the lessons it has learned in the Tennessee Valley may be exported abroad, and applied to our great objective of human enhancement.

Information and Training for Visitors

The number of visitors is likely to increase, with a growing proportion wishing to stay long enough to learn more of what TVA is and how it works. TVA should equip itself to provide as efficient and effective training as possible. TVA has not perfected its methods for handling such study visitors. Too often they receive "off the cuff" tutoring by staff who, given longer notice, might better relate visitor training to other work, with mutual benefits. With proper planning and facilities, TVA could welcome a growing number of qualified study visitors from the underdeveloped countries.

It would be useful to schedule a one-week basic training course at least once a month. Those planning several weeks' study would be asked to schedule their visit to begin with this course. In this way at least part of the training activities could be conducted with groups of a dozen or so persons, with benefit to all concerned.

In such a "short course," the TVA program as a whole would be described and its methods explained through lectures and seminars, supplemental written material and visual aids, and field trips.

Each group would be addressed by a member of TVA's top management. Some of the division and branch chiefs would describe TVA's work and conduct question-and-answer sessions. The visitors could fulfill their desire to talk with experienced people and would have an opportunity to catch the enthusiasm and appreciate the ability that extends throughout TVA.

The field trips should include visits not only to large TVA projects but to the small watershed programs, and to private farms where TVA fertilizer is being tested and demonstrated. In short, the visitors should see the projects whose nature and scale may be most nearly adaptable to their own underdeveloped regions.

By the end of the week most visitors should have some comprehension of what the unified development of a region's land, water, and energy resources can mean in providing a foundation and tools that permit the people to make social and economic advances on many fronts.

Insofar as practicable, advance scheduling should be used to synchronize study visits of specialists in particular fields. For example, TVA might inform visitor-sponsoring agencies that in a certain future month the one-week general course would be followed by two weeks of seminars and field trips to study water control planning (or forestry practices, or power supply, or test demonstration of fertilizers).

Persons visiting the Valley for only a day or two would be invited to "sit in" on the general or special seminars, film presentations, and field trips, as appropriate. Some U.S. visitors would wish to participate with the foreign guests and should do so. Judicious grouping of visitors with different backgrounds should enhance at least as much as it would retard the education process, and would hold down the demands on staff time. It is recognized, however, that "special cases" will continue to

require other treatment. These will include the specialists for whom a visit with a particular branch chief will be of mutual interest, and the VIP who should dine with a Board member.

Adequate facilities do not now exist where TVA can conduct seminars and training activities. Nor do all visitors find satisfactory living accommodations; one of the complicating factors in this regard is the lingering racial discrimination in the South, which can have particularly unfortunate results when foreign visitors are offended. It would be a great help to have a building available in or near Knoxville or Chattanooga with satisfactory space for training facilities, dormitories, and dining rooms. It should accommodate 75 or more visitors at a time, and ground space for possible later expansion would be desirable. The visitors would be expected to pay reasonable charges for food, lodging, and the availability of space for information activities. However, the operation of the facilities probably could not be wholly self-supporting. Study needs to be given to the best sponsorship and financial support.

A number of TVA employees and other residents of the area have been inviting visitors from other lands to their homes for meals and conversation. It is not intended, of course, that the proposed visitor facilities would eliminate such highly desirable contacts. On the contrary, the availability of such facilities would make it easier for more TVA employees--including those temporarily helping to conduct the training programs--to spend social hours with persons from many lands, to their mutual advantage.

International Conferences

It is proposed that TVA schedule during 1962 an international conference in the Tennessee Valley dealing with unified regional development of land and water resources. This conference should be of about two weeks' duration, including field trips. It should be scheduled six months or more in advance and given international publicity so that all underdeveloped nations who would like to do so can send delegates. The public and private U. S. agencies which sponsor visitors to the U.S. and send them to TVA should be invited to attend, in order that they may have a better understanding of what visitors to TVA can learn.

TVA might thereafter offer limited assistance to any nation which wished to organize in its own part of the world a conference along similar lines.

TVA should participate in other international conferences on topics in which TVA has special interest and competence. There appear to be opportunities not yet fully developed for using international conferences to exchange information among "opposite numbers" working in comparable programs. The Department of State and the U. N. agencies can help TVA to determine the conferences to which it could make worthwhile contributions.

Publications and Films

Each country seeking to learn from TVA's experience has its own special problems. Yet many visitors ask similar questions, for certain information is basic to their understanding of TVA. This indicates that printed material and visual aids can be an important tool in helping the underdeveloped nations to build upon TVA's experience.

Of course TVA issues reports from which one who reads English well and has time for thorough study can extract much of the information he may desire. However, a few

booklets should be written especially for those seeking to adapt TVA experience to their own underdeveloped areas. These booklets should come close to being in Basic English. Each should be as brief as adequate introductory treatment of one subject permits, and should indicate where more detailed information can be found. The booklets should be attractive as well as readable; some use of pictures would be desirable. It may become desirable to translate them into other languages.

These booklets would be used as training tools during the "short courses" proposed above, and would summarize information for the visitors to take back to their own countries. In addition, copies should be available through the hundred-plus U.S. Information Agency libraries in underdeveloped countries. A number of other public and private agencies would be glad to distribute attractive booklets about TVA through their overseas libraries and book-distribution channels.

Following are examples of subjects for such booklets:

Early problems of TVA.
TVA's working relations with local agencies.
TVA's organization and management.
Basic principles of TVA's multipurpose river control.
Basic principles of TVA's fertilizer program.
Basic principles of TVA's power program.

Motion pictures describing TVA are eagerly received in underdeveloped countries. It would be desirable to design a film especially for this audience. Its theme would be TVA's early problems and activities and the steps to unified development of land and water resources. It would be an hour or more in length. An abbreviated version might also be prepared. Sound tracks in Spanish and perhaps other languages should be available. The cooperation of the U.S.I.A. probably could be enlisted in the preparation and distribution. The film would be used regularly in TVA's programs for visitors. It should be completed in time for the proposed international conference in the Tennessee Valley.

Technical Assistance

There will be occasions when a region's resource development program could be accelerated and made more effective if the skills and experience of some TVA people could be put to work in that program. Requests for such assistance should receive serious and sympathetic consideration; when TVA could provide more effective assistance than can be obtained elsewhere, TVA should respond to such situations as fully as it can without unreasonable diversion of staff from the fulfillment of TVA's other obligations.

Assistance of TVA people to an overseas program could take any of the following forms:

A. Transfer of personnel. TVA might lend individual employees, or transfer them permanently, to U.S. or international agencies engaged in foreign assistance programs.

B. "In house" work. A TVA division working principally at its regular headquarters might perform a special service for a U.S. or international agency.

C. TVA overseas teams. TVA might take responsibility for providing advisory assistance "on the ground" to a regional resource development agency.

These three kinds of assistance will be considered in turn. The first two are not new to TVA and can be covered briefly; the third calls for somewhat more discussion.

A. TVA and other domestic Federal agencies are frequently asked to lend or transfer individual specialists to the international and U.S. agencies concerned with technical assistance to other nations. TVA should continue as it has customarily done in the past to give interested and qualified employees an opportunity to consider undertaking such assignments. The requests for such people are likely to increase. This will increase the temptation, which must be resisted, to offer mediocre individuals; the qualities that determine an employee's value are likely to be even more important in a foreign situation.

B. There will be instances in which TVA can help U. S. or international assistance agencies by performing a particular service that can be done largely at the TVA offices. An example is mapping. TVA has highly trained mapping personnel, special equipment, and a wealth of experience. TVA has not only mapped the Tennessee Valley but also has assisted other Federal agencies by mapping parts of other states and other countries. The process is largely one of converting into maps the aerial photographs and ground control data which can be obtained by others. Many underdeveloped countries need maps before the physical work of developing their resources can properly be carried forward. Therefore an agency such as the U. N. Special Fund might advantageously enlist TVA to help provide those maps.

Other examples of "in house" work that TVA might perform are the engineering design, or review of design, of a structure which a U.S. or international agency plans to build or finance for an underdeveloped country; the use of TVA's fertilizer production organization to help produce the larger and higher quality supplies of plant foods that are needed in many parts of the world; and the review of reservoir operating plans.

C. When the need is broader than a single technical specialty, TVA might help most by providing a broadly-experienced team. A group of assorted specialists drawn from various agencies and working on separate aspects of resource development could hardly be as effective as a team accustomed to tackling such problems together. Beyond this, however, is the opportunity for a TVA team to convey the lesson from TVA's experience that there can be great benefits from integrated planning and unified management in developing the basic resources of a region.

In accepting such an assignment, TVA would be undertaking responsibility for selecting and maintaining a team that would combine effectively the necessary skills, experience, and aptitudes to match the problems and opportunities.

A team would include TVA employees who are eager and ready for a broadening experience midway of a TVA career. It might also include some energetic employees of retirement age who want to continue to work in a significant economic development program. To assure unity of concept and appreciation of the needs of the host nation, the team should be provided with such advance training as the circumstances indicate to be desirable. This would include seminars on the country's culture and economy, and some training in its language.

TVA should be willing to leave a team in a developing region long enough so that some lasting benefits can reasonably be expected. Continued growth of the economy of an emerging nation depends upon its people learning for themselves the planning, organizing, building, and operating jobs that are involved in the development of natural resources. The process can be speeded up markedly if they can observe and profit from experienced skill and then can also have some continuing advice until

they are well along in learning to do by doing. However, when a point of diminishing returns is reached, and TVA could be more helpful elsewhere, its team should leave.

The availability of a TVA team during the formative stages of a development program would help to focus the attention of the leaders and planners in the regional development agency on the establishment of wise policies and sound concepts, on the importance of management and organization, and on the timely selection and training of key people. It would encourage selection and timing of projects to make the most effective use of limited natural and financial resources. At a later stage a TVA team would help arrange for training--partly in the Tennessee Valley--of construction foremen and plant operators. An underdeveloped country may be better equipped to plan development programs than to carry them out. Almost by definition, modern construction and operating experience and skills are practically nonexistent in such a country.

A major problem for some of the emerging nations, in their development programs, is dealing with a multiplicity of agencies offering financial aid, technical assistance, and general advice. TVA should seek to avoid aggravating that problem. Quite the opposite, TVA's own experience in cooperating with many agencies--public and private, ranging from local to international--should enable it to assist a developing nation in coordinating a variety of relationships, and learning to benefit rather than suffer from them.

It is assumed that any work TVA does with an underdeveloped country would be conducted with the approval and coordination of the Department of State. Whether and to what extent an overseas TVA team would also be under the auspices of an international agency, a foundation, or any other organization is a matter for determination in each specific case, with due regard for the advantages of multinational interest and support. Whatever the sponsorship, probably there should be some direct contractual and operating relationships between TVA and the host nation's development agency; those arrangements would provide, among other things, for the agency to pay for the TVA team and appropriate overheads, and would include an understanding as to the duration of mutual commitments.

Before the TVA Board agrees to provide a team for overseas service, it should be convinced that the arrangement offers opportunity for effective use of the talents, skills, and experience of the persons involved. The Board should also be assured of satisfactory coordination with U. S. and international agencies concerned, and that arrangements will be made for such matters as financing TVA's expenditures and housing TVA's team. To develop the basis for the TVA Board's decision, a TVA representative should visit the country, and should discuss the problems and opportunities with the interested U. S., international, and private agencies.

Probably the more nearly that the charter of a regional resource development agency resembles TVA's, in terms of a unified approach to development of basic land, water, and energy resources, the more valuable a TVA team could be. A TVA-like program would not undertake over-all economic development of a region; it would develop some basic resources which provide tools with which the people, through their private organizations and local public agencies, can work more productively and efficiently. The emerging nations are attracted to the "middle way" of public development of basic resources as a foundation for expanding private and public enterprises.

The assignment of a TVA team to assist a regional resource development agency in an underdeveloped country offers enough promises of major benefits so that a test case seems desirable. Requests for assistance should be carefully screened to try to select the best possible case for an initial venture. A first concern should be a nation's needs; second, the nation's eagerness and readiness for cooperative assistance; third, the prospects for most effective use of TVA's particular skills and experience; and finally, such factors as effective working channels, geographic convenience for exchange of personnel between the host nation and TVA, and ease of overcoming language problems or other difficulties of communication.

FOREIGN VISITORS TO TVA

Number and Origin

About 2000 a year. From 83 nations last year. Largest number from one country, about 300 from Japan. 200 from India. Only 1 each from several countries, e.g., Dahomey, Somalia, Uganda.

A growing proportion, already about 2/3 of the total, from the underdeveloped countries (adopting Paul Hoffman's list of 100 such countries). Last year alone 59 such countries were represented among TVA's visitors.

A growing number from Latin America (last year about 300 from 20 countries) and from Africa (57 from 17 countries).

Types

Largely professionals and other specialists, leaders and junior executives. Various government officials and occasional heads of State. Foreign students attending American universities.

Sponsors

Department of State (principally ICA) sponsors largest number. It sponsors more than five thousand visitors to the U. S. each year, of whom 1/4 or so visit TVA. Programming of many of these visitors is by other Federal agencies (e.g., Agriculture, Labor, Interior, USIA), American Council on Education, Governmental Affairs Institute.

Embassies of various nations.

Private foundations such as Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Ford Foundation.

Academic institutions.

Length of Visit

Most stay one or a few days at TVA out of one or a few months in the U.S. Some stay for extended study (see below).

Trainees

Last year 84 visitors stayed for study periods at TVA ranging from 2 weeks to several months. 78 of these 84 were from underdeveloped countries. 35 were electricalengineers, 17 administrators, 15 chemical engineers, 10 civil engineers, 4 accountants, 2 agriculturalists, and 1 a personnel officer.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MEMORANDUM May 24, 1961

To: Members of Executive Committee

From: Leslie W. Dunbar

;

A proposal has been put before us, by the Stern Family Fund, which offers the Council an opportunity to perform a useful national service. The proposal also, however, would lead SRC into new paths and would add new demands on our staff.

For these reasons, I want by means of this letter to acquaint you fully with the proposal. The staff has discussed the matter at length and, with reservations which will be mentioned later, favors its acceptance.

* * * *

The Stern Family Fund has become interested in providing a center for foreign visitors to TVA. Particularly in the underdeveloped regions of the world, TVA is one of the brightest and best known aspects of American life. Possibly no place in the country, other than Washington and New York, is more eagerly visited. Despite the coolness of the last administration, foreign visitors numbered 2,543 in 1959 and 2,056 in 1960; all of these were travelling under some sort of official sponsorship. TVA officials expect a marked increase, now that a sympathetic administration will be encouraging visits; the Authority is, in fact, now adding a second full-time staff person to coordinate visits, and in other ways is enlarging its plans. Of the total number of visitors, 100 in 1959 and 74 in 1960 were "trainees," staying for from 1 to 13 weeks each, with an average of 6 weeks. The remaining, or so-called "general study," visitors stayed from 1 to 14 days, tending to average about 3 days.

TVA officials estimate that about 2/3 of the visitors are from underdeveloped countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Some number of American college students also are brought to TVA for special courses.

We were approached by the Stern Family Fund about two weeks ago regarding the possibility that SRC might operate a center in the Knoxville vicinity for these sponsored visitors who are, as was pointed out, chiefly from abroad. Last Thursday (May 18) I went, on invitation, to Washington and met for several hours with Helen Hill Miller. Mrs. Miller (wife of SRC Board member Francis P. Miller) has had the leadership within the Fund on this matter. Harold Fleming sat in for a part of the discussion. On Friday morning I met for a second lengthy conference with Aubrey J. Wagner, TVA Board member and former General Manager; Marguerite Owen, TVA representative in Washington; Roy Mc Corkle and Earl Edwards, American Friends Service Committee; Mrs. Miller; and Harold. From this second meeting I obtained clear assurances that TVA is thoroughly--almost beseechingly--interested in the undertaking and desirous of working intimately with the proposed center.

The idea is to lease a suitable facility in or near Knoxville, where lodging, food,and planned program would be available for sponsored visitors to TVA. Visitors travel on per diem usually, and would therefore be expected to pay for their keep. The operation could not possibly, however, be self-sustaining. Subsequent to my visit to Washington, the Board of the Stern Family Fund met and approved a five-year project, granting up to $75,000-a-year for the first three years, $60,000 for the fourth, and $50,000 for the fifth. The Board also gave Mrs. Miller discretionary authority to select a private agency to receive the grant and assume full charge of the center: we are the chosen agency.

* * * *

There are a number of considerations which cause the staff to recommend this undertaking to you.

(1) <u>We would perform a distinct national service</u>. TVA has its own orientation program which pretty well takes up the day. There remain the after hours and the week-ends. These foreign guests are sometimes people of importance in their countries, more often the important persons of tomorrow. SRC would have the opportunity, through good programs and warm hospitality, to introduce them to the United States and to be a means of communicating to them a sense of our values and beliefs; we would also have the chance to attract their good will toward the United States.

(2) We would have an opportunity to interpret the South to strangers.
Somehow I find very appealing the prospect of these people being welcomed and attended by the South, represented by the Southern Regional Council.

(3) SRC has special qualifications for the task.
Our long experience in racial relations equips us uniquely well for operating a center serving a large proportion of non-whites.

(4) Incidental benefits.
Although the primary purpose would always have first claim, there is a likelihood that the center could be used for various others of our activities.

* * * *

On the other hand, there are some strong cautions.

(1) Our inexperience in operation of a lodge.
Probably the only prudent measure would be to contract with a concessionaire to manage the housekeeping and the kitchen.

(2) The difficulty of recruiting able staff persons to conduct program activities.
We can only do our best. The American Friends Service Committee has pledged support and counsel in recruiting staff and planning program.

(3) Distraction of the Atlanta office from its main tasks.
This is, to my mind, the strongest cause of concern. The staff has discussed this at length and is alert to the risk. The best answer is to find responsible staff for the Knoxville center. I would not, however, want the Executive Committee to believe that operation of the center would not add something to the cares of the Atlanta office; nor that it might not be a factor which, added to others, might require enlargement of Atlanta staff. This is not a prediction, and certainly not a hope; it is a warning of a result which is at least possible.

(4) Provision of the center would take a burden off the conscience of Knoxville and environs regarding racial discrimination.
At present, the two largest Knoxville hotels accept non-white foreigners at the request of TVA. Meals are not available at those hotels or the restaurants. If the only, or chief, purpose of the center were to provide non-discriminatory treatment, I would not be in favor of it: Knoxville needs to solve that one itself. The purpose would be the different one, of giving these visitors cordiality, and to help them in understanding America.

(5) What happens after the five years?
I have told Mrs. Miller that, if SRC accepts, there will be no commitment, express or implied, that SRC will continue after the Stern grant ends or will in any way commit itself to raise support from other quarters. If the project is a success, we would want it to continue; we would not, however, be committed morally or in any other way.

* * * *

There remains a number of practical problems. The two chief ones are:

(1) Location of a desirable place.

TVA is making a thorough canvass of the area, and the choice would be made by SRC, in consultation with TVA and Stern.

(2) A professional budget analysis and forecast to assure us in advance that the Stern grant would be a sufficient subsidy; this can be done only after a site has been selected and the rent is known. Mrs. Miller is hopeful that the analysis may be done without charge by the General Services Administration, at TVA's request. In the event it cannot be, I have told her that we would want Stern to consider paying for a private consultant to do the job.

* * * *

Before these two problems are met and explored, I would like to ascertain your opinions regarding the project.

- Do you favor it in principle?

Would you please call me, if possible, by Friday, May 26, with your reply?*

If you concur with the staff in favoring the idea, we shall proceed with site selection and with obtaining advice on the financial picture. The staff will then be in a position to make a final recommendation.

It was the opinion of the staff that you should be convened in a special meeting to consider the financial analysis and to make the final decision. If you would prefer to handle this entirely by phone, or would want to delegate to the staff the authority to evaluate the financial picture and decide, please tell me when you call.

This memorandum accurately reflects, I believe, the staff analysis and consensus regarding the proposal. It only remains for me to add my personal view, which is that this presents an opportunity we ought not to miss both for service to the nation and for the strengthening of SRC.

With best wishes.

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*The reason for the hurry is simple: Stern first put this proposal before the Friends Service Committee, and gave it several months to consider. Finally, in late April, the Friends decided they could not decide. Both Stern and TVA are anxious now to move at once.

The Edgar Stern Family Fund

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

MRS. HELEN HILL MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

1299 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.
DIstrict 7-7374

Dear Leslie,----

Here are a few things I thought you might like to read.

Yesterday afternoon, Marguerite Owen called me to say that if I wished I might bring the project before the entire board of TVA and the general manager, who were all in town for their Congressional hearings; naturally I jumped at the chance, and found them all vastly enthusiastic.

Two concrete developments came from the session: Ashford Todd is to be instructed to look for possible rental sites, with the plan that you and I will go to see them when found. Also, the GSI is to be asked for figures, based on its current costs at such places in the Valley as Fontana, on what it would cost to run the bed-and-board side of a center, and also, whether GSI might be willing and/or able to make a contract with a private agency to provide such a service.

So we move forward.

All my best,

Helen.

May 24, '61

P.S. Just to reconfirm our telephone conversation, the Board voted to support a TVA reception center for foreign visitors at a rate of up to $75,000 yearly for the first three years, $60,000 the fourth year, and $50,000 the fifth year. We understand that no further commitment would be expected from an agency running such a center, nor would we expect to make any further grant to its operation.

PA ✓
MF

BCC: Harold C. Fleming

May 30, 1961

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
1299 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Helen:

With the approval of our Executive Committee, I want to confirm the Council's interest in assuming responsibility for operation of the proposed center for foreign visitors at T.V.A. A final decision on accepting the grant of the Stern Family Fund and undertaking the project can be made after a sound budgetary forecast has been made. Let's hope GSI can help us with that.

Do you think, however, that we can get a clear view of the probable costs until a site is chosen, and rent and maintenance problems are known?

I'll be away nearly all of next week, but can get to Knoxville any day after June 12.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf

The Edgar Stern Family Fund

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

MRS. HELEN HILL MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

1299 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.
DIstrict 7-7374

Dear Leslie,----

Needless to say, I'm delighted that your Board is attracted by our project.

I've just called the TVA to ask how the inquiry to GSI is coming along (of course, this would have to be refined in the light of an actual site) and also how Ashford Todd is coming along turning up actual sites.

My scheduleis complicated over the next two weeks too, but maybe we could go down/up for the day on the 14th. I'll let your office know what the TVA tells me.

Cheerfully,

Helen

May 31, '61

2 WD

The Edgar Stern Family Fund

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

MRS. HELEN HILL MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

1299 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.
DIstrict 7-7374

Dear Mr. Anthony,----

I've just checked with TVA; a reservation is being made for me at the Andrew Johnson Hotel in Knoxville; if you wish to stay there, will you make reservations ?

My Capital plane is due in from here at 10:51 p.m. on the night of the 22nd; I will go to the hotel at once, in case you should want to reach me.

We will meet in Paul Evans office at 9:00 on the morning of the 23rd; the office is a TVA office in the New Sprankle Building. I am being picked up at the hotel at 8:30; if you stay there, or could come there, we could go over together at that time; otherwise meet in Paul's office.

I'm delighted that this is working out.

Looking forward,

Yours Mrs Miller

June 9, '61

June 19, 1961

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Executive Secretary
The Edgar Stern Family Fund
129 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Helen:

I'll see you in Knoxville this coming Friday. Paul and I haven't decided yet how we shall be traveling, but we know your whereabouts and shall meet you either at the Andrew Johnson before-hand, or in Mr. Evans office at nine o'clock.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

June 26, 1961

Via Air Mail

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Executive Secretary
Edgar Stern Family Fund
1299 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Helen:

I left Knoxville Friday with something of the proverbial "bear by the tail" feeling. By today, however, spirits are renewed. If you had a similar experience Friday, I trust it has been equally fleeting.

Paul and I had a long and good interview with General Vogel. My impression was that he is keenly desirous of having what he refers to as an "International House," that he is surprisingly relaxed and sophisticated about the racial question, and that he has a great deal of confidence in you and in your judgment. I am thoroughly glad that Paul Evans kept forcing everyone to confront the question of racial relations and local reactions. Mr. Jones is nervous and I suspect likely to remain so,whatever happens or doesn't happen, but I think this is something we can live with.

Ashford Todd drove us back to town only because he insisted and because he really wanted to talk further. We discussed several alternative ways of proceding at this point, without conclusively settling on anything. Todd's last thought was that he would try to negotiate terms which we would then have time to consider and that this could be done without an option to lease. He said that he would work on this this week, that he would also have his boiler and structure men in to inspect, and that he would try to get a sketch of the floor plan for us. Incidentally, I asked General Vogel if TVA personnel might supervise or help supervise the improvements and he said he thought they might.

As I told you we would, we discussed this today with William Pulgram, an associate in the Atlanta architectural firm of Finch, Alexander, Barnes, Rothschild, and Paschall Bill has the time and the interest to work with us. His firm charges either on a percentage of cost or an hourly basis and I think by all odds the latter would be desirable for us. The fee per hour is $8.00, $10.00,

OR $12.00 for the time, respectively, of draftsmen, associates, and principals. There would probably be no need of involving the principals and Bill thought the charge would average something less than $10.00 per hour plus travel and other reimbursable costs.

You will recall that we discussed engaging Pulgram to draw up plans for interior space utilization, together with an estimate of capital costs. It seems to us that this is essential before finally entering into a lease. We, of course, would have to give him specifications as to the kinds of rooms and space required for program and for lodging and services. Incidentally, after further discussion Friday with Bill Shafer and Paul Evans, it seemed to us desirable to plan accommodations for 30-35 people.

After you have had a chance to consider this, could you call me and let me know what you think about engaging Pulgram? You may recall that I also indicated that we should get professional advice on the interior furnishings and decorations. It is not only a matter of purchasing someone else's taste. It is more importantly a matter of getting experience and advice on materials, on what to buy and where to buy it, on economies of quantity purchases, etc. If the Stern Fund would not want to underwrite this sort of service, as well as the space planning by a special grant, I think we would want to do it anyhow and that I would ask Pulgram to keep separate accounts for billing us.

Although our thinking is far from jelled, it begins to seem that we face two alternatives. One is that improvements necessary to getting the house open be paid for by a special grant. The other, and perhaps better alternative, is that costs be scrutinized by you and discussed with you in advance, that we be authorized during the first year of operations to draw on the second year grant, and that at the end of the first year of operations, with the year's experience behind us, that we examine the whole situation and ascertain whether the total grant will be sufficient for the five year period. I should think that it would be; our problem will be to get through the first year.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

PA

MRS. HELEN HILL MILLER
1299 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

Dear Les,----

I've just talked to Mrs. Stern Senior, and cleared two items:

1) out of my office funds here, I can pay for your man going over to assess the motel's space possibilities;

2) You can draw down more than $75,000 the first year, as an offset against further years, to cover the cost of renovation.

So that covers what I'd agreed to do.

All my best,

Hen.

June 26, '61

TA

July 5, 1961

Memo to Miss Marguerite Owen

From Helen Hill Miller

Upon hearing that there are some doubts with regard to the suitability of the Southern Regional Council as an agent to operate our proposed reception center for foreign visitors to TVA, I thought the wise thing might be to check my judgment with regard to that organization with the main agencies here in Washington that route foreign visitors to areas of their particular interest.

Since I understood that the question at issue is whether an organization set up on a biracial model, whose primary, though not exclusive, interest has previously been on the improvement of race relations in the South, can adequately serve groups containing nationalities and races as diverse as those that frequently come to the Valley, I put this question to the people whose names and telephone numbers are listed below, all of whom have recently sent visitors to be briefed by SRC personnel in Atlanta, and so have a first hand impression of the capacity of that organization to handle visitors from abroad:

Melvin Berghaim of the Governmental Affairs Institute (DU 7-6964), which has for quite some years had a contract with the State Department to take care of visitors under its exchange and other programs. He said that he was sending a group of 12 to Atlanta to the SRC this week, one each from as many nationalities, here on a 30-day grant for a trip half of which is made as members of a group and the other half individually to places of their own interest and choosing.

Two of this group, one from Japan and one from the Netherlands, plan to go on to Knoxville from Atlanta. He said the SRC had proved uniformly satisfactory; he added that he thought a facility in Knoxville would be highly desirable to cover the part of the day when TVA briefings are over----"there's no warmth about the place."

Mrs. Judith Krauss, assistant to Vincent W. Allin at the Leaders and Specialists section of the American Council of Education (HU 3-6620) said that Mr. Allin had recently written, following a trip to the Valley, urging that more arrangements for hospitality be offered; this group has within the last year sent various visitors to the SRC in Atlanta, from Korea, the Cameroons, the Ivory Coast; satisfaction was expressed both with the SRC's handling of people from various countries, and with its avoidance of incidents with visitors of color in Atlanta. (The person to whom they have sent people is the Mr. Anthony who was recently with me in Knoxville.)

Mrs. Alden R. Crocker, chairman of the interagency committee on community participation of ICA (DU 3-7414) deals with cooperative efforts of Federal agencies and their contractors: ICA, for instance, has twelve operating divisions, each of which routes people of special interests (agriculture, education, public health, etc.); she said that SRC was on their list of agencies arranging community hospitality.

Mr. Wilfred R. Brunner, chairman of the labor and specialists branch of the trade union program division at the Department of Labor (EX 3-2420, Ext. 2166) said that the visitors he has routed to the SRC in Atlanta have ranged from a Nigerian Clark Gable to an Englishman of wealth whose suits and shirts were meticulously related to each other; his most recent dispatch was an Austrian; he has never had a kickback.

Frank Loescher of Philadelphia, head of the US-South Afrika Leaders E change Program, has used the SRC; the people he brings over include Afrikaners whose attitude toward the race problem is considerably to the right of most of what is available in the American South. William Stricker of USIA in New York, who is chairman of the foreign journalists liaison office has likewise done so. I knew about these, but did not actually call the two men.

The above are all people who deal day-to-day with visitors; I thought they would be the likeliest to have had complaints about the organizations to which they had sent them.

In addition, I thought it might be desirable to call Ambassador Angier Biddle Duke as head of protocol for the State Department, and ask him specifically whether he thought the SRC would be a suitable agent to receive visitors from many countries, of many backgrounds, races and colors. I have just completed that call (extension 5633 at RE 7-5600). When I told him what we had in mind his comment was, "Well, God bless you!" He sent Gen. V. his regards; he expects to be in Knoxville the last week in July with the Nigerian prime minister. The biracial aspect of the SRC did not trouble him; he felt it could operate a multiracial, multicultural program.

I have given the telephone numbers a bove in case board members might like to verify these opinions.

So it rather looks as though the people who are concerned here in Washington, and who must be very concerned that things go right, are reassuring in their assessment of the SRC.

In transmitting this information to Knoxville, however, I hope you will make my attitude very clear. While this project would be a private undertaking, financed through a private fund and run by a private operating agency, unless its presence and program were welcome to TVA I would think it a mistake to inaugurate it now.

I would regret postponement or cancellation, because in recent conversations with the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs and the president of the Carnegie Corporation, Messrs. Chester Bowles and John Gardner, as well as with the group from State, ICA, etc., that met at Brookings in April, I have found a very warm response to the possibility that facilities such as we have discussed might become available, and even the suggestion that a center at Knoxville might turn into a pilot plant for other centers at other places where visitors' interest is concentrated.

But in my view such a pilot operation could succeed only with the closest cooperation between the TVA and the private agency.

I would appreciate knowing, with a frankness such as had characterized our recent conversations here and in Knoxville, just how the TVA Board feels; if we are to go on, the more speed the better in mundane matters such as getting an estimate of the durability of the boiler at the motel; if we are not, the sooner we know the better, too.

July 17, 1961

Mr. Paul Evans
Director of Information
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Paul:

Enclosed, finally, are the promised materials on SRC. Included are a list of members, in effect the Board of Directors since SRC has no general membership; several of our recent publications which will give you some idea of our interests and approach; a few newspaper articles and editorials. I apologize for the bulk, but thought you might want a rather complete file. A small section of materials, clipped together separately, concerns several of the attacks on SRC. These attacks do occur occasionally and we always try to tie them down and answer them thoroughly. This collection is meant purely for your own information, not as file or "defense" materials.

All good wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/sm
Enclosures

T.V.A.
Foreign Visitors

MEMORANDUM July 20, 1961

TO: Paul Christopher, James M. Dabbs, John Wheeler

FROM: Paul Anthony

We have learned today that all plans for the foreign visitor center at Knoxville have been cancelled, at least temporarily. While we don't know the details, it would appear that the Board of the Tennessee Valley Authority has reached the conclusion that the Southern Regional Council is not acceptable as the agency to operate the center.

We will have a full report on this matter to present to the Executive Committee on July 27. In the meantime, this is to cancel our plans to be in Knoxville on the 26th.

PA/sm

File Visitors Foreign - TVA project

August 16, 1961

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Executive Secretary
Edgar Stern Family Fund
1299 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Miller:

We are sorry that the foreign visitors center in Knoxville cannot be established at this time. We agree with you, however, in thinking it unwise to go ahead unless the TVA Board is convinced of the soundness of the center's administration.

Certainly the TVA's Board is wise in believing that the center should be operated by an agency truly representative of the South. The Board's majority is ill informed, we think, in not recognizing that a bi-racial agency is well-suited to represent the South to those who come from abroad to learn more of this region.

Knowing how deep was the interest of the Stern Family Fund, we especially regret this outcome. You were responsive to what you saw as an opportunity for national service, and we would have thought it a privilege to work with you toward that end.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
cc: Mr. L. J. Van Mol
General Manager, TVA

b.c.c.: Allin
Brunner
Bergheim
Crocker
Harris Wofford
Fleming
Vernon Eagle
Col. F. P. Miller
J. M. Dabbs
John Wheeler
Paul Christopher
Kay Jones
Mary Will Haden

name spelled out on original
S.M.

The Edgar Stern Family Fund

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

MRS. HELEN HILL MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

1299 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.
DIstrict 7-7374

July 25, 1961

Memo to Vincent W. Allin, Leaders and Specialists Section, American Council on Education, 1785 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C.

Wilfred R. Brunner, Labor and Specialists Branch, Department of Labor, Washington 25, D.C.

Melvin Bergheim, Governmental Affairs Institute, 1726 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Alden R. Crocker, chairman, Interagency Committee on Community Participation, International Cooperation Administration, Washington 25, D. C.

From Helen Hill Miller

In view of our recent telephone conversation regarding the possible establishment of a reception center for foreign visitors to the TVA, you may wish to know that plans for its development are being shelved for the time being.

As I mentioned to you, a majority of the board of the TVA had doubts about the suitability of the Southern Regional Council as the agent for the operation of such a center. I had hoped that an account of your past experience with the Council in routing foreign visitors to them in Atlanta might be reassuring; I myself had thought them an agency with exceptional skills in respect to some of the difficulties of the Southern region.

But after further discussion, the board, or rather a majority of the board, finds itself still with doubts. And while the board of course has no veto power over a private venture financed on private funds, in such circumstances, the mutual cooperation necessary for successful administration of such a center would clearly be lacking; TVA staff, in relations with the center's staff, would be in the embarrassing position of carrying on an activity of which a majority of the TVA board took a dim view.

Consequently, it seems wise to me to defer the establishment of a center until a different attitude may develop in the board.

The Edgar Stern Family Fund
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

MRS. HELEN HILL MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

1299 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.
DIstrict 7-7374

July 25, 1961

Memo to Board Members

From HHM

This memo has two subjects, one highly positive, one blackly negative.

1. To be negative first: The TVA project is off. The two Eisenhower appointees on the board will constitute a majority until 1963. The chairman's term will then end, providing an opening for a new appointment. Almost certainly, Red Wagner, the former General Manager of the TVA whom President Kennedy put on the board in place of Brooks Hays when Brooks went into the State Department, will become chairman, and a new man will be added as the third member. The resulting new majority will doubtless have a different attitude. As soon as that is achieved, there can be a foreign visitors reception center at TVA.

But meanwhile, we must recognize that the majority of the board holds an attitude that is different from that of TVA's minority board member, its general manager, and its staff down the line. The worry of the two board members concerns the Southern Regional Council as the agent to operate the center. They fear that since the Council has the betterment of race relations as its main objective, the center might be used for purposes which would lead to local racial incidents in Knoxville. They recognize that since the center would be a private organization financed from private funds they are actually not in a position to veto it, but as long as they feel as they do, TVA staff cooperating with the center in the reception and briefing of foreign visitors would in effect be engaging in an operation which the majority of their directors viewed askance. This could only lead to embarrassment for all concerned, particularly since the staff would be eager to cooperate.

Some days ago I sent to our chairman a copy of a memo which I had prepared in the full expectation that it would still the fears of the majority members: I called the various people in Washington organizations concerned with the routing of foreign visitors and asked their opinion of the Southern Regional Council as an operating agent; I also talked with the head of protocol, Mr. Angier Biddle Duke, whose first comment was, "Well, God bless you!"

But since the board, in two subsequent discussions, failed to change its majority attitude, I shall now inform these people that their judgment and mine regarding the SRC did not carry adequate weight. I have already told Leslie Dunbar, the executive of the SRC, that in current circumstances it seems unwise to me to go ahead now, and he is fully in accord; both of us regret the amount of water that will have gone over other dams than those of the TVA before we can start, but there it is. To say that I am blighted is an understatement indeed.

2. Attached are a letter from Mr. Winfield and a budget, following up his presentation at our board meeting and developments thereafter. Particularly in view of the collapse of our TVA venture, I would hope that we might respond now. Had he not appeared before the board, I would oppose making a grant between meetings, but it seems to me that this would be justified in the circumstances. Please let me have your vote on this proposal.

(Incidentally, Mr. Winfield came back from Paris today with news that Unesco is going to give his biology material a trial run at the training and practice school for teachers that they operate in connection with the elementary education of 105,000 children of Arab refugees in four countries; after this run it will be used in some 400 elementary schools in Arabic.)

Memo to Board Members
From HHM

STRICTLY OFF THE RECORD
NOT FOR CIRCULATION

Report of some soundings on a TVA reception center

On the evening of December 13, the General Manager of TVA, the Washington representative, and I discussed at length the reception and briefing of overseas visitors to the Valley.

Some 3,000 persons a year, many of them from the newly developing countries, come to see the TVA to the knowledge of its staff. In overall total, the number is probably higher. Many of the organizations, public and private----ICA and Ford----that bring visitors to see the US are eager to provide a period of time for them in the Valley. During the recent administration, the TVA has been de-emphasized; the number above has undoubtedly been held down in the VIP brackets because arrangements for top visitors to see the TVA have only been made at their express insistence. (The King of Nepal said he just couldn't go home not having seen TVA.) At lower levels, the TVA staff has discouraged numbers simply because it is not set up to handle visitors in quantity.

The idea of providing a center for the reception of visitors has already received attention at the TVA Board level, with Gen. Vogel, the chairman (Republican) having inspired Sen. John Sherman Cooper to introduce a bill last session to establish a government center, and Brooks Hays (Democrat) having sent a recent letter to LBJ. In the opinion of the staff, a private center would be preferable to a government one, and particularly to the party-identified type of approach which would be unavoidable if a bill were brought up on the Hill. The staff thinks that last year's proposal, which would have to be re-introduced, can be caused to fade.

The desirability of a center, which would comprise a place to to live, to have meals, and to use meeting rooms, can be stressed from two angles.

1.) It is highly desirable to avoid interracial incidents involving visitors from Africa and Asia. (Within the past month, representatives of the 18 newly admitted UN nations went to the Valley in a body. Shortly before, the USIA had taken a group of 17 to see it.) Gen. Vogel has been very good on working on this problem; he has arranged with Knoxville hotel managers for adequate reception of VIPs,

with Chamber of Commerce or official TVA dinners etc. filling their time throughout their stay.

Much less satisfactory arrangements for non-VIPs have already caused problems. For instance, two men from Ghana came to Knoxville at the time of the sit-ins, arriving the evening before they were expected. In registering at the hotel, they gave their US addresses; they then went into the coffee shop for a cup of coffee before going to bed. The white patrons objected; the waitresses refused to serve, on the assumption that they were American Negroes staging a sit-in. Reference to the registration cards supported their contention. Altogether, an unpleasant little incident, straightened out by reference to the TVA staff only after some feeling had accumulated. When this sort of thing happens to a young Lumumba, the cost is high. Another instance: A woman from India, wearing her normal dress, was arrested as a fortune-teller.

If there were a center where this sort of thing would not happen, and where a director might interpret the problems and attitudes of the area (for visitors should not be isolated from the area so that they do not see it as it is), a more balanced view would be available.

2.) A center with evening programs for visitors-----and not only overseas visitors, for meeting between both people from overseas and Americans interested in the Valley could serve a two-way usefulness---would fill a current gap. As it is now, visitors who see something of the Valley, or have talks with the TVA staff during the daytime, come back to their hotels or motels with a blank evening before them. Professors coming to consult with University of Tennessee faculty, etc. could both get and give in such an exchange; so could retired TVA staff who are living in the area.

It could also be a means of systematizing the briefing now carried on by TVA. At present, the TVA does the kind of guiding, scaled from VIP to more ordinary levels, which provides inspiration to a great many people; it also does more serious training, on a 2-to-3 week basis, for specialists, holding down numbers because of restricted staff and other facilities.

If a center were established, the TVA itself, without requiring additional formal authority and hence without the need for a bill going through Congress, could

A. Assign staff, probably one full-time person to be in charge of briefing, and other members, from the general manager to various specialists in the work of the TVA from agriculture to hydraulics, to lecture and explain as needed, for a standard course of some 2-to-3-to four weeks, the duration to be experimental. Schedules would be worked out

with the major agencies bringing visitors to this country, to keep the course filled throughout the year.

B. Provide longer training for specialists. On the latter, the TVA staff thinks a sharp distinction should be drawn between the kind of training, say in hydraulic engineering or advanced economics, which can be obtained at university centers, and the kind of training which TVA is in a unique position to supply. An instance of the latter is to convey the kind of information that ought to be available before the building of a dam is contemplated in a developing country. In the course of General Vogel's recent trip to Latin America he found an instance of where a dam had been built on the basis of only one year's records of rainfall. The contract to build the dam had been let to an engineering firm that went ahead and built a dam that would be absolutely safe----and consequently vastly more costly----a very big waste of money which more data would have obviated. Mapping, in the complex modern sense, figures on water resources----stream flow and rainfall distribution through the year---- analysis of the economic base; the forestry situation; moneral resources; freight rates or other transport facilities; all these need to be known before an economic undertaking is started. Overseas technicians could be advised and shown how to get the figures. They could also be advised as to the nature of the organic act establishing a river authority; how it can be drawn to offer protections from political pressures, how to write ideals and objectives into the mandate; how to secure the authority to treat available resources as a coordinated whole. With adequate briefing on this, millions might be saved in many countries.

The TVA would probably emphasize, to visitors likely to be concerned with river development at home, and would likewise exemplify in its handling of this project of ours, the superiority of doing the job by force account rather than by outside contracting. By making every one working for the TVA, from bull-dozer-driver to top technician, a member of the staff, an esprit de corps has been built up and maintained, and standards have been applicable----and applied----to all performance.

To the visitor from countries of low skills, this can be highly important: TVA trained, formerly unskilled workers, have built the dams, in a spirit of making the Valley a place where their children could find work and education without outmigration; and TVA-trained workers then added to the pool of available skill for the private concerns which have come in to use the available power.

To summarize: If a center could be established from private

sources, the TVA would staff up to make maximum use of an opportunity to

1) provide brief guiding through the TVA for the short-term visitor, both VIP (which is now done fairly adequately) and important but less than top-rank people who cannot, or do not care to make a longer stay;

2) a course of appromixately three weeks which would give to those taking it not only inspiration but a model of what the TVA has done, problems and difficulties and successes;

3) longer, in-service training for specialists.

The private organization or organizations, in supplying a center, would be furnishing the building (it is possible that purchase of a large formerly private residence might be feasible), and a director (perhaps a man-and-wife team) who would run a program covering the time of visitors, particularly evenings, not scheduled by the TVA. It seems possible that the hotel managers of Knoxville might jointly provide the management of the bed-and-board side of the center.

Most of the visitors to the TVA from overseas have funds to support them; if some 75 were in normal residence at any given time, the project should support itself on the side of its hotel functions. The director's salary, and possible funds to provide longer than normal stays on the part of exceptional people likely to occupy positions in their own countries directly related to river resources development, would probably be the continuing requirements once the facility had been established.

Experience on the running of visitors' centers, probably at lowest cost, is likely to be available from the American Friends Service Center.

The Fund's experience with the Congressional Fellows would be helpful in connection with the handling of the visitors who made longer stays for in-service training.

A third source of ideas is now being developed at Brookings, under our friend Jim Mitchell. Roland A. Kampmeier, TVA's Assistant Manager of Power, has just been chosen as one of 10 top-flight people to spend a six-month period at Brookings to work on a problem----- and in his case the problem is to "develop recommendations for using the special skills and experience of domestic Federal agencies to assist underdeveloped countries." I attach a copy of the letter supporting

his application written by General Vogel. It may be of additional interest to you ~~as~~ showing the kind of person whom Brookings is recruiting, as an indication of what may be available in the industry-labor-agriculture fellowships supported by the Fund when that program gets going.

January 19, 1955

Mr. Edgar B. Stern
2110 American Bank Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Stern:

You have been generous to the Southern Regional Council in many thin years, and now when we are launched upon a major expansion effort, with the help of the quite substantial grant from the Fund for the Republic, we still need to come to you. The Fund for the Republic, quite rightly, imposed on us the raising of considerably larger sums than we have ever had to before ($40,000 for 1955) as a condition of their further aid.

If the Edgar Stern Family Fund could send us $300 again for 1955, it would substantially ease our problem.

We have staffed State programs going now in Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Kentucky. And within a few weeks that should be true for Tennessee, Virginia, Florida, and Arkansas. So you can be sure we are busy!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Katherine Stoney
Milton C. Vigo

March 21, 1955

Mr. L. M. Coogan
Edgar Stern Family Fund
2110 American Bank Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Coogan:

We cherish the Edgar Stern Family Fund's kind contribution of $300 as a gift in itself, and as the continuance of a link we are honored to be part of.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - Official Receipt $300

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
2110 AMERICAN BANK BUILDING
NEW ORLEANS 12

March 14, 1955

Southern Regional Council,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Av., N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

MAR 16 1955

Gentlemen:

At the request of one of our trustees, Mr. Edgar B. Stern, we are pleased to enclose herewith check of the Edgar Stern Family Fund in the sum of $300.00 to your order as contribution to the work of your council. CR
rha

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND

Leo M. Coogan

By: Secretary

LMCoogan:MB

cc: HCF

January 14, 1957

Mr. Edgar B. Stern
2110 American Bank Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Stern:

We are hoping that again in 1957 the Edgar Stern Family Fund will be so good as to make a contribution to the Southern Regional Council. Customarily, I believe, the Fund has put in around $300.

Late in 1957 we will reach the end of our three and one-half year grant period from the Fund for the Republic; and we are therefore with diminishing aid to the Atlanta office from them under the greater pressure to get our friends to find us a supply of our life's blood.

We would regard a 1957 contribution from you as region-wide in scope; and there would be no complication of dispatch of a portion of your contribution to our affiliate in Louisiana, the Louisiana Council on Human Relations. I have cleared with them that whatever you might be so good as to send will be for the Southern Regional Council as a whole.

I, myself, come to the end of eleven years of employment by the Southern Regional Council. I will pull out of active duty in a day or two and prepare myself to move to the remotest Highlands of Scotland; there to read my shelves of dear-bought books. I invite all Sterns, to the remotest generation, to honor the Mitchells in Scotland with a visit. I will have a proper address when I can find a proper croft, but the people here at SRC will always know where I am.

I am sensible of a long link with you, sir, and with your many friends and associates. It will be a slim roll that will list those Southern persons who have seen the truth and have strongly defended it twenty or thirty years.

Dr. Alexander told me from time to time of some of the more intimate of your kindnesses to him. I share with him and with his children a warm admiration for you.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

February 7, 1957

Mr. Edgar B. Stern
Edgar Stern Family Fund
2110 American Bank Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Stern:

This is to express our gratitude to you and to the Edgar Stern Family Fund for the contribution to the work of the Southern Regional Council. I have sent a letter of acknowledgement and our official receipt to Mr. Leo M. Coogan.

Dr. Mitchell has recently fulfilled a long-standing wish to retire for a period in Scotland. Notwithstanding his loss, the staff and Board feel that the Council is in position to make an important contribution to the South in the difficult transition that is taking place. Your own friendship and support mean a great deal to us as we continue -- and expand -- the Council's efforts to meet the many demands for an organization of this kind today.

I hope that in the not-too-distant future I may have an opportunity to see you and to discuss with you personally the Council's important work. Meanwhile, my appreciation and kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl. "The South of Promise"

bc: Mr. A. W. Dent

February 7, 1957

Mr. A. W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Dent:

As you will see from the enclosed, Mr. Stern caused the Family Fund to respond fairly promptly to George Mitchell's request for a grant of $300. (That was the amount given.)

Do you think this estops further assistance from Mr. Stern during 1957? I will, in any case, want to follow through on your suggestion that I seek an appointment with Mr. Stern at some early date; I will write you in advance about that. But your advice on where this contribution leaves us with him will be very helpful.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

February 7, 1957

Mr. Leo M. Coogan
Secretary
Edgar Stern Family Fund
2110 American Bank Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Coogan:

We are deeply grateful to the Edgar Stern Family Fund for its contribution to the work of the Southern Regional Council. Our official receipt is enclosed.

I am also writing to Mr. Edgar Stern to express our appreciation.

If at any time, in addition to our routine reports and mailings, we can assist the Fund with further information, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl. ($300)

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
2110 AMERICAN BANK BUILDING
NEW ORLEANS 12

February 4, 1957

RECEIVED FEB 6 1957

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

At the request of one of our trustees, Mr. Edgar B. Stern, we are pleased to enclose herewith check of the EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND in the amount of $300.00 to order of Southern Regional Council, Inc. as contribution to the work of the Council for 1957.

CR
Rha

With best wishes for your continued successful efforts,

Very truly yours,
EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND

Leo M. Coogan
Secretary

LMCoogan:MB

February 15, 1957

Mr. Albert W. Dent
President
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Al:

Thanks for your note of advice about Mr. Stern. I will follow through at some early date after March 20th.

I got a card from my old friend, Phil Stern, from some unlikely point in the Middle East. When he gets reestablished on the mainland, I might be able tactfully to discuss this matter with him too.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

DILLARD UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 22, LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED FEB 15 1957

February 12, 1957

Dear Harold:

Even though you have received a contribution of $300 from the Edgar Stern Family Fund, I still think it would be a good idea for you to have a talk with him. It he were convinced of the full import of what SRC is doing, he could give considerably more. Mr. Stern is away from New Orleans and will not be returning here until about the 20th of March.

With best wishes, I am

Cordially,

A. W. Dent
President

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

AWD:db

DILLARD UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 22, LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

H of his own

February 18, 1957

Dear Harold:

Mr. Stern has high regard for his son Phil's opinions on matters such as SRC. Since you know Phil, it might be well for you to talk with him first.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Al

A. W. Dent
President

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

AWD:db

Pull from Daily file
+ put in Stern
Feeder
EOW

May 20, 1957

Mr. Milton C. Vigo
303 Board of Trade Annex Building
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Milton:

Enclosed is our check for $100, representing a contribution from the Edgar Stern Family Fund, made through us for the work of the Louisiana Council.

We are sending the Family Fund our official receipt for this amount. I should think it would be appropriate for you to write a letter of thanks.

Mailed 5/20/57

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

May 20, 1957

Dr. A. W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Al:

Thanks for your letter of May 15th and the enclosed check for $100 representing a contribution from the Edgar Stern Family Fund to assist the work of the Louisiana Council. We are forwarding our check for $100 to Milton Vigo with a letter of explanation.

I am glad to be able to impart a piece of good news. We received today official notification from the Fund for the Republic that it has approved a grant of $200,000 to SRC. This, of course, is in response to our recent request and is to be applied over the thirty-nine month period following October 1, 1957. Though they cut the amount we requested by 20 per cent, in view of the trend away from grant-making by the Fund, we may consider ourselves exceedingly fortunate to have fared so well.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

DILLARD UNIVERSITY

NEW ORLEANS 22, LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 15, 1957

Dear Harold:

I am sending to you herewith a $100 check from the Edgar Stern Family Fund made payable to the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Stern has made a contribution previously to SRC and it is his intention that this $100 should go to the Louisiana Council. Would you therefore please accept this check and in turn send a SRC check to Mr. Vigo for the support of our local project.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. W. Dent

A. W. Dent
President

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

AWD:db

cc: Mr. L. E. Kabacoff
Rabbi Emil Leipziger

BLIND CC: JOHN CONSTABLE

May 28, 1957

Mr. Leo M. Coogan
c/o Mr. Edgar B. Stern
2110 American Bank Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Coogan:

I was greatly embarrassed to find that our routine billing machinery for New South had caused a renewal notice to be sent to Mr. Stern. It was very kind of you to respond so promptly with a check, which I am returning.

We have taken steps to see that Mr. Stern's name appears on our complimentary New South mailing list, so that there will not be a recurrence of this accidental billing.

With apologies for the inconvenience this may have caused and kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Encl. - 1 check ($2.00)
#29565

Enclosures: SRC Annual Report, 1957
List of Board Members
1958 Audit

Stern Fund

February 21, 1958

Mr. Edgar B. Stern
2110 American Bank Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Stern:

I take pleasure in sending you the enclosed report of the Council's program activities and audited financial statement for the year just past.

It was a difficult year, of course, in the South's development, and the year ahead promises to be no less strained. But we take some comfort, which I am sure you share, in the fact that there are still Southerners of both races who are willing to work together to ease the stresses of change. The Council, as the only Southwide body of its kind, feels a great responsibility to provide a constructive instrument through which these conscientious Southerners can work.

Your confidence and help have meant a great deal to us over the years. I earnestly hope that you will feel the Council's performance in this trying period warrants your continued support in 1958.

With appreciation and kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

May 6, 1958

Mr. Leon M. Coogan, Secretary
The Edgar Stern Family Fund
2110 American Bank Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Coogan

This is to acknowledge with warm appreciation the Edgar Stern Family Fund's contribution of $100 in support of the Southern Regional Council's work in 1958. Our support within the South means more to us today than ever before, and thus we are especially grateful for the Fund's annual contribution.

Please convey our special thanks and good wishes to Mr. Edgar Stern.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/hs

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
2110 AMERICAN BANK BUILDING
NEW ORLEANS 12

April 24, 1958

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432
63 Auburn Av. N.E
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

At the request of one of our trustees, Mr. Edgar B. Stern, we are pleased to enclose herewith check to the order of SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL in the sum of $100.00 as contribution to the Council's program for the present year. CR rha 4/28/58

With best wishes for your continued successful operation,

Very truly yours,
EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND

By: Leo M. Coogan
Leo M. Coogan
Secretary

LMC:MB

March 10, 1959

Mr. Edgar B. Stern
2110 American Bank Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Stern:

I take pleasure in sending you the enclosed report of the Council's program activities and audited financial statement for 1958. In doing so I want to express, on behalf of the Council, warm thanks for your part in making these activities possible.

We have been greatly encouraged by some of the events of the past year. While the hue and cry of the irresponsible segregationist remain loud, a growing number of conscientious Southerners are beginning to make themselves heard. This is especially encouraging to us as we survey the tremendous amount of work which yet remains to be done.

The enclosed reports on program and finances speak for themselves, and I will not prolong this letter unduly. Please know, however, our deep appreciation for your support over the years. We are hopeful that you will feel the Council's performance merits your continued confidence and support in 1959.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

April 1, 1959

Mr. Edgar B. Stern
2110 American Bank Building
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Stern:

Please accept our warmest thanks for your recent letter and contribution of $100 to the Southern Regional Council.

As you instructed, this has been listed as a personal contribution from you and is so shown on all of our records.

On a personal note, may I say how pleased I have been to observe Phil's leadership in Arlington through the Northern Virginia Sun. My other friends there all confirm my own impression that he has done an outstanding job.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Official receipt)

EDGAR B. STERN
2110 AMERICAN BANK BUILDING
NEW ORLEANS 12

March 22, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In response to your letter of March 10th, please find attached hereto my check to order of Southern Regional Council, Inc. in the sum of $100.00 toward the work of the Council for the present year.

In recording this, I would ask that you please list this as a personal donation from me, and not a gift from the Edgar Stern Family Fund, and have the books and all records listed accordingly.

Sincerely yours,

Edgar B. Stern

EBStern:MB

CR received 100.00
MRA 3-30-59

August 15, 1960

Mr. Lester Kabacoff
Edgar Stern Family Fund
521 Royal Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Kabacoff:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council, I acknowledge most gratefully your letter of August 8 and the enclosed check for $10,000 representing the Stern Family Fund's contribution to the work of the Southern Regional Council.

We deeply appreciate the confidence in the Council which prompted Mrs. Stern to recommend this gift. We shall do all in our power to use it wisely and effectively.

With appreciation and kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
521 ROYAL STREET
NEW ORLEANS 16

August 8, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Upon the recommendation of Mrs. Edith R. Stern, One of the trustees of the Edgar Stern Family Fund, I am pleased to enclose herewith check of the Edgar Stern Family Fund in the sum of $10,000.00 as a contribution to your very worthy organization.

CR
RHA
8/9/60

We wish you great success.

Yours sincerely,

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND

BY: Lester Kabacoff

LEK:EMM

encl.

December 19, 1960

Mr. Lester Kabacoff
Edgar Stern Family Fund
521 Royal Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Kabby:

We greatly appreciate the recent contribution of $9,500 to the Southern Regional Council from the Edgar Stern Family Fund. Such a gesture of support and confidence on the part of the Stern Family Fund means a great deal to us.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm
Enclosure - official receipt

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
521 ROYAL STREET
NEW ORLEANS 16

December 14, 1960

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

Gentlemen:

Upon the recommendation of the Trustees of the Edgar Stern Family Fund, I am pleased to enclose herewith check of the Fund to the order of Southern Regional Council, Inc. in the sum of $9,500.00 as a contribution to the fine work your organization has been engaged in.

CR
12/14/60
RHA

Very truly yours,

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND

BY: Lester E. Kabacoff

LEK:EMM

encl.

March 3, 1961

Mr. Lee M. Coogan
Secretary
Edgar Stern Family Fund
521 Royal Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Coogan:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council, I want to express our appreciation for the contribution of the Edgar Stern Family Fund to the work of the Council. It is our hope that the Council can continue to merit the interest and support of the trustees of the Fund.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm
Enclosure - official receipt

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
521 ROYAL STREET
NEW ORLEANS 16

March 1, 1961

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

At the request of one of our Trustees, Mrs. Edgar B. Stern, we enclose our check to the order of Southern Regional Council, Inc., in the amount of $2,000 as a contribution to your organization.

Sincerely yours,

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND

By: Leo M. Coogan
Leo M. Coogan
Secretary

2,000.00 CR
3/3/61
RHA

JJF/m
enclosure

cc: Mrs. Edgar B. Stern
Edgar B. Stern, Jr.
Lester E. Kabacoff

March 7, 1961

Mr. Lester Kabacoff
Edgar Stern Family Fund
521 Royal Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Kabacoff:

Enclosed is a copy of our financial statement taken from the Council's audit of 1960 operations. This includes an accounting of the New Orleans effort through December 31.

When the Project is completed we will, of course, provide a statement of the Project for the full period covered.

If additional information is needed, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Financial Statement, 1960)

PR SM

The Edgar Stern Family Fund

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

MRS. HELEN HILL MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

1299 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.
DIstrict 7-7374

Return to LWD

Dear Les,----

Mrs. Sand will let me know where and at what time there will be an inclusive meeting on the evening of Tuesday the 18; I'll let you know as soon as I hear.

I will be on the Eastern flight leaving Montogmery, Ala., at 9:20 that morning, hoping to find you and Mr. Rilling there too, since I understand it starts in Atlanta.

Meanwhile, I am looking forward to the arrangements you two will make about how we spend our time Tuesday from noon on. I plan to spend the night in New Orleans and see Mr. Kabacoff about assorted other matters Wednesday morning if he can do so. If there is more to do than we can finish, I will stay over further; otherwise I e xpect to come back to Washington on the 2:35 Eastern flight Wednesday a fternoon.

Hope you will enjoy my memo to the TVA; I've had a copy sent to you.

As ever,

Helen

July 7, '61

July 10, 1961

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Executive Secretary
The Edgar Stern Family Fund
1299 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C

Dear Helen:

I thought there would be value in getting in writing an analysis of what can be done in New Orleans. Paul Rilling has, accordingly, done the enclosed memorandum, with which I fully concur.

SRC wants to do whatever we can to improve the chances for orderly schools in New Orleans. As the Atlanta opening has neared, Rilling has cut down the very large proportion of his time and effort which, since July 1960, has been devoted to New Orleans. Whether at this late date there are practical actions that should and could be taken, in addition to the ongoing programs of SOS and CPE, is what we need to discuss when we meet in New Orleans.

Received your letter this morning. Paul and I shall try to mesh our travel plans with yours.

Your memo to TVA was a honey.

Best wishes

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
Enclosure
cc: Harold Fleming

CONFIDENTIAL

Paul Rilling

MEMORANDUM

July 7, 1961

Subject: New Orleans

In the late summer of 1960, the Stern Family Fund made possible a sizeable effort to prepare the city of New Orleans for compliance with a federal court order requiring desegregation at the first grade level. Funds were channeled through the Southern Regional Council for the use of two citizens' groups in New Orleans: SOS (Save Our Schools) and the Committee for public Education (CPE). The funds were used to pay the fees of public relations agencies serving these two citizens' organizations. SRC also made available its field director, Paul Rilling, to work with the two groups in the role of consultant. His travel and maintenance in connection with New Orleans efforts were paid by the grant. SRC coordinated with the Stern Fund through Lester Kabacoff. Mr. Kabacoff also served as the key figure in an effort to reach and influence business leadership and public officials.

The two citizens' groups a year ago produced materials for local distribution, mailed to various groups selected articles and materials from throughout the South, developed a series of interpretive newspaper advertisements, and sponsored some television spot announcements. SOS held a series of public meetings, and both groups made statements to the local press interpreting the situation and urging compliance. The two groups worked for public expression by civic and religious groups, with the result that several labor groups, a group of ministers, several denominational units, the Independent Women's Organization, etc., did take public positions in favor of acceptance and calm.

As New Orleans moved into the fall crisis and the city was caught in the struggle between state authorities and the local school board, SOS continued to issue statements and develop materials relevant to the situation. This group also provided women to drive the white children through the picket lines to the two desegregated schools.

SOS administered a hardship fund for the relief of persons suffering loss of jobs or other economic hardship because of their children's attendance at these schools. The Committee for Public Education played a somewhat more quiet role, for the most part, concentrating on conferences with the school board, the chief of police, the mayor, etc.. Both groups carried on some lobbying activity during the six special sessions of the legislature, as did a public school group in Baton Rouge. The CPE program has not been much in the public eye since last November. The attorney and the plaintiffs in the suit to enjoin the Governor from closing schools were CPE members.

In February, yet another group consisting of professional and some business men sponsored a testimonial dinner for the majority members of the school board; this received much attention and support from civic and business leadership.

Unfortunately, efforts to organize the top status figures of the city have not been effective. Furthermore, the citizens active in the effort to encourage peaceful compliance have been divided by personality and organizational competition. SOS and CPE have not cooperated together and have sometimes tended to undercut each other's efforts. The third group, the sponsoring committee for the school board dinner, indicated its intention of remaining in existence and making some contribution to the situation. This group, however, has done little if anything since the banquet. This summer there are indications that yet another group is in the process of formation. Mr. Lewis Riecke, chairman of the school board, convened a number of persons to explore the possibility of creating some sort of citizens' liaison group, which would be given office space in the school board building. The group did include leadership from CPE, but not SOS. Mr. Kabacoff was present. We have heard nothing further concerning the organization or possible activities of this group.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith through its regional office in New Orleans has played a useful role in the school situation, assisting SOS and the OPEN group in Baton Rouge with materials and counsel. The other staffed human relations agency that has been

operating in New Orleans is the Urban League. The Urban League has an able and active director in Harvey Kearns. The board of the Urban League has been one of the few regular channels of inter-racial planning.

Last spring a new human relations agency was formed, the Catholic Human Relations Council, with a full-time director, Henry Cabirac. The state advisory committee to the Commission on Civil Rights contains a number of able and concerned persons. The committee has prepared several reports and will be a source of support. Another new, constructive development is the formation of an inter-racial group by the Urban League. This has met only once and has not yet developed a program, but it has involved many of the persons and groups working in the same direction.

There seem to me to be two principal needs in the current New Orleans situation. One is a strengthening of liaison and communication between the two racial groups. The city badly needs an inter-racial committee or council cutting across religious lines. The new Urban League group may well be the beginning of such a council.

The second need is for another effort to create a climate of acceptance and calm in connection with school opening this fall. Indications are that the desegregation process will be expanded to additional schools in September. A number of efforts are already under way. Both SOS and CPE plan neighborhood discussion groups. SOS plans to find friendly parents within a number of elementary schools to combat possible boycott efforts. An effort will be made to obtain public expressions of concern from a number of religious and civic leadership groups. SOS is preparing several mass mailings to leadership groups.

Many of the things that would be helpful in connection with the school situation will be carried through by the groups presently active. I doubt that it would be possible for SRC to provide any sort of effective over-all supervision of such an effort through placing full-time staff in the city. I don't believe that such potential staff is currently available in New Orleans and doubt that time will allow us to find and employ someone on a short-term basis. I would

not recommend that we move in this direction unless we do so as a first step toward the permanent employment of a field worker in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas.

An effective professional in a tension situation is always of value. I would doubt, however, if in this situation and at this time he could be of great value. He could provide additional resources and skills and perhaps some liaison. It must be remembered, however, that the various groups have diverse aims and ways of operating. It would compromise some of the groups to work through the same office or staff as others. An OASIS type operation could not work in New Orleans, as it does in Atlanta, unless additional, more established organizations would be willing to participate. The indications are that this is not now possible.

I would suggest the following ways in which useful things could be done now to improve the prospects for September.

1. Funds should be made available to support the SOS program of city-wide educational effort through the public media and mass mailings. This will be possible only if more funds are found. This is the clearest existent need, and the area where additional dollars would most likely yield results.

   This recommendation represents a hard choice. One has to weigh SOS energy and talent against CPE's greater public acceptability. The recommendation indicates where I come down. An alternative, if money is adequate, would be, of course, to invest in the program of both groups.
2. Funds should be made available to support the new interracial committee formed by the New Orleans Urban League, <u>at whatever time</u> this group has a clear program and direction. (If this effort does not prove effective, another try at such a committee should be initiated.) Even in a crisis situation, there is an acute need for filling the present void in bi-racial coordination.
3. Perhaps some support of the Catholic Human Relations Council should be considered, <u>depending on its plans and program</u>.

At present, the Council is moving primarily to build membership, etc.

4. If SRC becomes a channel for assistance on behalf of these efforts, then we should keep in close touch with these groups and have some sort of general control over the use of the money, to insure effective program and to protect the tax-exemption. Tight control of program or close coordination by SRC probably would not be advisable or feasible. What is practical and desirable can be accomplished through regular visits to New Orleans and heavy use of the telephone. I will not be able to spend as much time in New Orleans this year as I did last fall, because of the urgency of developments in Atlanta. I believe, however, that my presence there will be less necessary because of the emergence of able leadership in SCS and other groups.

5. SRC should also offer its assistance in the preparation of materials. It happens that some of the people involved in SCS have writing skills, and also, some desire to do their work themselves in preference to "outside" would-be help. I would hope, nevertheless, the service of SRC research and information people could be offered to back-stop local activities, by research, editorial, lay-out, writing, or other help.

August 8, 1961

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Executive Secretary
Edgar Stern Family Fund
1299 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Miller:

Confirming our telephone conversation of July 27, we request that the Stern Family Fund make available to us the sum of $4,750 to support field activities,during the next two to three months, in New Orleans. Programs will be planned and carried out in cooperation with Save Our Schools, a committee of citizens in New Orleans working for orderly desegregation. The objectives of the programs, which we have fully discussed with you, are to contribute to that end.

In addition, it is requested that the Stern Family Fund accept for reimbursement the travel expense accounts of Mr. Paul Rilling, our Field Director, for trips to New Orleans in connection with this activity. Every effort will be made to hold travel expenses toaa modest amount.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

July 21, 1961

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Edgar Stern Family Fund
1299 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Miller:

Mr. Dunbar has asked me to transmit the enclosed expenses for the Knoxville, Tennessee, trip of June 23, 1961, and the New Orleans, Louisiana, trip of July 19, 1961, to you for reimbursement.

The check should be made payable to the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs
Enclosure

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

July 21, 1961

Edgar Stern Family Fund
Att: Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
1299 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Knoxville, Tennessee, June 23, 1961
Leslie W. Dunbar and Paul Anthony

Plane	$ 59.84	
Hotel	14.82	$ 74.66

New Orleans, Louisiana, July 19, 1961
Leslie W. Dunbar and Paul Rilling

Plane	$135.74	
Hotel	20.60	156.34
TOTAL		$ 231.00

August 22, 1961

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Executive Secretary
The Edgar Stern Family Fund
1299 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Miller:

Mr. Dunbar asked me to send you the enclosed clippings and other materials relating to the school re-openings in the South. I hope that this will be of help to you.

If we can be of further assistance to you in any way, please call on us.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Herbert T. Boozer
Research Assistant

mpb

Enc. L-26, L-24, L-21

ENROLLMENT FIGURES

ATLANTA

10 Negro young people - 7 girls and 3 boys - will be entered in 4 previously all-white High Schools. The grades they will enter will be the eleventh and twelfth only. School registration is scheduled for August 29, with the opening date of school set for August 30.

DALLAS

As you will note from one of the enclosed clippings, no enrollment figures are to be released in advance of school opening. Schools will open September 6. After classes have begun, the Superintendent of Schools will announce the enrollment.

PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY

The case is, of course, still in litigation. Attempts by the Federal Government to intervene were denied by Judge Oren Lewis of the Federal District Court in Richmond in July. On August 7, 65 pages of arguments were filed with Judge Lewis by both defendants and plaintiffs. A news account of August 17 indicates that the Justice Department has conferred again with the Prince Edward counsel, but there was no indication as to the meaning or purpose of this conference. Judge Lewis has been quoted as saying that he was not going to enter an order requiring the re-opening of Prince Edward's public schools; "that's going to be determined by the Supreme Court of Virginia, if it's going to be done at all."

The Edgar Stern Family Fund

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

MRS. HELEN HILL MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

1299 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.
DIstrict 7-7374

Dear Leslie,----

So who else writes incisive, not to say cutting, memos ? Congratulations.

The Economist has asked me to do a piece on school reopening, and I would think Dallas-New Orleans-Atlanta, with a side para on Prince Edward, would make the main story. I'm well-heeled on N.O., but would like any material you could send up (soon) on the other two places.

All my best,

Helen

August 17, '61

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
521 ROYAL STREET
NEW ORLEANS 16

August 25, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

At the request of one of our Trustees, Mrs. Edgar B. Stern, we have entered a pledge to the Southern Regional Council Inc., to cover the cost to the Council in sending Paul Rilling to New Orleans in an advisory capacity from August 15, through December 31, 1961.

This letter is to request your advising us as to when you wish to have the Council reimbursed for these expenses.

Yours very truly,

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND

By: Leo M. Coogan
Leo M. Coogan
Secretary

JJF/m

cc: Mrs. Edgar B. Stern
Mr. Edgar B. Stern Jr.
Mrs. Helen Hill Miller

Fund

The Edgar Stern Family Fund

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

MRS. HELEN HILL MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

1299 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.
DIstrict 7-7374

Dear Leslie,----

Many thanks for your wire. Paul Rilling and I talked on Thasday, and I asked him to get in touch with Mrs. Stern, with whom I had talked on the telephone, on Thursday w hen he was to be in New Orleans. I had told her that I thought that she ought to give him a check then for whatever she decides to contribute. I hope that it will be the full amount now that you have a second contribution toward the total fund.

If this arrangement did not work, let me know.

All my best,

Aug. 25, '61

Helen.

Fund

August 30, 1961

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Executive Secretary
The Edgar Stern Family Fund
1299 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Helen:

You wrote a good article for The Economist. I hope it is run intact.

Thanks for all you have done on the New Orleans matter. I am glad that it has finally been worked out. I wish I could be optimistic that the efforts plus dollars will bear good fruit. Somehow I can't shake my brooding pessimism about that city.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Secretary

LWD:MBB

August 30, 1961

Mr. Leo M. Coogan, Secretary
Edgar Stern Family Fund
521 Royal Street
New Orleans 16, Louisana

Dear Mr. Coogan:

We acknowledge receipt of your two letters of August 25, 1961.

Regarding the one which refers to travel expenses of Mr Paul Rilling, we shall, if satisfactory to you, submit a statement prior to December 31, 1961 combining all costs.

Regarding your second letter, we note your pledge, one dollar for each dollar of funds raised by us, to be used toward educating the New Orleans citizens to meet the public school crisis, up to the amount of $5,000.00.

We wish to inform you that we have in hand a check from the Taconic Foundation in the amount of $3,000.00, specified for the same purpose.

Your letter states your understanding that we have on hand $4,279.00. I assume this refers to the Taconic grant plus $1,279.00 which has been raised locally in New Orleans and is held by SOS. We understand that this $1,279.00 is to be included in the amount you will match under your grant; if so, your check can be made out in the amount of $4,279.00.

We have no expectation of raising additional funds for this purpose.

On the other hand, we are authorized by the New World Foundation to spend, according to our judgment, up

To: Leo M. Coogan
August 30, 1961

to $1,000.00 for unplanned, emergency needs that may arise in the New Orleans school crisis. If we do so, we shall promptly notify you and you may determine whether any of such expenditure will be matched by you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:MBB

cc: Mrs. Edgar B Stern
Mr. Edgar B. Stern, Jr.
Mrs. Helen Hill Miller

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
521 ROYAL STREET
NEW ORLEANS 16

August 25, 1961

Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

At the request of one of our Trustees, Mrs. Edgar B. Stern, we have entered a pledge to the Southern Regional Council Inc., one dollar for each dollar of funds raised by the Council, to be used toward educating the New Orleans citizens to meet the public school crisis, up to the amount of $5,000.

Mrs. Stern informs us that it is her understanding the Council has on hand for this purpose the sum of $4,279, and in this connection we ask that you please confirm to us that the Council has received a pledge of $3,000 from the Taconic Foundation, Inc.

Very truly yours,

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND

By: Leo M. Coogan
Leo M. Coogan
Secretary

JJF/m

cc: Mrs. Edgar B. Stern
Edgar B. Stern, Jr.
Mrs. Helen Hill Miller

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND
521 ROYAL STREET
NEW ORLEANS 16

September 1, 1961

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Attention: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director.

Gentlemen:

PAV
RHA
PTV ER 9/5/61
LD RHA

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 30th with reference to our pledge of one dollar for each dollar of funds raised by the Council to be used toward educating the New Orleans citizens to meet the public school crisis, up to the amount of $5,000.00.

At the request of one of our Trustees, Mrs. Edgar B. Stern, we enclose our check to the order of Southern Regional Council, Inc., in the amount of $4,279.00 as a payment on our pledge, which amount matches the funds raised by the Council, including the $3,000.00 received from the Taconic Foundation.

Regarding any amounts spent by the Council for this purpose from funds made available by the New World Foundation, please be advised that such expenditures would be matched under our pledge to the extent that our total contribution, including the enclosed check, would not exceed $5,000.00.

With respect to our pledge to the Council to cover travel expenses of Mr. Paul Rilling, you have advised us that you plan to submit a statement combining all costs prior to December 31, 1961, which will be satisfactory to us.

Yours very truly,

EDGAR STERN FAMILY FUND

By Leo M. Coogan
Leo M. Coogan, Secretary

enclosure

cc: Mrs. Edgar B. Stern
Mr. Edgar B. Stern, Jr.
Mrs. Helen Hill Miller

September 29, 1961

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Executive Secretary
The Edgar Stern Family Fund
1299 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Helen:

We are enclosing some items which may suit the purpose you described yesterday to Paul Anthony.

I leave the matter entirely in your discretion but I shall be personally glad if you would show this letter to Mr. Duke. If you think that not desirable, will you please make perfectly clear to him that we are not soliciting this assignment? I don't care much ever for labels, and don't wish to get into anyone's debate as to whether we are or are not an "action" agency. We are the kind of organization we are, which is to say that we are concerned with the South, with all its people, with the solution of its racial problems in such a way as to perfect and not to worsen community cohesion, and with acting in ways that seem useful toward the achievement of that end. The Council is composed of its 80 (now 79) members and a staff. I and the rest of the staff have considerable freedom of action, but only insofar as what we do and say retains the confidence of the members. I would fail in my obligation to them if I allowed us to get into the position of being subjected to examination, as to principles or programs, by any outside person or agency. I think the names of our members plus the record of our activities must speak for themselves. You will find the list of the former and some samples of the latter among the enclosures. (When you called yesterday I was in session with our Nominating Committee; you may want to know that it decided to recommend replacing Hunter and Milton on the Executive Committee with Franklin L. Williams, Vice President of the University of Miami, and Stephen Wright, President of Fisk; both will accept.)

To: Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
September 29, 1961

We have not asked for the Knoxville assignment, and I hope both General Vogel and Mr. Duke realize that. If satisfactory arrangements can be worked out, I am prepared once again to put the matter before our Executive Committee. I think it would be, in a way, a reflection by me on the dignity of my Board if I discussed the matter with them again unless there was a clear cut indication that all federal government people concerned were fully respectful of the good sense and good judgment of the Council members and, therefore, of the staff and its programs in which the members have trust.

You will be correct if you interpret this letter as an indication of my weariness with my government's sense of public relations. Best wishes, and have a good European journey.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

P. S.
I haven't yet any Dallas names. For Atlanta, I would think Mayor Hartsfield and Mrs. Thomas Breeden would be appropriate; she was the chairman of HOPE during its fine career. For New Orleans, I think you should not look farther than Mrs. Stern; also, Jack Nelson, lawyer, prominent locally and nationally as a Catholic layman, leading figure in SOS, and member of the Louisiana Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights; and Dr. J. Harvey Kerns, Executive Director of the New Orleans Urban League.

Orignal and cc to H.H.Miller

PA
MBB - file

MRS. HELEN HILL MILLER
1299 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

Dear Leslie,----

Harold a nd I have just had lunch with Pedro San Juan. It was on a number of matters, but at the end I asked him how Mr. Duke w as coming along.

It seems that the Sudanese visit is currently taking all day every day, but Pedro thinks that by the time I get back the needful will have been accomplished.

Meanwhile, he is preparing a letter from Duke to Vogel on their inability to send unescorted people to the Valley as things stand, and the instances in which they have either told visitors they couldn't

go, or had trouble. All this is to the good.

I said that I would like a definite attitude before our board meeting on the 28th, and he said he would have it for me when I get back to this country on the 24th.

So you'll hear from me then.

All my best,

Hen

Oct. 6, '61

Page 1
McDonogh
School
not
McDougall
— o —
Lloyd J
Rittiner
instead of
Lloyd A

— o —
Page 8
Ralph McGill
not
Mogill

Winthrop
Rockefeller

JH
PR
HBB-file

November 22, 1961

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Executive Secretary
The Edgar Stern Family Fund
1299 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Helen:

I like your article a great deal, and am happy that the Times will be using it. It is a balanced and neat summary, and relates our social change to the economic motivations that usher it in. I have only one disagreement, and that has to do with how a fact is stated, rather than with what it is. You have done a real job of narrating a very complex move.

I would not, as you do on page 4, imply agreement that "moderates" had to wait their time to be effective. I would suppose they could have spared the South a lot of grief had they actively opposed the ascendancy of massive resistance between 1954-58; you suppose they would have been unsuccessful had they tried and would have reduced their later influence. The point is that neither of us can know what would have been the case; consequently, I think your analysis would be stronger if it made clear that this is what the moderates believed, e.g., "they believed their influence would fall" rather than "their influence would fall". Anyway, I suspect that many "moderates" and most business leaders, did not oppose resistance until they came to believe that it harmed their self-interest, not the social interest; the business men came to perceive this very slowly and late. (As a matter of fact, it often has seemed to me that business men as a class are amazingly slow to see their own self-interest, in any situation more complicated than a "deal"; people who "never met a payroll" usually have to teach them.)

To: Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
November 22, 1961

A few fly specks:

Page 1 - wouldn't it be more clear to say federal Judge JSW?
Page 3 - "Little Rock had scored_____?
Page 6 - not all of Louisiana, Mississippi, and tennessee are in the Sixth
Page 7 - wouldn't you give your man more weight if you introduced him as "the publisher of the annual Site Selection Handbook and other business guides, who happens to reside in DeKalb?
Page 8 - The Atlanta Journal was never of much help, editorially, though its news side and some of its columnists were. Did WDSU play a "parallel" role? Can any radio station?
Page 8 - the Catholic situation is much worse than your last paragraph suggests. So far as we know, there is as yet only the tiniest of desegregation in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, at either the parochial or collegiate levels.
Page 9 - as they have never been desegregated, shouldn't you use another word - "bi-racial", perhaps, rather than "desegregated" to describe the Urban Leagues, us, and Quaker House?
Page 10- the exhibit of news stories was distributed by SOS.
Page 10- Tatum is with Dallas Power & Light Company.
Page 11- the Committee of Seven, other than Tatum, represented banking, cotton machinery manufacture, wholesale liquors, and insurance.
Page 12- should you mention Little Rock, in connection with Memphis, without noting that the "prevention" was as of 1959 not 1957?
Page 12- the threat of increased sit-ins was important along Route 40.
Page 13- "safe hands" - we hope!
Page 14- "symbolic", not "symbolically"?

I hope these nit-picks may be of some use. Best wishes and many thanks for your letter: it's probably just as well I got into the V.Q.R. before your election. Blessings on all your efforts in Arkansas - and in Knoxville.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD;mbb

The Edgar Stern Family Fund
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

MRS. HELEN HILL MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

1299 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.
DIstrict 7-7374

Dear Leslie,----

Many thanks for your sending me the two reprints; Francis had already called my attention to the one in the Virginia Quarterly. (Query: after the defeat of our delegate to the Va. Assembly by an arch reactionary-segregationist-steel manufacturer from Pittsburgh with the advice and consent of a huddle with 3 Byrdmen who hadn't liked our man Compton's attitude----with the Va. Quarterly publish the likes of this ? Middleton's first comment on his election included the intention to clean out the pinks a t the University.)

Curiously enough, Markel still thinks he wants the enclosed, which is going up to him in this same mail. Would you have time to vet it for error of fact or emphasis ? I do want it to be correct.

Incidentally, Brooks Hays told Francis yesterday that Faubus has had a poll taken which shows that Fulbright could beat him 2-1 and Alford 3-1. Don't believe it, but there you are.

Still no more news on the TVA front. I'm going to call John Carter and give him a positive instruction to let me know when any good real estate prospect turns up, for it would take us probably ten months to raise the money for a purchase and get the work done before we

could start, and that next appointment goes through in May, 1963, if not sooner !

Cheerily,

Helen.

Nov. 17, '61

Material for a Box

General Clay is only one example of the extent to which the South's main export, for some generations, has been not cotton or tobacco but able young talent; among others, Georgia has produced the present Secretary of State and former head of the Rockefeller Foundation, Mr. Dean Rusk; the present head of the World Bank, Mr. Eugene Black; a present director of Eastman Kodak and the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare under President Eisenhower, Mr. Marion Folsom; the managing editor of the Louisville Courier Journal, Mr. Mark Ethridge and the late columnist, Tom Stokes.

Carson McCullers
Herman Melville

1961 is likely to go down as the year when the men who form the economic power structures of the Deep South first exercised their civic citizenship. Until this autumn, ever since the Supreme Court's 1954 decisions in the school desegregation cases, extremists and incident-makers on both sides of the issue have made headlines while the question: Where are the moderates? has gone unanswered. But this year, initial desegregation in Atlanta, Memphis and Dallas and desegregation of additional schools in New Orleans took place in orderly fashion. The big news was that there was no news: no bold type such as that which blackened the name of Little Rock around the world in 1957, no sound tracks such as those which amplified the howls of the New Orleans women in 1960.

Only twelve months after the mob scenes at Frantz and McDougall elementary schools, the chief story from the New Orleans desegregation front was the story of a Federal government snafu in which the executive arm appeared to have rewarded an arch opponent of the judicial arm.

It occurred when the National Aeronautics and Space Agency awarded the prime contract for construction preparatory to manufacture of the Saturn to the firm of Martin M. Gürtler II. Mr. Gürtler is an active segregationist. Lloyd A. Rittiner, another construction man, was chairman of the New Orleans Parish School Board during last year's troubles, and suffered considerable loss of business directly attributable to his stand in favor of compliance with Judge J. Skelly Wright's court order. He was not a bidder on NASA's prime contract, but had been expected to become one of the subcontractors; the extent to which NASA's selection, however unwitting, made this unlikely can be gathered from a letter written last year to him by Mr. Gürtler which read in part:

"Lloyd, the best thing for you to do in the light of the position in which you have managed to entangle yourself on the nigger mixing issue is to resign from the School Board, and to do it now .....you must know that you are on the other side of the fence from the white people with whom you grew up, with whom you have associated, and with whom you must, as an individual and as a businessman, continue to do business in the City of New Orleans.

"Regardless of the outcome of whether the carpetbaggers law or our local law will prevail in the litigation and struggle in which you have had a uniquely central part, only two outcomes are plain to me: (I.) public education is dead, dead, dead, as white people, even poor ones, will just not send their children to school with niggers, and of course I don't blame them, and (II.) Lloyd Rittiner, my friend, as an individual, is bound to get a bloody nose out of the situation, and it's getting bloodier with the passage of every day....."

Since the Gürtler contract was not let on a fixed price basis, NASA, now alerted, may have some say as to subcontractors. But whatever happens, the reception of the first news of the incident signalled a change of mood: only months before, sympathy for a man who had the courage to take an unpopular stand had been noticeable by its absence.

The fact that the Gürtler contract was there to be let in the first place was also news, and news directly related to the sudden assumption of civic citizenship among the South's economic power structures. Recently, the New Orleans economy has not been growing. Recently, the local power company's records showed 1600 fewer electric meters in the city than have been there only months before. A major industrial facility lay idle within the city limits: the superb Michoud plant built by Andrew Higgins to make PT boats in World War II, with 10,000 square feet of airconditioned floor space and a deep channel from the plant door to the sea. It had been unoccupied since except for brief use during the Korean war to build tanks. Resumption of operation of this plant would make a visible impact on the city's payroll, draw people to town, lessen economic tension and interracial competition for employment. (It's an old adage in the South that division is worse when there is less to

divide.) New Orleans businessmen, with all of these considerations in mind, went to work to put Michoud back on the active list. Washington's decision to make the Saturn there was the reward of their efforts.

During the first years after World War II the South's economy was the fastest growing of any region. But in the 1950's, the disorders that came with desegregation made it clear that the South could not enjoy a twentieth century economy in the midst of violence. Little Rock had scored, an average of five new plants a year had moved in or established themselves between 1950 and the September that the paratroopers came. Thereafter, new investment ceased. Arkansas' population growth lagged behind that of the rest of the country enough to lose the state a seat in the Federal Congress following the census of 1960. When Little Rock citizens, in 1961, voted 5,107 to 250 for a $1.4 million bond issue to facilitate the setting up of a pump manufacturing project by the Jacuzzi Brothers of California, they made possible the first notable addition to the city's industry since 1957. Winthrop Rockefeller, who took up residence in Arkansas in 19?? and has headed the state's industrial commission since 19??, puts it bluntly: "The industrial prospect doesn't give a hoot whether your schools are segregated or not, but he wants no part of disorder and violence."

The industrial prospect also wants to be sure that there will be public schools. New industry is high-technology industry; it cannot operate without a considerable---and crucial---number of highly skilled and correspondingly highly educated personnel. Managers, scientists and technicians of this calibre intend their children to have educational opportunities at least equal to their own, and since the competition their children face in getting into the best colleges grows year by year, one of the parents' first questions before moving to a new industrial location concerns the availability and quality of its schools.

Facts like those gave and are giving the Deep South's industrial and financial leaders a basis for a stand in favor of moderation which not only leaves their position in the community unimpaired but enha nces it. And by coming out for civic order and continuance of public education as prerequisites to economic growth they offer a means of face-saving to political personalities. Most elected officials in the Deep South have taken emphatic public positions on the desirability of segregation which can be abandoned only in favor of an alternative that a majority of their constituents regard as more desirable still.

Proof that orderly compliance was a prerequisite to continuing prosperity took a long time. During the choreography that staged test cases, Federal District court decisions, successive appeals---often with a divertissiment to exhaust state remedies---with the finale of definitive court orders, moderates had to sit as spectators in a passive audience. Mostly, they did not have to applaud, but neither could they condemn the show, for once the label of "integrationist" was put on them and made to stick, once it could be claimed that they were for compliance because they were not against its basic premises, their influence would fall to a point where they could not summon sufficient public support to move ahead. Only when enough evidence had accumulated to make it respectable to be for compliance because of the economic consequences of non-compliance could they attract an adequate following.

In the Deep South, that point was reached in 1961. Two years earlier, in Virginia, a special session of the legislature, called by Governor J. Lindsay Almond, had by the narrowest of maggins (one vote, in a key test in the state senate) reversed the doctrine of "massive resistance" imposed on the state by Senator Harry Flood Byrd. Until then, Virginia's historical position as bellwether of the South had relieved the tier of states from Georgia to Texas of any need to consider change. Thereafter, initial feelers began to be put

out by economic leaders in centers from Atlanta to Dallas. Members of the financial community, to whom investment trends were daily bread, executives of power companies and other utilities whose expansion depends on new uses and new users, managers of branch plants of national corporations, owners and managers providing the vast range of distribution and service induced by new payrolls and new local purchasing power, all understood the consequences of an arrested economy. In each of the major areas where desegregated schools opened without disorder this autumn, weeks and months of intensive quiet work had previously been done by such men.

In Georgia, in February 1960, Mr. W. R. Bowdoin, senior vice president of the Trust Company of Georgia and first top-ranking fiancial figure to make a public statement, called on the state's businessmen to discard their "fear of retribution and push for legisla tion which will keep the state's schools open." Toward the end of the year, he, Mr. Ivan Allen, Jr., a prominent busi-ne ssman who became the 1961 president of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, Mills B. Lane, Jr., president of the Citizens and Southern Bank and 23 other business and financial sponsors prepared for presentation to Governor Ernest Vandiver and the incoming state legislature, and circulated for signature statewide, a five paragraph resolution that began: "Whereas we believe that next to our children, the Georgia business community has most at stake in the present school crisis!"

The first overt indication of a turn toward compliance was contained at year's end in the tortuous wording of the majority report of an official state commission headed by Mr. John A. Sibley, chairman of the board of the Trust Company of Georgia.

By the opening of the session in January, nearly a thousand names were on the businessmen's petition, affirming that the signers

"support the enactment of such legislation in the 1961 General Assembly as may be necessary to effect the uninterrupted operation of the public schools of Georgia."

Business statistics released in February underlined the stake; in the recession then reaching its bottom, the relative share of US income of the states in the Federal Reserve's Sixth District----Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and Tennessee----was shown to have declined from 73.1 percent of the national average in 1959 to 72.7 percent in 1960. The Atlanta FRB's director of research queried:

"Was it an absence of potential economic opportunities, or the failure of local businessmen and other leaders to recognize them and take appropriate action, that explains the loss of population and the failure to attract capital in some areas? Were economic opportunities missed because potential investors found absence of local leadership or unwillingness to change?"

More bluntly, the Bank's president said:

"if we behave like a banana republic, we shall get and deserve the economic rewards characteristic of a b ananna republic."

At the state Chamber of Commerce meeting in April the executive vice president of the Atlanta Chamber, in listing weaknesses in the state to which businessmen should give attention, cited

"an outdated governmental structure not oriented or capable of providing the positive economic leadership that today's competition demands.....an economy that is now 58.3 percent urban but which is completely dominated by a rural-oriented legislature."

In May, major support for the businessmen's initiative came from one of the numerous Georgians who have made good outside the state, General Lucius D. Clay, under whose post-war chairmanship of the board the Continental Can Company has become one of 50 US corporations in the country with gross earnings topping a billion a year. General Clay, returning to take part in Governor Vandiver's Conference on Trade and Commerce, stated:

"Another problem which can not be ignored is the desegregation issue. Employees being transferred to Georgia worry about the school conditions for their children. Manufacturers worry about the conditions which could develop within their plants. Today, almost every major manufacturing company is engaged to some extent in contract operations for the government subject to the anti-discrimination laws. Most of us like to feel that we are a part of the community where we are located and that accordingly we must respect and a ccept local customs and traditions. None of us want to locate in areas where there is a serious risk of conflict between local custom and Federal law. We need the good will of the community, and yet we must obey the law."

Just before General Clay made his speech, the Atlanta Bar Association had thrown its weight behind compliance: "There would be chaos

"There would be chaos and anarchy if each citizen were free to choose which decisions of the courts he would obey.....Civilization cannot exist without order, and order cannot be maintained without law.....The Atlanta Bar Association, therefore, calls upon all persons in this community to obey the order of the District Court, and to give sincere help to our schools officials as they endeavor to perform their difficult duty under it."

In October, 1960, a resident of DeKalb County, Georgia, who publishes business guides, including the annual Site Selection Handbook, told an audience of teachers and school officials;

Lord Denning
Tuffy Rice

"Throughout the nation today, there are people who are watching to see what we do. I believe most of our critics expect us to fumble the ball and they will be happy to pounce upon the situation and make the worst of it.

"But look what would happen to Georgia's prestige nationally and internationally if we surprised our critics and handled the school situation smoothly and without chaos. Our stock would rise everywhere and every citizen of Georgia would benefit. Thus, there is in the school situation a distinct opportunity for Governor Vandiver, for his administration, and for all of us."

On August 31, 1961 the opportunity was taken.

In New Orleans, Memphis and Dallas, parallel efforts by businessmen insured like results. Because of differences in local conditions, the formats of their action varied, particularly in the degree to which they combined forces with other elements in the community working toward the same end. For 1961's successes, it must be remembered, included many components.

Any city initiating desegregation has to consider the probable effectiveness of its local authorities---the courage of its mayor and city council, school board and superintendent, the calibre of its chief of police; the extent of support to be anticipated from press and communications media; the attitude of its churches; the numbers, orientations and vigor of citizens' groups on both sides of the issue; and, beyond the city limits, the attitude of the state administration---passage of multiple and obstructive laws by a rural-dominated legislature, use of state troopers, establishment of state commissions on school policy or intergroup relations; and of the Federal government---paratroopers at Little Rock in 1957, US marshals in New Orleans in 1960, advance planning in 1961. While business initiative spearheaded this autumn's drives for order, all these components, in varying strengths, were active as well.

In Atlanta, the daily press, whether in its business reporting or in the trenchant columns of Ralph Magill, was an enormous asset; in New Orleans, the parallel role was played by Station WDSU.

Throughout the South, in sharp contrast to the 1850's, courageous ministers have stirred men's consciences---some have succeeded in carrying their congregations with them and some have been forced to resign. At the denominational level, helpful statements have been the rule. Among Catholics, where the assumption of a moral attitude implies specific consequences in the desegregation of parochial school systems, the change preceded the Supreme Court decision in states like North Carolina; other states followed promptly after 1954. In Mississippi, St. Augustine Seminary has been training white and Negro boys together for the priesthood for twenty years. But in New Orleans, rabid resistance by important and monied Catholic laymen, particularly the

powerful tyrant of Plaquemines Parish, Mr. Leander Perez, and a member of the board of the public school system, Mr. Emile Wagner, successfully deferred the program announced after the Court decision by the elderly and subsequently ailing Archbishop Rummel. His position, as of 1960, that the parochial schools would be desegregated after effective desegregation had taken place in the public schools, gave Catholic segregationists additional purpose in resisting compliance in the public system. Appointment in 1961, as Archbishop Coadjutor, of Cody, experienced in desegregation of the St. Louis parochial schools, has introduced a new element into the situation.

Among citizens' groups at work for compliance other than those based on the business community, seveeral types are identifiable: groups formed by parents and friends of the schools----HOPE (Help Our Public Education) and OASIS (Organizations Assisting Schools In September) in Atlanta, CPE (Committee for Public Education) and SOS (Save Our Schools) in New Orleans; groups which are themselves desegregated and work toward racial reconciliation (Quaker House in Atlanta, the Urban Leagues of the various cities, the Southern Regional Council); and Negro organizations (permanent ones like the NAACP; special ones like the Committee of Seven in Dallas).

The degree of cooperation among these has varied widely. In New Orleans, the business initiative undertaken by financial and business interests kept itself separate even from the Orleans Parish School Board Committee in which a number of respected organizations joined. It began operations with a state-wide, twenty-man meeting in Baton Rouge, in an effort to minimize the antagonism between the state administration and the city always present but more acute after the 1960 election when New Orleans' then mayor, Mr. Samuel DeLesseps Morrison, was defeated for the governorship by Mr. Jimmie Davis.

The purpose of the meeting was to draft an acceptable wording, and then collect business signatures for a six-paragraph "Declaration of Principles", phrased to include a wide range of opinion, but beginning with the affirmation, "Public Education in Louisiana must be preserved", and likewise insisting that "Preservation of law and order in Louisiana requires compliance with the final decisions of the US Supreme Court; any other course would result in chaos."

This declaration was published as a paid advertisement just prior to school openings. At the same time, the New Orleans States Item republished a series of pieces by its correspondents on how other states and cities had met the crisis, and distributed widely a four-page, newspaper size collection of identified out-of-state news and picture stories of the 1960 violence, with the comment:

> "THIS WAS THE IMAGE NEW ORLEANS SHOWED THE WORLD IN LATE 1960! ..... AS A RESULT, RETAIL BUSINESS SLOWED. TOURIST TRADE DECREASED, INDUSTRIAL INVESTMENT WAS DISCOURAGED.....RESPONSIBLE CITIZENS MUST TAKE THE LEAD IN PREVENTING A RECURRENCE OF THIS SITUATION.....OTHERWISE, WE CAN EXPECT MORE HEADLINES LIKE THESE .....THIS, NEW ORLEANS CANNOT AFFORD."

In Dallas, by contrast to New Orleans and Atlanta, a more inclusive structure was formed under the chairmanship of Mr. C. A. Tatum of the Power Company and some 250 civic leaders. Seventeen months in advance of desegregation they set up the Dallas Citizens Council, eliciting cooperation from such organizations as the Dallas Bar Association, the Dallas County Medical Society, the Greater Dallas Council of Churches. The DCC was concerned not solely with school desegregation but a wide range of situations likely to lead to disorder; its first project, completed in July, was desegregation of forty major downtown restaurants in the city, including that of the world-famous Nieman Marcus department store.

The DCC acted through an executive "Committee of Seven", whose members represented [name occupations] ; occasionally, they met with a like-numbered group of Negroes representing some 125 Negro organizations, set up by the regional inter-group relations director for FHA. The Committee of Seven arranged for talks, accompanied by distribution of pamphlets, before every kind of civic association, and especially for showings of a documentary film, "Dallas at the Crossroads" locally made under its auspices, which contrasts scenes of a happy city moving ahead with clips from the newsreels of violence at New Orleans and Little Rock, and presents interviews with respected Dallas citizens from various occupations. On August 8, the Dallas Morning News editorialized:

> "as Mr. Tatum and other civic leaders have emphasized, the critical days, weeks and months are ahead. Let us live by the law, so that this crisis will become a proud period in the progress of the city we love."

It was because of efforts such as these that September 1961 passed without use of force at school opening time. Not but what careful plans hadbeen made in case a test of physical strength should occur. Early in the year, the US Attorney General, Mr. Robert Kennedy, and the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, Mr. Burke Marshall, determined on an affirmative acceptance of responsibility to see that court orders were peaceably obeyed. Mr. Marshall and his assistants visited major cities where desegregation had been ordered for September, and worked elsewhere through local US District Attorneys and by long distance telephone, consulting public officials, especially mayors, police officers and school authorities, and businessmen, Negro leaders, press and media people. In talks with police officers, they suggested the availability of US marshals if necessary---- businessmen who had seen US marshal in Montgomery in the spring were eager to avoid their use elsewhere. (From mid-August through September, marshals were

collected for a training program where they could have been readily moved to Atlanta, and at the time of the New Orleans opening some fifty were at hand at an army base within the city.) They discussed the degree and likelihood of state and local political controls limiting police action, and the desirability of preventing the collection of crowds near school premises. In Dallas, special publicity was given to the training of the city's police to handle trouble-makers; at a briefing, former Mayor R. L. Thornton observed: "Our law enforcement authorities have ample means to be very helpful if a disturbance arises."

In Memphis, Little Rock, and numerous other cities, positive efforts such as these, undertaken by men exercising their civic citizenship, have prevented the provocation of incidents by extremists of both sides: trouble-makers bent on violent opposition to change are warned of the community's opposition to their methods; pace-makers are convinced that the availability of orderly negotiations makes demonstrations unnecessary. (During recent weeks, for instance, the negotiations with regard to the desegregation of restaurants along Route 40 that were initiated by the Protocol Division of the State Department after affronts to African diplomats travelling between Washington and UN sessions in New York, but continued by the Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems, have provided an alternative to Freedom Rides.)

What of the future? It would be a mistake to underrate the emotion and determination gathered in such organizations as the White Citizens Councils, the Defenders, among old Klansmen and new Nazis; these could produce bloody incidents and the votes of their adherents will affect the composition of state legislatures, state and local office holders, and representation in Washington. Three states, South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi, have yet to start desegregation. Yet the justifiable pride felt by many of the

businessmen who engaged in this autumn's undertakings is likely to cause their civic interest to expand. From its inception, the Dallas Citizens Council has had a broad program in view, and there are other stirrings. Urban renewal is high on most lists: it has been shown, in St. Louis and elsewhere simultaneously, to revive the economy of the central city, fatten the tax base, and attack many pressing social and racial problems.

Sooner or later, such programs impinge on the structure and quality of state government---in Louisiana, for instance, the legislature has affirmatively forbidden New Orleans to participate in the available Federal program for matching funds to renew city centers; in Georgia, the county unit system all but disenfranchises the citizens of Atlanta. To what extent will members of Southern economic power structures now assume responsibility for urging governmental reform and themselves accepting public office? In Atlanta, the first evidence that at least some of them will do so appeared in November with the election of Ivan Allen, Jr. to succeed the city's 71 year old Mayor William Hartsfield, who after 23 years in office now sees his general approach to the city's government passed on in safe hands.

It is also likely that when and as called on by their opposite numbers in other Southern localities, the men who have acquired courage and know-how through this autumn's events will share their experience in areas where difficulties may be greater---Birmingham and Montgomery, for instance.

As a Southwide consciousness of new capabilities broadens, events which harm the region's twentieth-century image may become of common regional concern. In Arkansas in 1962, Senator William Fulbright must run for reelection. His likely opposition is either Orville Faubus, now completing his third term as governor, or Congressman Dale Alford. The latter is the segregationist who

defeated the moderate Brooks Hays to represent Little Rock in 1958; he now faces a squeeze due to the Congressional redistricting caused by Arkansas' population loss. The Arkansas atmosphere is changing, but a defeat of the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by men whose names are symbols of segregation would be taken as symbolically far beyond the United States; and it would be comparably harmful to the economic prospects of the Southern region as an indication of a business climate.

The General Electric Company's "Guide to Making a Business Climate Appraisal," which is taken more or less as a standard text by both areas interested in attracting industry and corporations looking for good new sites, lists as one of eight main criteria:

> "BUSINESS CITIZENSHIP: A serious-minded assumption of business citizenship responsibilities on the part of all employers in the community as evidenced by consistently good employee relations and courageous leadership in civic and political affairs."

THE EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY
OF THE UNITED STATES
HOME OFFICE NEW YORK 1, NEW YORK

JOHN W. STANLEY, REPRESENTATIVE
739 WEST PEACHTREE ST., N. E.
ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONES: BUS. TR 4-4451
RES. DR 3-5357

ATLANTA, GA.,
15th Jan. '58

Dear Harold:

On 2nd Jan., through you, we learned of the approval of our appeal to the anonymous friend, and also that the stock had been wrongly addressed, and would have to be traced. The stock reached our bank on the 13th and we picked it up today; 85 shares of Gulf Oil.

For this we have you and Frank Forscher to thank. Without your kindly interest in our behalf, we would never have known of the possibility, and it was your appeal that got the gift for us.

We want you to know of our deep appreciation. This gives the meeting a wonderful lift, and multiplies our confidence. We are most grateful indeed!

Yours sincerely
John W. Stanley

October 27, 1958

Mr. Lloyd K. Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Garrison:

Mr. Currier's welcome letter forwarding the Taconic Foundation's check for $2,500 arrived Friday. My first thought was that we were unquestionably indebted to you for this generous and unexpected assistance. I am glad to have confirmation of that fact, so that I can express our deep and lasting appreciation.

As Mr. Dabbs says in his letter of acknowledgment, a copy of which is enclosed, unanticipated support to the Council's work confers a double blessing. We value it not only for the much needed material aid, but also for the friendship and confidence it represents.

We shall, of course, keep both you and Mr. Currier informed of the program efforts which this grant will help make possible.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

(Dabbs ltr. of 10/24/58 to Stephen R. Currier, President of Taconic Foundation, Inc.)

ADLAI E. STEVENSON*
SIMON H. RIFKIND
ROBERT E. SAMUELS
JOHN F. WHARTON
LLOYD K. GARRISON
RUSSELL H. WILDE
MYER D. MERMIN
HOWARD A. SEITZ
H. RUSSELL WINOKUR
SAMUEL J. SILVERMAN
ALEXANDER HEHMEYER
ADRIAN W. DEWIND
W. WILLARD WIRTZ*
CAROLYN E. AGGER**
LOUIS EISENSTEIN
MORDECAI ROCHLIN
PAUL J. NEWLON
JOSEPH S. ISEMAN
JAMES B. LEWIS
SIDNEY R. NUSSENFELD
MARTIN KLEINBARD
RICHARD H. PAUL
WILLIAM McC. BLAIR, JR.*
NEWTON N. MINOW*
NORMAN ZELENKO
JOHN E. MASSENGALE

*MEMBER ILL. BAR ONLY
**MEMBER D.C. BAR ONLY

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON
575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

MURRAY HILL 8-5600
CABLE: LONGSIGHT, N.Y.

IN CHICAGO
STEVENSON, RIFKIND & WIRTZ
135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET

IN WASHINGTON, D.C.
STEVENSON, PAUL, RIFKIND,
WHARTON & GARRISON
1614 EYE STREET, N.W.

ARTHUR J. COHEN
COUNSEL

RANDOLPH E. PAUL (1946-1956)
LOUIS S. WEISS (1927-1950)

October 24, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I was very glad to be helpful in obtaining a grant of $2,500 for the Council from the Taconic Foundation, Inc., of which I am a trustee and general counsel.

Sincerely yours,

Lloyd K. Garrison

Lloyd K. Garrison L.S.

lkg:ls

October 24, 1958

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Wonder of wonders, the enclosed letter and an accompanying check from the Taconic Foundation came in today quite unheralded and unsolicited. In fact, we had never heard of the Taconic Foundation or Mr. Currier and don't find them listed in our foundation directory.

If this was not the result of your efforts, I do have a notion of how the contribution may have come about. Not long ago, I received a telegram from Lloyd Garrison (whom I know as a member of the Field Foundation board) asking for information to use with an unnamed prospective donor to SRC. If I hear from you that the contribution is a surprise to you, too, I will write Mr. Garrison on the assumption that he made it possible.

I'm enclosing a draft letter of acknowledgment for your signature. Of coure, I anticipate that you will revise or rewrite it in any way that you wish. Our official receipt is also enclosed, to be forwarded with your letter.

Sorry I was tied up with a Civil Rights Commission staff member the night of your speech at Emory. All accounts of it are enthusiastic.

Best regards,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2

October 24, 1958

Mr. Stephen R. Currier
President
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Currier:

I can't tell you how grateful we are to you and the other directors of the Taconic Foundation for your generous contribution to the Southern Regional Council. The fact that the contribution was unexpected makes us all the more appreciative.

Particularly in these difficult times, the friendship and support that come to us unsolicited are the most heartening of all.

We shall be sending you periodic reports on our work, and I hope you will call on us for any additional information in which you and your associates would be interested.

I am occasionally in New York, as is the Council's Executive Director, Harold Fleming. When opportunity permits, I hope that one or both of us may have the pleasure of meeting you.

Sincerely yours,

James M. Dabbs
President

JMD/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Official receipt)

RECEIVED OCT 24 1958

TACONIC FOUNDATION, INC.
666 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 19, N.Y.

32ND FLOOR
JUdson 2-2684

October 21, 1958

Mr. James M. Dabbs, President
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

The Board of Directors of the Taconic Foundation voted at its most recent meeting to make a grant to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. Our Board has been most impressed by the work which the Council is doing and by your sensible approach to the grave problems which confront the South and the nation.

We are pleased to send you the enclosed contribution in the amount of Twenty Five Hundred Dollars — ch-pa for the use of the Council's general fund.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen R. Currier

Stephen R. Currier
President

Thanks Harold

Dec. 6, 1958

Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky
Doubleday and Co.
575 Madison Ave.
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Adam,

I was in Nashville last weekend when Harold Fleming called to be a bright light on the Southern Association of Nieman Fellows' horizon. The word that there may be possibilities of additional money is most cheering.

As you know, Hugh Morris, Louisville Courier-Journal, Frankfort, Ky., is the current president. However, in order to make the most of time I am writing you directly and sending him a copy of the correspondence.

Adam, the more I think about our program and the longer we have to watch its results accumulate, the more I am convinced that we are offering the finest fellowship plan in journalism after the Nieman Fellowships themselves. As the program has shaken down, we have developed an efficient administrative and selection setup, are able to give some real guidance to our grantees and to encourage them to come up with good stuff. We have contributed heavily to better understanding of international affairs and consequently to the region's understanding of them.

So far 17 men and women have received grants and have gone from Japan to South Africa and the Mideast. Our last grant was a supplement to Bill Gordon (Atlanta Negro newsman) to help him travel around Africa. I talked to Creed Black, executive editor of the Tennessean, in Nashville. He recently returned from the Mideast. He is most enthusiastic as is his boss Coleman Harwell. Black has given dozens of civic club talks, is arranging a lecture tour and feels he has added solid experience to the Tennesseans' expressions on not only Mideast affairs but all foreign affairs.

Most recent returnee is Joe Dabney, managing editor of the Florence, S.C. Morning News. Also enthusiastic, Joe has written of his visits to Poland and Russia with considerable depth.

We are offering to newsmen who couldn't otherwise make such trips, flesh and blood contact with another world. It opens their eyes. It comes back to their communities. It is shame now that the program has crystallized, has status (all publishers and editors who know about it have praised it) and is proven that we have run out of money.

--more---

I can provide on short notice a complete list of grantees, how much they spent, what they did. We can also gather statistically a accounting of side benefits: editorials, articles and stories written; civic club talks presented; magazine articles and lectures given.

The program is still designed for the grantee himself. The reason it works so well is:

1. The selection process eliminates junketeers, people who are not real professionals and who haven't the capacity to understand what they see and relay it;
2. The size and flexibility of the grant permits the newsman to do a well-rounded story and to see all he needs to see;
3. We have built status with the State Department, wire services and USIS and now have their cooperation, help and respect;
4. Publishers do not mind a fellow taking six to eight weeks for a trip and often even supplement his grant: but a keyman can not often be spared for the nine months to a year programs of the Reid Foundation or the Fund for Adult Education plan; most good men are just too busy to take a longer trip or would have to find someone to replace them on their regular jobs if they did.
5. The grant works no financial hardship on the recipient;
6. The grants , being known, attract top men on Southern newspapers, are completely acceptable because of clear avoidance of any partisanship on the race issue or other regional political issues.
7. Southern newspapers by and large recognize their inadequacy in foreign affairs commentary.

Out of our 17 grantees we had no lemons, perhaps we had two or three who didn't do as well as we had hoped. Otherwise, the plan worked. There was, for a time, some misunderstanding in our own ranks. Between us, this may have given Hodding Carter and Harry Ashmore a little pause. All this is over now: our own organization is solidly behind its leadership and the program itself. I can guarantee that.

We have tried for other sources of funds and probably can raise $2500 to $5000 on a one-year at a time basis. Obviously, this isn't enough. The program can efficiently and effectively operate on $30,000 a year. This will cover administrative costs and permit five to eight grants annually, which is enough for non-paid, parttime administrators to handle. A grant will average from $2000to$3500, depending on the country or countries concerned.

If you want any more information, let me know. If I can help by coming to New York, call me and I'll hope a plan immediately. I'm sure Hugh has the same attitude. It will be a great loss to Southern newspapering and to the readers of the papers if this plan drops.

Thanks from the bottom of my heart for your interest and help.

Cordially,
Sylvan Meyer

Current Yarmolinsky file

525 Avery Street,
Decatur, Ga.,
9th Dec. 1958,

Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky,
Doubleday & Co.,
575 Madison Ave.,
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Yarmolinsky:

Our mutual friend Harold Fleming informs me of your telephone conversation of yesterday, and suggests that I send you direct the brief which our Board of Directors prepared for his perusal. This Atlanta Friends Center is one and the same project mentioned by Messrs. Fleming and Loescher when discussing worth while projects with you recently, and this brief is sent in support of their statement.

The Atlanta Quaker Meeting is an entity in itself but is closely allied with the American Friends Service Committee, the Friends World Committee, and General Conference, and cooperates closely with the Southern Regional Council, and other purposeful organizations. Each is financially independent of the other, but have common concerns and purposes. A permanent place for worship, and a center from which to operate is a matter of great concern to us.

In the past the Atlanta Y.M.C.A. has very graciously allowed us two rooms for one hour each Sunday, for worship and Sunday School. They are now launching upon an extensive rearranging of the building, and for at least eighteen months will have no space available for other groups. In fact their own program will be greatly curtailed. This leaves us suspended at the moment. Finding a place where we are welcome is a most difficult task, since we have certain ideals to which we must hold. Our membership is predominately white, but we have Negro members who attend regularly. At times Hindus, temporarily in Atlanta, and Moslems passing through have met with us, as have many other Orientals. In short, ours is an open meeting; those of all races and creeds are welcomed; we are determined to hold to this practice. I mention all this only to make it clear as to just why we find it difficult to discover hosts who will accept us, at this hour and in this area.

Our extended program of activities has necessarily been limited to those concerns, as could be conducted through the homes of our members. And this has been limited in extent and efficiency, since our Negro friends, and dark skinned friends of other races often hesitate to penetrate the white domain.

Before we can function freely we must have a property of our own, title clear and free of debt; a home from which we cannot be evicted; a building affording rooms from which we may promote our whole program of human relationships, reconciliation, and interracial cooperation. Such a property must be in an area where color consciousness is not too great.

The Atlanta Friends Meeting is now engaged in an effort to raise $50,000 to provide this needed building, and success seems promising. However we need immediately funds that we may enlarge a program so desirable at this hour.

Our appeal to you is for the money necessary to promote a full scale program as outlined in the accompanying brief. The demands for a rallying point around which dedicated men and women may gather is tremendous. Our membership is working to full capacity. If we measure up to the opportunity before us, an able and trained Director must be enlisted to guide and coordinate all efforts. Until our building is a reality, (which we hope may not be too long delayed) this Director will function from the home.

The program which we visualize we believe can be carried out for two years for $20,000, or for $10,000 for one year. This would break down about as follows: Salaries, Director and Secretarial help $7500; car allowance $750; supplies, postage, utilities, etc., etc. $1750. Per Year $10,000. By the end of the second or third year we should have cultivated and developed a local constituency to assure the permanance of the Center.

We appeal to you in this moment of urgency to come to our aid with such a sum as you believe our cause to merit.

Yours faithfully,

John W. Stanley, Treasurer,

Sent to Adam Yarmolinsky for anonymous Gift

A PROPOSAL FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

FOR AID TO THE CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

December 11, 1958

This is a request for aid to the Consultant Service Program of the Southern Regional Council for 1959 in the amount of $20,000.

The Consultant Service Program was conceived more than three years ago as a means of bringing the counsel of experienced community-relations and other specialists to bear on the deliberations of local leadership in the South. This function is thought of as advisory rather than exhortative.

Consultants enter a situation only on the invitation of responsible local leaders. They are chosen from a panel of professionals who have other full-time responsibilities -- often as faculty members of some of the South's best known colleges.

THE NEED

During the past two years, school desegregation has advanced from the upper-South into the middle-South. It is now approaching the deep South, where resistance is greatest and the opposition is led by intractable men. Legal assaults on segregation have resulted in increased violence and intimidation as witnessed in Little Rock, Birmingham, Montgomery, Nashville, and elsewhere. Much of this violence could have been prevented or dealt with effectively had there been more adequate planning and advance community preparation. Every social scientist reporting on crisis situations in the South has cited the lack of skilled local leadership and community preparation. The Consultant Service Program is one of the few effective tools in assisting community leaders to face up to their responsibilities and deal positively with their problems.

The past year has seen increased use of SRC's Consultant Service Program in a wide variety of situations. Using 39 consultants we serviced eight formal workshops in which more than 500 people participated. Slightly more than 40% of the consultants involved were provided by other agencies at SRC's suggestion. Thus, the out-reach of the program is greater than the cost would indicate. Below are examples of other types of consultation.

The use made of the consultant program reflects the position on the continuum of change of the various communities where services were rendered. Obviously, the needs of communities in Kentucky -- a state well along the path to pupil integration -- differ from the needs of Alabama, a state which is officially defiant. The Consultant Service Program has been sufficiently flexible to contribute to both situations and the wide range in between.

MEETING THE NEED -- SOME EXAMPLES

1. In the late summer of 1958, Virginia entered the final phase of "massive resistance." It appeared then that four communities -- Arlington, Charlottesville, Norfolk, and Newport News -- would either accept some degree of desegregation or close their schools. SRC consultants were invited, under private auspices, into all four communities; they consulted with chiefs of police, mayors, clergymen, school board chairmen and superintendents, and private citizens. In each case, they sought to help these community leaders understand more clearly the nature of the changes required and techniques for effecting them. The consultants spent from one to two weeks in each community. Some of the organized efforts to secure local option and reopen the schools in Charlottesville and Norfolk are led by those with whom the consultants worked.

2. In mid-August SRC convened an off-the-record briefing conference for the top news and public affairs executives of the three major television and radio networks. The consultants who worked in the Virginia cities, plus a knowledgeable professional from Little Rock, served as resource persons. Some of the more imaginative television and radio treatments of these communities in the Fall were probably influenced by this background discussion. Incidentally, it marked the first time that these policy-makers of ABC, NBC, and CBS have met together for briefing on a major issue.

3. In Bryson City, North Carolina, SRC provided two consultants to meet with the local school board and the superintendent. One consultant was a regular member of the Consultant Panel, the other was a superintendent who had successfully desegregated a comparable school system in Kentucky.

4. SRC provided three consultants to meet with seven local superintendents, a county superintendent, and the head of a college department of education, who gathered in a small western Arkansas town. One consultant was a regular member of the Consultant Panel, the other two were superintendents -- one from Missouri, one from Oklahoma -- who had successfully desegregated their school systems.

5. Dallas, Texas, has been the scene of intensive use of the consultant program. This community faces a court order to desegregate. A consultant was sent in four days prior to the holding of a work session for community leaders. Communications between the races were at an all-time low. Through skillful spade work, key white and Negro leaders were involved in the meeting. Negro leaders, for the first time, were invited to discuss desegregation plans with the president of the school board. The group has met twice since the original meeting with SRC consultants. A correspondent in Dallas reports, "This activity has provided and re-established channels of communication between the Negro and white leadership which, unfortunately, had deteriorated during the past two years."

6. Two SRC consultants and staff members of AFSC, the Urban League, NAACP, and the Anti-Defamation League met with representatives of the President's Committee on Government Contracts in off-the-record sessions in Atlanta. Here, they discussed how human relations agencies and the President's Committee could be of mutual assistance. They learned, in turn, the mechanics and procedures of the Committee.

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR 1959

Consultant Costs		
Fees for Consultants' services	$6,500	
Consultant travel	5,500	$12,000
Costs of Direction and Supervision		
Chief Consultant*(fees and travel)	$5,000	
Communication	1,000	
SRC overhead costs (10%)	2,000	$8,000
TOTAL		$20,000

*The Consultant Service Program is directed by John Hope II, Associate Director of the American Missionary Association's Race Relations Department at Fisk University. As a part-time staff member of SRC, Mr. Hope has coordinated this project from its inception.

A PROPOSAL FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
FOR AID TO STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

December 10, 1958

This is a request for a contribution of $25,000 to be distributed, as indicated below, among eleven state councils on human relations operating in the South. The request is made with the understanding that any contribution should be regarded as one-time assistance implying no expectation of renewal.

Since the early days of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in the 1920's, there have been state and local interracial groups across the South. Prior to 1954, however, they were mainly unstaffed voluntary groups with little sustained program activity. A grant from the Fund for the Republic in that year enabled the Southern Regional Council to give these state groups unprecedented financial and program assistance. Today, there are staffed human relations councils -- some with active local affiliates -- in every Southern state except Mississippi.

The Southern Regional Council continues to maintain a close, cooperative relationship with the state councils. In addition to program services, we are this year giving them an aggregate total of $35,000 from our general funds. Yet they have the unique advantage of being independent organizations, with leadership and program tailored to their particular state situations. In a region as diverse and as subject to provincial suspicions as the South, this pattern has great assets.

The basic argument for support of the state councils is that they are instruments through which whites and Negroes can meet, communicate, and work together for democratic goals. In many of the states, they are the only organizations about which that can be said. They are, in

fact, pilot demonstrations of those attitudes and processes which the South must learn, however gradually and painfully. And it need hardly be added that there has never been a time when it was more difficult to secure adequate local support for such efforts.

The Southern Regional Council proposed to distribute the amount requested among the state councils on the basis of need and merit. In arriving at the allocations shown below, we have given careful consideration to the public climate of the respective states, the quality of officers and staff, and the scope and effectiveness of program. The recommendations arrived at are generally proportionate to the aid which SRC is giving these councils from its own operating funds.

Many disinterested but knowledgeable persons have testified to the importance of the state councils and their local affiliates. As Martin Luther King said of one of them in Stride Toward Freedom:

> As the only truly interracial group in Montgomery, (the Council on Human Relations) served to keep the desperately needed channels of communication open between the races. Men often hate each other because they do notknow each other; they do not know each other because they cannot communicate; they cannot communicate because they are separated. In providing an avenue of communication, the Council was fulfilling a necessary condition for better race relations in the South.

Following is a brief description of each state group, and the amount of financial assistance recommended.

ALABAMA. Here, a dedicated interracial group, the Alabama Council on Human Relations, belies in its very existence the claim of the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council that all interracial activities in the state have been stopped. The Alabama Council has been instrumental

in creating a state-wide interracial ministers group which meets twice a year, seeking to keep open the vital lines of communication. It has been constructively active in numerous crisis situations including the Autherine Lucy incident at the University of Alabama, the bus protest in Montgomery, and the bombings in Birmingham.

The Executive Director is Robert Hughes, courageous and dedicated thrity-year-old Methodist minister, who serves by appointment of his bishop. The state Chairman is Rev. Thomas Thrasher of Montgomery's Episcopal Church of the Ascension.

ARKANSAS. During the Little Rock crisis, Mrs. Daisy Bates, state President of the NAACP, described the Arkansas Council as "the only place where whites and Negroes meet on friendly grounds." The Arkansas Council sponsored a workshop for seven district school superintendents from the western part of the state; it was staffed by two superintendents from desegregated districts of the neighboring states of Missouri and Oklahoma. The Council played a major role in keeping the story straight with correspondents who were on the scene during the Little Rock crisis.

Nat Griswold, former long-time staff member of the AFSC Peace Commission, is Executive Director. The Associate Director is John Walker, young Negro political scientist. The immediate past Chairman is Rev. C. S. Cartwright, author of numerous articles on the Little Rock crisis.

FLORIDA. The Florida Council has gained quasi-official recognition from county and municipal governments for its work in the Greater Miami area. It has conferred steadily with school and other public

officials on human relations problems. It completed a survey showing the needs of Latin American farm workers. It plans a state-wide conference on violence-prevention, which has the endorsement of the governor.

Bill Williams, the Executive Director, is an ordained Methodist minister, native of Texas, and a graduate of the public schools of Palm Beach County, Florida. The state Chairman is Dr. Hal G. Lewis of the University of Florida's School of Education.

GEORGIA. The Georgia Council has been one of the few sane voices in a state where official power has been used ruthlessly to stifle dissent. The Council led the fight to protect the freedom of speech of teachers when they were under serious attack by the segregationists. Its Atlanta affiliate worked effectively for voluntary desegregation of airport facilities and public library services. A number of the ministers who originated the widely hailed "manifestoes" are active participants in the Georgia and Atlanta Councils.

The Executive Director of the Georgia Council is Walter Cowart, a respected Methodist clergyman. The Administrative Secretary, Mrs. Luesta Knox, was an aide of one of Georgia's few liberal governors. The Chairman is McDowell Richards, President of Columbia Theological Seminary in Decatur, Georgia.

KENTUCKY. The Kentucky Council in 1955-56 worked with state and local school officials in planning and implementing school desegregation; it is currently working on teacher integration. It is also carrying on extensive efforts in the area of merit employment. Dr. Omer Carmichael, in The Louisville Story, written with Weldon James, credits the Kentucky Council with having helped prepare Louisville for peaceful desegregation.

The Kentucky Council now uses consultants -- specialists in a wide variety of fields -- rather than full-time staff. The state Chairman is Dr. Rufus Atwood, President of Kentucky State College.

LOUISIANA. The Louisiana Council is concentrating its efforts in New Orleans, feeling that this will produce the best results. The Council has sponsored public meetings supporting law and order, assisted in preparing the community for the peaceful acceptance of desegregation of the New Orleans public transportation system, and has worked closely with Loyola University's Industrial Relations Institute and with faculty members at Dillard and Tulane Universities.

Miss Mary Raymond, Executive Secretary, is the former Director of the New Orleans Council of Social Agencies. Fr. Eugene McManus is immediate past President of the Louisiana Council.

NORTH CAROLINA. The North Carolina Council has established correspondence or personal contact with more than 150 public school officials over the state, supplying them with materials and advice. It played an effective part in the initial desegregation of schools in several North Carolina cities. It cooperates with the American Friends Service Committee, the Urban League, and the NAACP on merit employment projects. It plans a state-wide conference on the International Implications of American Race Relations next spring.

Harry Jones, formerly with the National Conference of Christians and Jews, is Executive Director. The state Chairman is Dr. Raymond Wheeler, physician, of Charlotte.

SOUTH CAROLINA. The South Carolina Council is the only state-wide interracial organization. It works quietly to rally and encourage the

hard-pressed liberals and moderates in this difficult state. It helped to distribute to key persons in the state the moderate South Carolinians Speak. It has assisted clergymen, professors, and school teachers caught up in the desegregation controversy.

Mrs. Alice Spearman, an experienced civic leader, serves as Executive Director. She is from a respected, old-line South Carolina family. The state Chairman is Courtney Siceloff, Director of Penn Community Services, Frogmore, South Carolina.

TENNESSEE. The Tennessee Council has just reorganized its Board and secured the services of Miss Louise Young, long-time Scarritt College professor, as Executive Director. During the initial period of public school desegregation in Nashville, it assisted in interpreting the process to key people in the capital city. It has used consultants to advise with school and other public officials in eastern and middle Tennessee. It plans to strengthen and make more effective local groups in Memphis, Knoxville, and Chattanooga.

The state Chairman is Walter Sharp, professor of Fine Arts at Vanderbilt University, a member of one of Tennessee's oldest families.

TEXAS. The Texas Council has assisted public school officials in planning desegregation in west and Southern Texas. It has sponsored workshops on the role of religious leaders in times of social transition. It has set up cooperative interagency efforts in Dallas and Austin; it is in the process of doing the same in Houston.

The Rev. Edwin Kloppe, Evangelical and Reformed clergyman, is the Executive Director. Mrs. James Crate, widow of an oilman and former President of the state Council of Church Women, is the Chairman.

VIRGINIA. Virginia has been described as an upper-South state with a deep South posture -- a position difficult to maintain. Thus, the Virginia Council is in a strategic position to help effect the contested change to a desegregated society. The local Council in Charlottesville has held a series of public forums dealing with the legal, the sociological, the psychological, and the economic aspects of desegregation. It also has active locals in Arlington, Richmond, Fairfax County, Lynchburg, and Prince William County. It has played an active role in marshaling public opinion in favor of reopening the schools in Charlottesville, Front Royal, and Norfolk. Its Board members participate in the Committees to Preserve the Public Schools in those communities. It enjoys the confidence of liberal white and Negro leaders throughout the state.

Paul Rilling, former professor at the University of Alabama and recently with the regional staff of the YMCA, serves as Executive Director. The state Chairman is Rev. Hubert Beckwith of the Fairfax County Congregational Christian Church.

PROPOSED FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

The needs of these state organizations vary; for some, fund raising is an almost insurmountable task; for others, it is somewhat less difficult.

Any division of funds among the state Councils calls for careful consideration of a number of factors. In arriving at the following recommendations several criteria were applied to each state group: the strategic importance of the state, general conditions in the state, past performance of the state Council in fund-raising and

program, quality of Board and Staff, the financial needs of the group, SRC's 1959 allocation to each, and the anticipated performance in 1959.

STATE ORGANIZATION	RECOMMENDED AMOUNT
Alabama	$3,500
Arkansas	2,500
Florida	2,500
Georgia	2,500
Kentucky	1,000
Louisiana	1,000
North Carolina	2,500
South Carolina	3,000
Tennessee	2,500
Texas	1,000
Virginia	3,000
TOTAL	$25,000

Folcroft Foundation

A PROPOSAL FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL FOR A SPECIAL PROJECT OF FACT-FINDING AND RESEARCH

December 9, 1958

Summary of Request

Over the years, the Southern Regional Council has been best known perhaps for the facts and interpretation presented in its own publications and through its informational services to private organizations, official agencies, and the press. Quite candidly, in the recent period of crisis in Southern race relations, our reputation has outstripped our staff capacities. The opportunities to exert a positive influence through strategic use of information are more than we can meet. In order to increase the Council's effectiveness in this area, we request a contribution of $50,000. This amount, if granted, would be used over a two-year period to employ a research specialist and to bear the cost of supporting secretarial, communications, travel, and printing expenses. An unusually well-qualified man is available for this project position. (See page 4.) We understand that favorable action on this one-time request should not be construed as any indication of future support.

The Need

As the integration controversy has mounted in intensity, the Council's function as a source of authoritative information has grown commensurately. Representatives of virtually every major national publication and many Southern newspapers are constantly in touch with us through personal visits, long-distance telephone, or correspondence. We are similarly called upon by staff members of such agencies as the Commission on Civil Rights, and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. Magazines of national circulation not only consult us for information, but also ask our detailed help in evaluating and planning articles on the South. The same is true, to a lesser degree, of television, radio, book publishers and authors. Other organizations concerned with human relations seek from us the kind of analysis that will assist them in planning and carrying out meaningful programs in the South. Our officers and staff members have many opportunities to interpret the Southern scene in influential public forums. The Council's own literature is also a medium for

the dissemination of our findings and recommendations.

The collection, maintenance, and processing of information on which these functions depend are the full-time responsibility of only two professional staff members. The Director of Information edits the monthly publication New South, prepares material for the press, develops promotional literature, and supervises distribution of materials. The other professional staff member, with one clerical assistant, maintains extensive reference files, including books, periodicals, regular clipping of more than thirty newspapers, and first-hand reports supplied us by cooperating individuals and organizations over the South.

Project grants from time to time have made it possible for us to carry out a few major surveys with the aid of temporary and part-time personnel. The most notable of these was the 1956 study reported in Integration North and South, and the surveys of Negro voter registration in 1956 and 1958. Even today, the Council's findings remain the only reliable documentation of the status of Negro suffrage in the South. Because of limited personnel, the central staff supervision of these surveys has rested mainly on the executive director -- an unsatisfactory and inefficient arrangement at best.

Partial List of Publications and Groups Given Major Assistance from SRC Research

NEWSPAPERS:

New York Times
Wall Street Journal
Associated Press
United Press International
Washington Post & Times-Herald
Washington Star
Christian Science Monitor
New York Herald Tribune
Atlanta Journal
Atlanta Constitution
Chattanooga Times
St. Louis Post Dispatch
Miami Daily News
and many other Southern papers

MAGAZINES:

Saturday Evening Post
Readers Digest
Business Week
Fortune

Magazines - continued

The Reporter
Harper's
New Republic
McCall's
Redbook
Ladies Home Journal
America
Look
Time and Life
Newsweek
U. S. News and World Report

TELEVISION AND RADIO:

American Broadcasting Company
Columbia Broadcasting System
National Broadcasting Company
and various individual stations

AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS:

Commission on Civil Rights
Department of Justice
Library of Congress
Library of the Supreme Court
National Planning Association
Governmental Affairs Institute
League of Women Voters of Georgia
National Recreation Association
Boy Scouts of America
National Student Association
American Psychological Association
American Sociological Society
YMCA and YWCA
AFL-CIO and affiliated unions
American Friends Service Committee
American Jewish Committee
Anti-Defamation League
American Jewish Congress
National Urban League (S.E.)
N. A. A. C. P.
Appropriate departments of:
National Council of Churches
United Church Women
Southern Baptist Convention
Methodist Women's Division
Presbyterian Church, US & USA
Episcopal Church
Lutheran Church
Unitarian - Universalist Church
Many colleges and universities

The Prospect

The closing of public schools in Virginia and Arkansas -- plus the likelihood of future closings elsewhere -- has newly awakened the concern of white Southerners by the hundreds of thousands. Their new-found interest in all aspects of the public school crisis means a further increase in the demands for information which confront the Council. We are already feeling this heightened pressure. Badly needed is the development of data and materials cast in terms of the self-interest of parents, businessmen, educators, public officials, and so on. As national policy on integration is more and more hotly debated, more and better analysis of the realities in the South must be projected to the rest of the country. There is a particularly urgent need for action research that will clarify the social and economic conditions that have become identified with race and have clouded our thinking, north and south, about desegregation.

As the only organization of its kind operating Southwide, the Southern Regional Council should assume a greater share of the responsibility for this task of public information. The Council has the reputation and the experience to do so. But without the addition of personnel with skill in research and fact-finding, our productivity in this area can hardly exceed its present inadequate level.

The Candidate

We have assured ourselves that we can secure for this project the services of Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, presently assistant professor of political science at Mount Holyoke College. He is 37 years old, a native of West Virginia, educated in the Baltimore schools, the University of Maryland, Johns Hopkins University, and Cornell. He taught for four years at Emory University (Atlanta), where he took an active interest in race relations studies and activities. From 1951 to 1954, he worked for the Atomic Energy Commission as Chief, Community Affairs Branch of the Savannah River Project. He subsequently spent a year as a Guggenheim Fellow investigating the liberal tradition in American politics; a book is in manuscript. He has written extensively for professional journals on government and race relations.

Dr. Dunbar spent last summer as a temporary employee of the Southern Regional Council. During this period, he displayed first-rate ability and an imaginative grasp of program opportunities. He is wholeheartedly committed to the principles and aims for which the Council works.

The Budget

Salaries (Research Director, secretary, and clerk)	$14,300
Travel	1,200
Communications (Telephone, telegraph, postage)	1,000
Equipment and acquisition of materials	1,500
Part-time personnel for field surveys (fees and travel)	3,000
Printing and distribution of materials	3,200
Other, including social security and salary increases, second year	800
TOTAL ONE YEAR	$25,000
TOTAL TWO YEARS	$50,000

Mailed to:
Yarmolinsky
Steven Currier & Co.
666-5th Avenue
New York 19

December 11, 1958

Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky
Doubleday and Company, Inc.
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Adam:

Here are requests for assistance to three phases of our work that most need support and, we feel, will most enhance the Council's effectiveness. A word about each, in order of priority:

(1) Research and Fact-Finding Project. This would make possible much important new program activity, and would strengthen the whole operation at the point of greatest need and opportunity. We are requesting $50,000 for a two-year period.

(2) Aid to state councils on human relations. The value we attach to these groups is demonstrated by the fact that SRC has budgeted $35,000 of general funds for aid to them in 1959. The supplementary aid requested would free their staff persons for more program effort and reduce the danger of their extinction at a time of great usefulness. We are requesting $25,000 for a one-year period.

(3) Consultant Service Program. This special project now has three years of sound experience behind it. It has proved an effective channel for bringing the skill and knowledge of specialists to Southern leaders who must learn in a hurry how to implement social change. We are requesting $20,000 for a one-year period.

Support of any or all of these three efforts will strengthen the Council's total operation. In fact, apart from meeting our basic overhead, we have no higher priorities for general funds. I needn't point out, however, that the Southern crisis can and does change its focus with bewildering suddenness. It would considerably increase the Council's flexibility in meeting unforeseen situations if the gift could be made as unrestricted funds.

We make these requests with complete understanding that favorable action would entail no obligation or expectation of future support.

Normally we would submit supporting "exhibits" for each request, but I am assuming that a lot of documentation would only burden you at this point. Therefore, I am adding only a copy of our Treasury letter of tax-exemption. Let me know if more is needed.

My thanks and best regards to you and to Mr. Currier.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 7
3 Proposals
(two copies each)
1 Ltr. of Tax-exemption

A - 1

A PROPOSAL FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL FOR A SPECIAL PROJECT OF FACT-FINDING AND RESEARCH

December 9, 1958

Summary of Request

Over the years, the Southern Regional Council has been best known perhaps for the facts and interpretation presented in its own publications and through its informational services to private organizations, official agencies, and the press. Quite candidly, in the recent period of crisis in Southern race relations, our reputation has outstripped our staff capacities. The opportunities to exert a positive influence through strategic use of information are more than we can meet. In order to increase the Council's effectiveness in this area, we request a contribution of $50,000. This amount, if granted, would be used over a two-year period to employ a research specialist and to bear the cost of supporting secretarial, communications, travel, and printing expenses. An unusually well-qualified man is available for this project position. (See page 4.) We understand that favorable action on this one-time request should not be construed as any indication of future support.

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the dissemination of our findings and recommendations.

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Project grants from time to time have made it possible for us to carry out a few major surveys with the aid of temporary and part-time personnel. The most notable of these was the 1956 study reported in Integration North and South, and the surveys of Negro voter registration in 1956 and 1958. Even today, the Council's findings remain the only reliable documentation of the status of Negro suffrage in the South. Because of limited personnel, the central staff supervision of these surveys has rested mainly on the executive director -- an unsatisfactory and inefficient arrangement at best.

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Washington Post & Times-Herald
Washington Star
Christian Science Monitor
New York Herald Tribune
Atlanta Journal
Atlanta Constitution
Chattanooga Times
St. Louis Post Dispatch
Miami Daily News
and many other Southern papers

MAGAZINES:

Saturday Evening Post
Readers Digest
Business Week
Fortune

Fact-Finding and Research Proposal - 3.
December 9, 1958

Magazines - continued

The Reporter
Harper's
New Republic
McCall's
Redbook
Ladies Home Journal
America
Look
Time and Life
Newsweek
U. S. News and World Report

TELEVISION AND RADIO:

American Broadcasting Company
Columbia Broadcasting System
National Broadcasting Company
and various individual stations

AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS:

Commission on Civil Rights
Department of Justice
Library of Congress
Library of the Supreme Court
National Planning Association
Governmental Affairs Institute
League of Women Voters of Georgia
National Recreation Association
Boy Scouts of America
National Student Association
American Psychological Association
American Sociological Society
YMCA and YWCA
AFL-CIO and affiliated unions
American Friends Service Committee
American Jewish Committee
Anti-Defamation League
American Jewish Congress
National Urban League (S.E.)
N. A. A. C. P.
Appropriate departments of:
National Council of Churches
United Church Women
Southern Baptist Convention
Methodist Women's Division
Presbyterian Church, US & USA
Episcopal Church
Lutheran Church
Unitarian - Universalist Church
Many colleges and universities

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Other, including social security and salary increases, second year	800	
TOTAL ONE YEAR	$25,000	
TOTAL TWO YEARS	$50,000	

Currier

MELLON NATIONAL BANK AND TRUST COMPANY

MELLON SQUARE

PITTSBURGH 30, PENNSYLVANIA

December 29, 1958

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

We enclose certificates for 780 shares Gulf Oil Corporation Capital Stock dated December 29, 1958 registered in your name as set forth above. This stock is being sent to you at the direction of Mrs. Audrey Bruce Currier, 713 Park Avenue, New York 21, New York.

Will you please acknowledge receipt of this stock by signing and returning the enclosed carbon copy of this letter to us as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

John G. Maloney

John G. Maloney
Trust Assistant

JGM:mkj
Enclosures

We hereby acknowledge receipt of the above described stock certificate.

Dated this 31st day of December, 1958.

By RHA

VIA AIR MAIL

December 29, 1958

Mr. Stephen R. Currier
S. R. Currier and Company
666 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Currier:

The letter from Mrs. Eddy notifying us of your generous contribution to the Council has just arrived. There are no synonyms for "thank you" good enough to express our appreciation to you and Mrs. Currier. The best way we can do it, of course, is by using these funds as effectively as we possibly can. And this, I assure you, we intend to do.

I expect to be in New York again on Tuesday and Wednesday, January 6 and 7, and possibly Thursday the 8th. I very much hope it will be possible to see you on one of those days.

With all good wishes for the new year,

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

STEPHEN RICHARD CURRIER

December 22, 1958

Dr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

Mr. and Mrs. Stephen R. Currier have asked me to let you know that arrangements have been made to transfer Gulf Oil Corporation Capital Stock with an approximate value of $95,000 to Southern Regional Council, Inc. This contribution is being made to support special projects of the Council or to support its general fund, as need indicates. The stock certificates will be forwarded to you directly from the Mellon National Bank & Trust Company, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. and Mrs. Currier have no wish for publicity of any kind in connection with this gift. Would you be kind enough to see that their name does not appear on any list, published or otherwise, and that their anonymity is preserved in every respect.

Mr. and Mrs. Currier send their good wishes for the continued fine work of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. during the coming year.

Sincerely yours,

Jane Lee J. Eddy

(Mrs.) Jane Lee J. Eddy
For Mr. and Mrs. S. R. Currier

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Mellon National Bank and Trust Company
Pittsburgh, Pa.
(Ltr. of transmittal of grant to SRC)

DATE

December 29, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Currier-Yarmolinskya Correspondence
(Sep* Special corresp.)

Charles Yarmolinsky file

December 31, 1958

Dear Mrs. Eddy:

I have talked with Bob Hughes, the executive director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, about the matter raised with you by the Rev. Carl Landes of Wadley. The following summary background may be helpful in judging the proposal.

The interracial Alabama Ministers' Conference was organized about two years ago as the first and only statewide, racially inclusive group of clergymen. Bob Hughes, who is a Methodist minister, was one of the organizers of it and serves on the planning committee. It is a rather loose and informal association of some 70 ministers, approximately half of them white and half Negro. The full group meets twice a year; two continuing committees meet more often. One of these is the planning (or steering) committe, the other a committee charged with working for the establishment of an integrated state council of churches.

The idea of counselling fellow ministers in difficult situations has been discussed for some time by individuals members and the planning committee. In a state like Alabama, such counselling is an important and much needed function. Bob Hughes does as much of it as his one-man professional role in the Alabama Council will permit. But he feels that this is only a fraction of what might, and should, be done.

A tax-exempt contribution for this purpose might be received in one of several ways. The Ministers' Conference could incorporate as a religious group; I understand that this is a simple and speedy process. Or one of the ministers could receive a gift for this purpose through his church. Or, finally, one of the tax-exempt organizations (denominational groups, SRC,

or whatever) could receive an earmarked gift.

I understand that the planning committee of the Ministers' Conference is going to meet sometime next week and that this question will be on its agenda.

I won't attempt to describe in detail the effort that the Alabama ministers have in mind. No doubt, Mr. Landes will have a good deal to say about that.

If I can furnish any further information or advice that will help you evaluate this proposal -- or any other -- I know you will feel free to call on me.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/hs

Mrs. Jane Lee J. Eddy
S. R. Currier & Co.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

VIA AIR MAIL

December 31, 1958

Dr. Rufus Atwood
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Atwood:

This is a sort of New Year's message that I am especially glad to be able to send.

Through the generosity of an individual donor who prefers to remain anonymous, we have secured a contribution to be applied to the needs of the state councils on human relations. The gift to the Kentucky Council from this source is $1,000.

This is, of course, over and above the aid from SRC's general funds which was approved by our Annual Meeting. And, unlike our regular grant-in-aid, this gift will be sent to you in a lump sum. Since the contribution was made in the form of securities, disposition of which calls for action by our Executive Committee, it will probably be about the first of February before we can send you a check. But meanwhile you have not only hope, but assurance.

All good wishes for 1959.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

cc: Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg

C.O. Files

Same ltr. sent to:

Ark. - $2,500
Fla. - $2,500
Ga. - $2,500
Ky. - $1,000
NC - $2,500
SC - $3,000
Tenn. - $2,500
Va. - $3,000

VIA AIR MAIL

December 31, 1958

Mr. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

This is a sort of New Year's message that I am especially glad to be able to send.

Through the generosity of an individual donor who prefers to remain anonymous, we have secured a contribution to be applied to the needs of the state councils on human relations. The gift to the Alabama Council from this source is $3,500.

This is, of course, over and above the aid from SRC's general funds which was approved by our Annual Meeting. And, unlike our regular grant-in-aid, this gift will be sent to you in a lump sum. Since the contribution was made in the form of securities, disposition of which calls for action by our Executive Committee, it will probably be about the first of February before we can send you a check. But meanwhile you have not only hope, but assurance.

All good wishes for 1959.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Rev. Thomas Thrasher

December 31, 1958

VIA AIR MAIL

Mrs. Alice Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1745 Sumter Street, Room 100
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Alice:

This is a sort of New Year's message that I am especially glad to be able to send.

Through the generosity of an individual donor who prefers to remain anonymous, we have secured a contribution to be applied to the needs of the state councils on human relations. The gift to the South Carolina Council from this source is $3,000.

This is, of course, over and above the aid from SRC's general funds which was approved by our Annual Meeting. And, unlike our regular grant-in-aid, this gift will be sent to you in a lump sum. Since the contribution was made in the form of securities, disposition of which calls for action by our Executive Committee, it will probably be about the first of February before we can send you a check. But meanwhile you have not only hope, but assurance.

All good wishes for 1959.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
cc: Courtney Siceloff

VIA AIR MAIL

December 31, 1958

Mr. William K. Williams
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
213 N. E. Second Avenue
Miami, Florida

Dear Bill:

This is a sort of New Year's message that I am especially glad to be able to send.

Through the generosity of an individual donor who prefers to remain anonymous, we have secured a contribution to be applied to the needs of the state councils on human relations. The gift to the Florida Council from this source is $2,500.

This is, of course, over and above the aid from SRC's general funds which was approved by our Annual Meeting. And, unlike our regular grant-in-aid, this gift will be sent to you in a lump sum. Since the contribution was made in the form of securities, disposition of which calls for action by our Executive Committee, it will probably be about the first of February before we can send you a check. But meanwhile you have not only hope, but assurance.

All good wishes for 1959.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Dr. Hal G. Lewis

December 31, 1958

VIA AIR MAIL

Miss Louise Young
Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
416 Twenty-first Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Miss Young:

This is a sort of New Year's message that I am especially glad to be able to send.

Through the generosity of an individual donor who prefers to remain anonymous, we have secured a contribution to be applied to the needs of the state councils on human relations. The gift to the Tennessee Council from this source is $2,500.

This is, of course, over and above the aid from SRC's general funds which was approved by our Annual Meeting. And, unlike our regular grant-in-aid, this gift will be sent to you in a lump sum. Since the contribution was made in the form of securities, disposition of which calls for action by our Executive Committee, it will probably be about the first of February before we can send you a check. But meanwhile you have not only hope, but assurance.

All good wishes for 1959.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
cc: A. C. Miller
Walter Sharp

VIA AIR MAIL

December 31, 1958

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

This is a sort of New Year's message that I am especially glad to be able to send.

Through the generosity of an individual donor who prefers to remain anonymous, we have secured a contribution to be applied to the needs of the state councils on human relations. The gift of the Arkansas Council from this source is $2,500.

This is, of course, over and above the aid from SRC's general funds which was approved by our Annual Meeting. And, unlike our regular grant-in-aid, this gift will be sent to you in a lump sum. Since the contribution was made in the form of securities, disposition of which calls for action by our Executive Committee, it will probably be about the first of February before we can send you a check. But meanwhile you have not only hope, but assurance.

All good wishes for 1959.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mrs. Kyle Engler

December 31, 1958

VIA AIR MAIL

Rev. Harry S. Jones
Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 E. Third Street, Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Harry:

This is a sort of New Year's message that I am especially glad to be able to send.

Through the generosity of an individual donor who prefers to remain anonymous, we have secured a contribution to be applied to the needs of the state councils on human relations. The gift to the North Carolina Council from this source is $2,500.

This is, of course, over and above the aid from SRC's general funds which was approved by our Annual Meeting. And, unlike our regular grant-in-aid, this gift will be sent to you in a lump sum. Since the contribution was made in the form of securities, disposition of which calls for action by our Executive Committee, it will probably be about the first of February before we can send you a check. But meanwhile you have not only hope, but assurance.

All good wishes for 1959.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
cc: Raymond Wheeler

VIA AIR MAIL

December 31, 1958

Mr. Paul Rilling
Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
216-C Broad-Grace Arcade Building
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

This is a sort of New Year's message that I am especially glad to be able to send.

Through the generosity of an individual donor who prefers to remain anonymous, we have secured a contribution to be applied to the needs of the state councils on human relations. The gift to the Virginia Council from this source is $3,000.

This is, of course, over and above the aid from SRC's general funds which was approved by our Annual Meeting. And, unlike our regular grant-in-aid, this gift will be sent to you in a lump sum. Since the contribution was made in the form of securities, disposition of which calls for action by our Executive Committee, it will probably be about the first of February before we can send you a check. But meanwhile you have not only hope, but assurance.

It is our strong recommendation that these additional funds be used for special program or organizational purposes not provided for in your present budget. In this way, this unexpected assistance will serve to enlarge the effectiveness

of the organization, rather than merely meeting obligations already planned, budgeted, and presumably allowed for in your current fund-raising efforts.

All good wishes for 1959.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Hubert Beckwith

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Grants-in-Aid to State Groups (Special appropriations)

REGARDING

Letters of transmittal

DATE

February 2, 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Folders marked "Grants-In-Aid" under the following states:
Fla., Va., Ark., Ala., Ky., N.C., Tenn., S. C., and Ga.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

TACONIC FOUNDATION

REGARDING

Reese Cleghorn and book on Voter Education asking guidance on what could be said regarinding foundation interests,principles, etc.

DATE

12/3/65

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

HARCOURT BRACE VEP BOOK

Foundations

January 3, 1966

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Executive Director
The Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

Dear Jane Lee:

The Advisory Committee mentioned in our Voter Education Project proposal held its first meeting on Thursday of last week. Enclosed is a report on their reactions to the proposal and suggestions about any future project we might undertake.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

January 11, 1966

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Executive Director
The Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

Dear Jane Lee:

Just a note to thank you for a copy of the Foundation report. The contents are very informative and it is a beautiful pamphlet.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Rec'd 2/23/66

file — 1966

MS

TACONIC FOUNDATION, INC.
666 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

February 18, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thanks so much for your letter and the very helpful reference memorandum on the question of longer terms for legislators.

I do hope we can arrange for you and Stephen to get together soon, and I think it would be very helpful to have Vernon Jordan visit as you suggest.

Sincerely yours,

Jane Lee

(Mrs.) Jane Lee J. Eddy
Secretary of the Foundation

JLJE/jt

February 14, 1966

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Executive Director
The Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, 19, New York

Dear Jane Lee:

Enclosed is a memorandum done by one of the ladies in Research on the matter of four year terms for Congressmen. Our conversations with the state council directors indicated no ground swell of interest in the matter, pro or con. This is similar to the reports from the persons at the Inter-Agency Conference. It makes me question the enclosed results of the Gallup Poll.

Sorry I didn't get to see you on the New York trip. At your and his convenience, I would appreciate an opportunity of coming up for that purpose and would like shortly thereafter to have Vernon Jordan do the same.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

MJ - file

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Glenda Bartley, Research

RE: Reaction to the proposal for four year terms for Congressmen

NATIONAL

Washington Post 1/16/66, by Julius Duscha:

Proponents of the four-year term argue that "a two-year term for important office is an anachronism" and that "the off-year elections usually raise havoc with the President's support in Congress, and of course form one of the bases of the congressional party system." (from James McGregor Burns' Deadlock of Democracy); and that "enhancing the possibility of one-party control of the government would enhance the possibility of substantial government power and would unmistakably fix responsibility for governmental policy." (Stephen K. Bailey, Dean of the Maxwell Graduate School at Syracuse University).

Duscha argues, however, that mid-term elections can be referendums on presidential policies and leadership. He also states that: "The arguments that House members are constantly campaigning are considerably exaggerated. Generally no more than 100 of the 435 Representatives face opposition requiring sustained campaigning every two years. In the Johnson landslide in 1964, for example, only 85 new members entered the House, and many replaced Representatives who retired."

"The pros and cons of the President's proposal revolve around one's view of the role of government. Advocates of a strong presidency see the proposal as a way of furthering their goals while those concerned about over-centralizing of Federal power view it with alarm....Should a President be given the maximum opportunity to bring into office with him a Congress that would be a part of his team? Or should Congress be a counter-force to the power of the presidency?...representative government is an expedient that also must be responsive to the will of the people--expressed at election time."

Cont'd - Reaction to the proposal for four year terms for Congressmen

Raleigh News & Observer 2/6/66, by Joseph W. Sullivan in the Wall Street Journal:

Cites other congressional duties, most involving patronage, as more time consuming than campaigning and suggests the president use his persuasive power to increase congressional staffs.

Atlanta Constitution 1/31/66 (editorial) "Senate leaders, Dem. Mike Mansfield and Everett Dirksen, have said they would support the change if half of the House members were elected every two years.

There is doubt that the change will come about since two-thirds of the House and Senate must approve it, along with three-fourths of the states. Tradition is difficult to set aside and there is still a strong feeling that the present system not be tampered with. Yet President Johnson's reasons for proposing the change make good sense."

Washington Post 1/14/66, by Julius Duscha: Senators and Representatives felt that the four-year term would "probably strengthen presidential power and tend to unify the Nation's fragmented political parties.../but/ mid-term elections could no longer be turned into national referendums on presidential policies since all House members would be elected in presidential election years....The older, more conservative members of Congress, for whom re-election campaigns are routine, generally see no reason for lengthening the term of House members from two years to four years." Emanuel Celler (Judiciary Committee), "whose committee would consider the legislation, is opposed to the proposal." McCormack "told reporters that the plan is a good idea but pointedly noted that Celler is opposed to it." Rep. Frank Chelf (D-KY), a supporter of four-year term, "told a House Judiciary subcommittee last year that 254 representatives favored the idea in a poll he had taken of the House." "Younger members of the House, most of whom face tough re-election campaigns during their first years in office, and many political scientists favor four-year terms."

Arkansas Gazette 1/13/66, AP: "Johnson's proposal came as a pleasant surprise to most House members, who like the idea.

"An amendment proposing four-year terms has been before the House Judiciary Committee for years. More than 30 representatives urged its passage at hearings last year."

Cont'd - Reaction to the proposal for four year terms for Congressmen

ALABAMA

Atlanta Journal 1/26/66, by Reese Cleghorn: Wallace, at a meeting of the State Democratic Committee in early January, suggested that "the terms of office of some county officials in the Black Belt might be extended without elections...."He was serious, too, about extending the terms of some office holders through one device or another. The motivation is simple: Negro voter registration in the counties involved. "The governor can ask the legislature to extend the terms. But a slicker device would have been to enable the Democratic party organizations in the heavily Negro counties to hold no primaries (still the real elections in these counties), and, instead, nominate their candidates at stacked local conventions.

"Then, because a one-party system has always prevailed, the nominees might have been assured of new terms.

"This development could have been made possible by the State Democratic Committee, which met last weekend in Birmingham.

"Governor Wallace went to the committee meeting, with a speech, apparently expecting it to follow this plan, and to reject a proposal that it remove the "White Supremacy" slogan that still officially adorned the emblem of the Democratic party in Alabama.

"But over some angry objections, the committee struck the old supremacy slogan. On this and other votes, Democratic party loyalists prevailed over the Dixiecrats. They voted down the plan for substituting conventions for primaries. None of this had been expected.

"Gov. Wallace abruptly left, speech undelivered. His opponents had won on every issue that really mattered."

LA Times 10/23/65, Dateline Montgomery; by a staff writer: "Wallace's bill proposed a constitutional amendment which would have allowed the governor and six other state officials to run for re-election. "Even Wallace's bitterest enemies conceded that because of his popularity with the electorate such an amendment would have been approved by the people.

"The failure of the bill came on a vote, agreed on by both

Cont'd - Reaction to the proposal for four year terms for Congressmen

sides, to end the 22-day filibuster. The result was 18 to 14, leaving the supporters three short of the necessary three-fifths of the 35-member Senate. Three members, at least one of whom opposed the bill, were absent."

Birmingham News 9/21/65, Dateline Montgomery: "The Alabama House of Representatives has passed a 'consolation prize' bill that assigns legislative agents to counties without representation after reapportionment next year.

"The bill....passed by a vote of 60-4. It still faces approval by the Senate.

"It proposes an agent paid by the state to represent each county which loses its representation in the lower chamber under court-ordered reapportionment."

"As passed by the House, the bill provides agents will be elected for four-year terms by the Legislature."

FLORIDA

St. Pete Times 6/30/65, Dateline Tallahassee, by Martin Waldron: "The Senate plan /reapportionment/'grandfathers' into office for two more years all senators elected for four-year terms last year."

"Thirteen other senators still with another session before their four-year terms expire specifically are provided in the plan as the senators from their districts.

"Because of this, the Senate will have 67 members in 1967, and then drop to 58 in 1969.

...."Net effect of the plan--especially in the Senate-- is to provide a method of evading the U. S. Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote requirement."

GEORGIA

Atlanta Constitution, 1/25/66: "Following close on the heels of President Lyndon B. Johnson's proposal for four-year terms of congressmen, a resolution to give Georgia legislators four-year terms will be introduced in the Senate this week.

Cont'd - Reaction to the proposal for four year terms for Congressmen

"Sen. Kyle Yancey of Cobb will introduce a resolution Wednesday (1/26) to give Senate and House members four-year terms. (No article reporting such a measure's being introduced could be located. The clerk of the House could find no record of such a measure.)

..."If passed, the four-year terms would apply for House and Senate members elected this summer."

Atlanta Journal, 131/66 (editorial): "Four-year terms for state senators and representatives as proposed in two resolutions introduced in the Senate is an idea getting strong support among legislators. (Surprise.)

"They give several reasons for supporting the idea, including the notion that too much time must be spent keeping in contact with the voters when the legislators should be trying to learn more.

"One thing they might learn, we should think, is that a legislator can't spend too much time keeping in contact with the voters."

TEXAS

Houston Chronicle, 11/2/65: "Gaining the most interest was the plan to increase the terms of the governor and some other state officers to four years from the present two.

"Advocates...noted that 36 other states have four-year terms. /for gov./

"Opponents, the most vocal of which was the AFL-CIO, said they want more frequent opportunities to assess and possibly retire officials whose programs they do not like.

"Another proposal gaining less interest would allow Texas House members to serve four years, doubling their present terms. Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama and Maryland now have four-year terms for House members."

Texas Observer 11/12/65, Dateline Austin: "Liberal and Republican voters contibuted the bulk of the majority who defeated four-year terms for governor and other statewide officials in the Texas election on constitutional amendments Nov. 2. Governor John Connally's StateDemocratic Executive Committee marshalled all the support for amendment No. 4 that it could, but the change was beaten

Cont'd - Reaction to the proposal for four year terms for Congressmen.

TEXAS (Continued)

down, 273,586 to 225,215 or 57 to 43%. Senator Ralph Yarborough openly opposed the amendment and also generated statewide opposition to it.behind the scenes. A fustion of labor and other liberal organizations worked hard to defeat it.

...."Foregone was the whopping rejection of No. 10 for four-year terms for legislators. The final vote was 340,307 to 139539, 71-29%. Almost none of the dailies supported it. Connally and the State Dem. Exec. Com. were silent on it; House Speaker Barnes switched his original opposition to support, but in a pained fashion. In retrospect it stands to reason that Amendment 10 did hurt Amendment 4 to some extent.

Texas Observer 2/4/66: "Most of the Texans in Congress are against the President's proposal for four-year House terms. Against: Sen. Tower, Wright Patman, Mahon, Bob Casey, Gonzale, Bob Poage, Jim Wright, and Walter Rogers. Sen. Yarborough said it would take thought, Jake Pickle suggested three-year terms, but Jack Brooks said he liked the four-year idea."

VIRGINIA

Richmond News Leader 1/18/66, by Bill Sauder: "City Council, in a two-hour briefing with the Richmond General Assembly delegation today, failed to resolve differences over a proposed legislative program.

"The eight-man Richmond-Henrico county House of Delegates contingent and the city's two senators met during the morning behind closed doors at the Sheraton Motor Inn with City Council's legislative committee.

"Although the door was closed when a reporter attempted to gain entrance, much of what was said in the room was disclosed after the meeting.

"Gleanings from those who attended indicated that: A Council proposal to change the City Charter to provide four-year instead of the

Cont'd - Reaction to the proposal for four year terms for Congressmen

present two-year terms, would be acceptable to most delegates only if an advisory referendum were included. The referendum would be aimed at soothing political feelings.

...."no delegate agreed to sponsor the City Council package of bills.

...."It was learned, however, that much of the two-hour session was given over to discussion of the realities involved in two Richmond voter groups --the predominantly Negro Crusade for Voters and Richmond Forward.

"RF, as the org. which successfully backed six of the present nine councilmen, has been quietly pushing Council's legislative package.

"On the other hand, Crusade spokesmen have fought the proposed term-lengthening measure.

"Negroes fear that the measure will dilute their voting strength.

..."Delegate T. Coleman Andrews, Jr. reportedly agreed to the four-year terms, provided a referendum was included. He indicated that might solve the political question."

March 14, 1966

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Jane Lee:

Thanks for the hospitality on Thursday. On Friday, Stephen and I had an occasion to spend a bit more time together in the meeting called by Carl. Beyond this I shall respond to your schedule and judgment if you'll be good enough to give it.

The request for renewal of general operations support will be sent to you shortly. We'll try to make it an honest-to-goodness request, answering the questions you raised.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Separate mailing: NEW SOUTH, Winter Issue, 1966

See
Jan. 20.
cc. ref - VCJ. 1966

bc: VJordan & RHAlexander

March 17, 1966

Mr. Stephen R. Currier
President
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Currier:

Thank you for the welcomed news of the action of the Board of Trustees in support of the Voter Education Project. We note the conditions of the grant and your request for reporting, and shall follow these.

Please know that we are deeply and sincerely grateful for your support.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 3/17/66

TACONIC FOUNDATION, INC.
666 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 15, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

At its most recent meeting, the Board of Trustees of Taconic Foundation voted to make a grant of $100,000 to the Southern Regional Council in support of the Voter Education Project. The First of three equal payments on this grant will be forwarded on or before June 15th.

In addition the Board appropriated $50,000 to be made available for the program if an equal amount can be secured from other sources.

In accordance with the Foundation's policy, we shall expect to receive detailed quarterly reports and analyses on program development during the life of the grant, and we shall expect a full financial accounting at the end of the year.

The Board of Trustees have also requested that we be kept informed about the progress of the Advisory Committee's work in relation to this project.

I am,

With kind regards,

Stephen R. Currier

Stephen R. Currier

See Treasurer re: ref. State Councils, gen.

March 23, 1966

Mr. Stephen R. Currier
President
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Currier:

This will acknowledge receipt of the Foundation's grant of $25,000 in support of the state Councils on Human Relations.

Please know that we are deeply grateful for this contribution, and for all of the Foundation's support.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

TACONIC FOUNDATION, INC.
666 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 15, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Received in Treasury Dept. 3/30/66 MJ

In accordance with our letter to you of November 5, 1964, we are pleased to forward to you at this time the Foundation's check in the amount of $25,000. This contribution represents the second of three equal annual grants in support of the State Councils on Human Relations.

I am,

With kind regards,

Stephen R. Currier

Stephen R. Currier

Enclosure

ck. 25,000.00
3-18-66 rh

Foundation

March 29, 1966

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Taconic Foundation
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Eddy:

Enclosed is our proposal to the Foundation. Please let us know if more or different information is needed.

I hope the amount of information we are sending you is indicative of our interest in keeping you and the Foundation informed, and an effort to explain why we must continue to ask for your consideration of our general operations support. I hope, too, that this proposal will not be a burden of too many words.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

A PROPOSAL TO THE TACONIC FOUNDATION IN REQUEST OF SUPPORT TO THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

March 29, 1966

We request the consideration of the Taconic Foundation for a grant of $40,000 per year for two years in support of the general operations of the Southern Regional Council. We cannot, however, request further assistance without expressing our gratitude for the Foundation's past support. We would like, too, to give some indication of what that support has allowed us to achieve.

In the late 1950's and thereafter the Southern Regional Council was in a precarious position. The Council's programs and aims were unpopular with many of the people and most of the leadership of the region. There was little stable financial assistance and few foundations would consider support. Yet, the opportunities for the Council were perhaps never greater. The agency had acquired some fifteen years of experience and an excellent, though small, staff. Clearly defined programs in field work, research and information had been developed. A full-time research director, who was later to become executive director, had been secured and the Council was to enter perhaps the most productive period of research and information in its history. We were in an unprecedented position to influence public opinion and policy. And, perhaps most importantly, at least on a confidential and "off-the-record" basis, public officials and other leaders were beginning to turn to the Council for information and guidance.

During this period, in 1958, Mr. & Mrs. Currier made a grant to the Council. Since that time the Foundation's support constituted from ten to fifteen per cent of the Council's general operations. We think, therefore, it is no exaggeration to observe that whatever the Council has been able to accomplish during this period has been made possible by the Foundation's support.

Since 1958 we have grown substantially. Our staff has more than doubled with a proportionate increase in program. In several of these years our special projects expenditures have approximated a half million dollars a year. During the years of school-closing crises we were able to work with, support, and in some instances create parents' groups in support of public education in Little

Rock, New Orleans, Atlanta, Mobile, in a number of smaller cities, and most recently the statewide Mississippians for Public Education. The state Councils on Human Relations -- a genuinely interracial, community-by-community movement which has gone through lean years -- have more than doubled their membership and have more than tripled the amount of financial support available to them from local sources.

There have been rapidly increasing opportunities for cooperation with and assistance to appropriate agencies of the federal government and a growing, if not rapid, rate of opportunity for similar cooperation with state and local governments. And we have attempted, where the situation warranted, to offer fair but firm criticism of the mistakes and failures of public agencies.

Our information and research materials have increased considerably in number, and in effectiveness, reflecting a growing receptivity to such information. Attached is a brief commentary on our information and research plans for the next several years.

The Council has achieved a high degree of cooperation in publications and programs with other agencies and organizations. These include practically all civil rights and religiously oriented groups concerned with the region. Frequently, our publications and programs are developed to service these groups. We continue to be asked annually to serve as secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference, an informal gathering for the purpose of information sharing of more than forty agencies and groups.

All of the above activities are at least in part, and most often exclusively, a part of the "general operations" of the Council. This part of the Council is also responsible for developing projects, funding them, and providing the necessary administrative support.

The Foundation is familiar with the Voter Education Project, and we are grateful to the Taconic Foundation for the continued support of this program.

A Proposal - 3.
Taconic Foundation
March 29, 1966

We have received a substantial grant ($324,000 per year for three years) from the Ford Foundation which will enable us, under the special project format, to enter a number of new program areas. These range from urban planning to prison reform and criminal rehabilitation. We will be able to conduct studies in school desegregation, technological unemployment, and the effectiveness of federal anti-discrimination and anti-poverty programs. Heavy use will be made of consultants to local leadership and appropriate public and private groups. In this instance, the Council is able to move not only closer to the dreams of its founders, but closer to the emerging needs and opportunities of the region by being a repository of unique skills and resources needed by the region.

The Report on Program Activity for 1965, enclosed, has a more detailed accounting of these programs, beginning on page 26.

We must hasten to add, as we always must in accounts of this nature, that the Southern Regional Council has no illusions of its power or ability to change the region. At best we can look for opportunities that are promising, needs that are pressing, new developments that require interpretation, or situations which hang in delicate balance. We can only hope that such resources as we can bring to bear will make a difference.

These skills and this realistic appraisal of the limitations may be the reason the Council is unique, as we think it is. The Council is a strange agency, neither completely academic nor research-oriented in nature, nor action-oriented in the usual sense of that term. It is an agency, born out of the particular Southern mind, which is designed in the best judgment of those who direct it to meet the particular Southern need. This, in the sense of building a society as well as in the sense of correcting old evils, leads to the merging of special skills, interests, and resources. We find ourselves, therefore, attempting to analyze responsible questions raised about the exuberant student movement of the deep South, or to confer quietly with a Southern governor, to advise on request about

appointments to federal governmental posts, to engage scholars for highly academic research, or to rush out a special report to clarify issues.

These, in all too brief an accounting to do justice to the grants, are some of the ways in which the Taconic Foundation has contributed to the Council during the past years. It is, in part too, some report on present program.

In requesting consideration of further support, we should like to place before the Foundation three areas of concern: program, staffing, and financing. All are closely related and difficult to separate.

PROGRAM: -- To continue the ongoing program and to attempt to improve the quality of it, the Council must have the greatest degree of stability possible in its general operations. Our program of field work, particularly that of keeping closely enough in touch with the people and problems of the region to know what is happening, is essential to every interest of the Council; our program of disseminating information must not only perform its past functions but grow in the area of informing people of the new opportunities and programs available; and our research efforts must become more sophisticated as our approachable problems become more complex. Whatever the temptations, demands, or resources of special projects, they must be seen as important appendages to the central body of the organization which makes its own stable, ongoing contribution.

In developing future program it is important to realize that in Southern race relations if the present time does not signal the end of an era then certainly it is the time of a long pause in the period of direct action. There will be more demonstrations, but generally efforts are turning inward to voter registration, community organization, self-help programs, the sharing in publicly funded activities.

We should recognize, too, that we are nearing that point when the institutions of government,

particularly the courts and the legislature, have produced most of the legal framework that is necessary. Perhaps the last problem lending itself to simple identification will be that concerned with jury reform. The remaining ones will be infinitely complex.

Finally, we are approaching that point where race is an important, sometimes overwhelming, factor but not an exclusive one. Increasinly programs will have to be developed to include and assist all of the people.

STAFF AND PROGRAM RESOURCES: -- As is quite obvious, staff is program and the quality of the Council's staff will determine the quality of the Council's programs. We have been able to attract highly qualified and dedicated people and we believe we can continue to do so. This is true despite the ever growing competition from other sources, especially the federal government. But we cannot do so unless we can offer some measure of security. Here again, stability is required not just for comfortable planning, but as an essential to maximum productivity.

(An attachment to this proposal gives a list of staff and a brief description of each individual.)

The Council has long used consultants to extend its staff resources in the areas of field work, research, and writing. The talent in the South, particularly that which is college and university related, is large and available. For instance, Dr. Paul Gaston of the University of Virginia has just completed an analysis of the effectiveness of the Summer Teaching Program sponsored by Yale University.

In this regard too, we enjoy good relations with a number of colleges and universities in the region. Increasingly there is an opportunity to develop joint programs. We shall pursue these arrangements.

A Proposal - 6.
Taconic Foundation
March 29, 1966

FINANCES: -- For the information of the Foundation, there are enclosed the Council's budgets for 1966 and the audit for 1965. Further explanation is needed, however, since there have been some changes since those documents were prepared.

We have a general operations budget of $297,400 for 1966. Of this amount, $40,400 represents overhead costs for administering the Ford Foundation projects, and a reserve and contingency fund of $25,000 is allowed for because of a suit pending by the Georgia State Department of Labor. If these two amounts were deleted the true operating budget would be the lowest in several years.

To date, $105,000 has been raised from foundations: Rockefeller Foundation, $50,000; New World Foundation, $30,000; Field Foundation, $25,000. (We have requested of Field a supplementary grant of $15,000.) When other income is added to these funds committed there remains approximately $100,000 to be raised.

We are in a position of having no choice but to return still to those sources where we can be certain the merits of our operation will be looked on objectively. We do, however, understand that we must develop new sources of support from within the region as well as from other national sources.

At the present time we are having discussions with several foundations which have not heretofore supported the Council. At best, these approaches will take time and the project orientation of these sources is a fact with which we have not yet been able to cope satisfactorily.

A determined effort is being made to seek a part of these funds from within the region. Wehhave as a goal raising $20,000 from Southern sources during 1966. While this may sound small, it represents a ten-fold increase over the years past. Our approaches to foundations within the

region have been discouraging. For instance, a relatively large foundation in Atlanta has suggested the names of several persons who should be in policy-making positions within the Council if that foundation is to consider support.

The Council remains, of course, in the position of having to raise its operating funds on a year-by-year basis. While this creates certain ever-present fund-raising problems, we do not consider this unfortunate. Quite the contrary, we think it a healthy situation to have to submit our work and plans over and over again to careful scrutiny as to its effectiveness and pertinence.

We respectfully request the consideration of the Taconic Foundation of a grant in support of the general operations of the Southern Regional Council in the amount of $40,000 per year for three years, beginning in 1966.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL PUBLICATIONS PROGRAM

The publications program of the Southern Regional Council during the next few years will be guided by awareness that the South is in a process of social, political and psychological change. This will be a time of change in government, in private institutions, in individual people, and in the combination of these three that produces public policy.

Major problems impinge on this time of change: the yet unfinished struggle for racial justice, the completion of transition from rural to urban society, the impact of technological, economic and scientific developments on a population whose characteristics are themselves changing, the lag behind most of the rest of America in development of natural and human resources.

This time of change provides an opportunity for contributing to the development of wise and sane policy. These next few years are crucial because during them the general shape of the future of the South will be set and begin to become rigid. To read our publications of the past is to know the agony of a people struggling to change unwise, harmful public policy. Now is an opportunity to exert influence on what constructively is to be done -- rather than seek desperately to undo past mistakes.

In broad terms, our publications will be involved with efforts to strengthen the institutions and the organization of southern society, and to affect larger and freer participation in them.

Race relations remain a common denominator of southern problems. The need is great now to interpret attitudes of one race to the other, to show how often the self-interest of both races are the same, and to assist and evaluate enforcement of federal civil rights legislation. The South has not yet attained the basic equality of opportunity necessary to the full solution of its other problems. But, paradoxically, it has progressed enough to make clear that conditions arising out of these other problems must be alleviated before the other one of race can be fully solved.

So, to an extent greater than in the past -- though this has always been part of our publications program -- we will be concerned with social and economic problems, and with government.

We will be especially concerned with education in all its ramifications, including adult education; public welfare, criminology, and employment. We will study new developments like community organization among the poor, and new approaches to credit unions, agricultural cooperatives, labor unions, and voter education.

We will continue to assist, evaluate and criticize responsibly the programs of the federal government, an ever enlarging responsibility. We will try to meet needs of state governments seeking new forms of organization and data. We anticipate many such needs because a variety of factors, including reapportionment, has brought these state governments more closely into contact with the reality of the South and its people. We will try to meet the increased needs for understanding better the way local government functions -- the complex and yet crucial role, for example, of city planning and urban renewal in the relative health of urban areas, or the processes by which people in a slum might gain the governmental services which are their due. We will investigate the many vexing problems revolving around where people live -- their homes -- and try to provide reliable information, good advice and -- in the case of integration -- simply a calm and reassuring voice.

We hope also to do more than has been done in the past toward sharing special resources of the South with the rest of the nation and the world. Southern culture -- from indigenous music to a felicity and ingenuity of folk expression -- should be preserved and nurtured.

In many of these areas, an aim will be to catalogue research and information that is available in the various states and cities, and, as needed, to collect and put such data together in regional perspective.

A major role in the publications program will be played by the magazine New South. It is being expanded and changed from monthly to quarterly appearance. It will reflect old and new program interests, will draw on a wider range of southern scholars and writers, and will continue a tradition of allowing Southerners to speak their minds and hearts about the southern experience.

Reliance in the publications program will continue strong on resources that are distinctive to the Southern Regional Council; its membership, a cross-section of constructive citizens and leaders and the Human Relations Councils in every state and many of the cities and towns of the South. New programs will involve increased use of specialized researchers and consultants in many of the areas of concern, and this is an opportunity to publish material from a wider variety of southern

thought and talent.

A strength of past publications has been flexibility, the ability to respond to the unexpected and the suddenly emerged difficulty or crisis. This will remain a conscious obligation.

The purpose of the publications, as in the past, will be to provide accurate, reliable, complete information where it is often not otherwise available in such form; to inform Southerners of resources, techniques and thought in the various areas of concern, new and old, in which they seek improvement; to put into perspective of careful thought as much of the data and the truth of southern reality and experience as we can encompass.

And through the coming next few years, there will be the awareness that the decision-making process can succeed or fail by virtue of the quality of the data upon which it relies.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Atlanta, Georgia

-- staff --

ADMINISTRATIVE

Executive Director

Paul Anthony, A.B., University of Miami, formerly SRC Assistant to the Director and Director of Field Activities

Secretary to the Director - Mrs. H. D. Johnson

Secretary-Treasurer

Mrs. Ruth House Alexander, Morris Brown College of Business

Executive Assistant

Edwyn Lewis, B.A., University of Miami, formerly Executive Director of the Florida Council on Human Relations

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer - Janet Smith, B.S. Berry College, M.A., Emory University

Mail Room Supervisor - Mrs. Bernice C. Cook

Clerks- Willie Woods

Receptionist - Mrs. W. T. Knox

RESEARCH

Director

Samuel L. Adams, A.B., West Virginia State College; A.B., Wayne State University; M.A., University of Minnesota; formerly staff writer, St. Petersburg Times; nominee for 1964 Pulitzer Award in Journalism

Staff Economist

Lloyd J. Elliott, Ph.D., University of Texas (Economics); formerly associate professor at William and Mary College

Research Assistants

Mrs. Ed A. Albright, formerly editor of Southeast News, of Congregational Christian Churches

Mrs. Human V. Bartley, B.A. and M.A., North Texas State University

Mrs. H. H. Morrison, attended University of Chattanooga; formerly secretary, Tennessee Valley Authority

Mrs. Doris E. Kimball Reed, attended Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Esther J. Lumpkin, attended University of Dayton, Dayton, Ohio

INFORMATION

Director

W. Patrick Watters, Jr., A.B., Emory University; M.A., University of Iowa; formerly city editor and columnist, Atlanta Journal

Managing Editor, New South

Robert Anderson, graduate, University of Georgia; attended Emory University Law School

Editorial Assistant - Marge Manderson

Writer - Margaret Long, novelist, formerly staffer and columnist Atlanta, Richmond, Louisville, Macon, and Columbus newspapers and Associated Press

Secretary - Mrs. Tommy Shortt

FIELD ACTIVITIES

Director

Edwin Stanfield, A.B. and M.A., Union Theological Seminary; formerly Executive Director, Alabama Council on Human Relations

Administrative Secretary - Patricia Franklin

Director of Women's Work

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, A.B., Wesleyan College; A.M., Garrett Seminary; Member, President Truman's Commission on Civil Rights

Secretary - Mrs. Johnny C. Howard

SPECIAL PROJECTS

Voter Education Project

Director

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., B.A., DePauw University, LLB, Howard University; formerly Georgia Field Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Member, Arkansas Bar

Administrative Secretary - Mrs. Luther B. Morgan

Secretary - Helen O'Neal

Research Associate

Mrs. Jack Patterson, A.B., Vassar College

Field Consultant - vacant

Administrative Aide - Thaddeus Olive, M.B.A., Atlanta University

Labor Education Project

Director

Emory F. Via., A.B., Emory University, M/A and Ph.D., University of Chicago

Associate Director - vacant

Secretary - Joan Browning

Urban Planning

Director

Moreland G. Smith, B. Arch., Auburn University, L'Ecole de Beaux Arts, Fontainbleau, France (Diplome), Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M. Arch.)

Secretary - Mrs. Jerry Gimarc, M.A., Northwestern University

Governmental Programs (Research and Consultation)

Director - vacant

Secretary - vacant

Rehabilitation of Criminals and Penal Administration

Director - vacant

Secretary - vacant

Community Organization

Director

Al Ulmer, B.S., M. S., Florida State University; Peace Corps, Nigeria

NOTE: Consultants are being secured in the above projects and in the areas of: Housing, Education, Welfare, and Technological Unemployment.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Taconic Foundation

REGARDING

Request for general support, 1966

Letter from Harold C. Fleming, Exec. Vice-Pres., Potomac Institute, Inc., Wash., D. C., dated 4/6/66

DATE

4-6-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Letter filed in Potomac Institute folder

Rec'd 5/9/66

file

MJ

TAconic FOUNDATION, INC.
666 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

April 6, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

May 12th will find me in Denver and Stephen in North Carolina. Please let us know the next time when I hope we will have better luck in getting together.

Sincerely,

Jane Lee

(Mrs.) Jane Lee J. Eddy
Secretary of the Foundation

JLJE/jt

(Signed in Mrs. Eddy's absence)

May 2, 1966

Mr. H. Carl McCall
The Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

file

Dear Carl:

On May 11 I will attend a meeting in New York of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty and will remain over on Thursday, May 12 if there is need for it.

I won't plan to interrupt you with a courtesy call but am available if there is need for us to get together.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

May 2, 1966

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Executive Director
file The Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Jane Lee:

On May 11 I will attend a meeting in New York of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty and will remain over on Thursday, May 12 if there is need for it.

I won't plan to interrupt you with a courtesy call but am available if there is need for us to get together.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

May 20, 1966

Mr. Stephen R. Currier
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Currier:

This will acknowledge with deep appreciation the receipt of the Foundation's check in the amount of $35,000 in support of the Council's Voter Education Project.

We shall continue to keep you informed of the program of the Voter Education Project.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

(1)

TACONIC FOUNDATION, INC.
666 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 5, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In accordance with our letter to you of March 18, 1966, we are pleased to forward to you at this time the Foundation's check in the amount of $35,000. This contribution represents the first of three equal payments in support of the Voter Education Project.

I am,

With kind regards,

Stephen R. Currier

Stephen R. Currier

$35,000 ck
5-17-66

Enclosure

File Francis Fd.

June 8, 1966

Mr. Stephen R. Currier
President
The Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Stephen:

It was very good to have the opportunity last week to talk with you and Carl.

I do hope you both will plan to come down for a visit during the summer. I would especially like for you to meet and get to know the work of the staff. And, there is enough activity throughout the region that trips to cities of voter registration work, rural self-help programs, and the like, could be arranged at almost any time.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Taconic Fd.
1966

June 24, 1966

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Executive Director
The Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

Dear Jane Lee:

Enclosed are the first names for the list we discussed last week. Some more will be coming if this is the kind of thing you want.

You will see that something over half the persons listed are SRC related. For your information we have indicated that on the list.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

Post in Money book ✓

File
Taconic Fd.
1966

Cr. ref.
Voter Educ. Proj.

July 25, 1966

Mr. Stephen R. Currier
President
The Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Currier:

This will acknowledge with deep appreciation receipt of the Foundation's check in the amount of $50,000 in support of the Voter Education Project.

We note the conditions of the grant, and shall report accordingly.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

(2)

TACONIC FOUNDATION, INC.
666 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 20, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We are glad to learn that you have met the matching requirement as stated in our letter of March 15, 1966. Accordingly, we are pleased to forward to you at this time the Foundation's check in the amount of $50,000. This contribution is being made in support of the Voter Education Program.

I am,

With kind regards,

Stephen R. Currier

Stephen R. Currier

Enclosure

50,000 ck
7-25-66 rk

Put in Money Book ✓

File
Taconic Foundation
1966

July 25, 1966

Mr. Stephen R. Currier
President
The Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Currier:

This will acknowledge receipt of the Foundation's check in the amount of $25,000 in support of the general program of the Southern Regional Council.

Please know that we are most sincerely grateful for this continued support from The Taconic Foundation.

We note the requirements on reporting, and shall abide by them.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

(3)

TACONIC FOUNDATION, INC.
666 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 20, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

At its most recent meeting, the Board of Trustees of the Taconic Foundation voted to make a grant in support of the general program of Southern Regional Council, Inc.

We are pleased to forward to you at this time the Foundation's check in the amount of $25,000 for the aforementioned purpose.

In accordance with the Foundation's policy, we shall expect to receive reports on program development at six-month intervals during the life of the grant, and we shall expect a full financial accounting at the end of the year.

I am,

With kindest personal regards,

Stephen R. Currier

Stephen R. Currier

Enclosure

~~[illegible]~~ $25,000.00 ck
7-25-66

Corrected

File Taconic Fd. 1966

August 2, 1966

Mrs. Jane Lee J. Eddy
Secretary of the Foundation
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10019

Dear Jane Lee:

It was good to have the chance to talk further about the Voter Education Project and I very much hope we will have an opportunity to converse at some length about this soon.

While the dates are uncertain, plans are now being made for the next meeting of the Advisory Committee and before a date is selected Vernon will be in touch with you. If at all possible, we would like to choose a date when it is certain that you can attend. I think there would simply be no substitute to having you spend the day with these people.

Of course, I shall be on the circuit again in the Fall and look forward to talking with you further. I hope also Vernon will be able to come to New York sometime in the early Fall and that you will have a chance to get to know him better.

We agree about the need for cooperation with SCLC's leadership training program. We also hope to make some use of materials they have developed. Several months ago one of the VEP staffers visited a meeting of their's and collected some of the material. Vernon Jordan and Robert Green, the SCLC project director, have had several

conversations about this but to date nothing further has come of it. This, too, is a matter I very much would appreciate an opportunity of discussing with you when we can.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Rec'd 7/29/66

(3)

TACONIC FOUNDATION, INC.
666 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

July 27, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Again may I say how sorry we all were that Stephen could not attend the Capahosic meeting. I was delighted to have a chance to talk with you about it on the phone yesterday, and I think I now have a better picture of your and Vernon's thinking about the citizenship-education aspect of the program.

Yesterday Leslie Dunbar put on a luncheon for Martin King and some of his associates which provided an occasion for foundation types to hear a direct report on SCLC's leadership training program. I couldn't help but think during the meeting that this long-time effort has relevance for the VEP program. Something Leslie said led me to believe he feels this way too.

I very much appreciated the list you sent me so speedily several weeks ago. I am delayed in thanking you, but we are nonetheless grateful.

Sincerely yours,

Jane Lee

(Mrs.) Jane Lee J. Eddy
Secretary of the Foundation

JLJE:kbf

file

TACONIC FOUNDATION, INC.
666 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

1966

August 24, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of August 22 advising that you plan to be in New York during the first week of October.

Mr. Currier and Mrs. Eddy are presently out of the city. Mrs. Eddy is expected to return to the office after Labor Day and I shall be glad to bring you letter to her attention at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Jacqueline J. Tarrer

Jacqueline J. Tarrer
Secretary to Mrs. Jane L. Eddy

August 22, 1966

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
The Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Jane Lee:

On October 6 I am to be in New York for a meeting sponsored by the Twentieth Century Fund. For other purposes, I will also be there on October 5 and 7. I would very much like an opportunity to visit with you and Stephen on either of these dates. And it occurs to me that it might be well if Vernon joined us.

While I hope we will see you both here at a meeting sometime during September, that might not afford us an opportunity to discuss at some lengths the Voter Project - its progress to-date and its plans for the future.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

file Taconic Fd.

October 10, 1966

Mr. Carl McCall
The Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

Dear Carl:

It was good to have the opportunity for all of us to get together last week and I hope we will have more frequent occasions to do so.

Under separate cover I am sending you copies of the quarterly issue of New South. Copies are also being sent to Stephen and Jane Lee. If you have any comments about the new magazine we would be grateful for them.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Mailed the 3 issues

See Taconic Foundation

October 10, 1966

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Executive Director
The Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

Dear Jane Lee:

Thank you for arranging the meeting last week with Stephen and for your help in it. I have today written to thank him.

Needless to say, I found the conversation more than a little upsetting and am still very concerned about it. I am, however, happy that the opportunity occurred and I hope we can continue to have reasonably frequent visits.

Under separate cover I am sending copies of the quarterly New South and would be happy to have any comments you may have about them.

Again my most sincere thanks.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

Mailed the 3 issues

PA/km

Jane
Taconic Fd.
1966

October 10, 1966

Mr. Stephen R. Currier
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10019

Dear Stephen:

Thank you again for the opportunity for the long visit last week. I had been hoping for this for a long time and while it was not altogether pleasant (as pulling teeth never is) it was nevertheless very helpful.

Under separate cover we are sending several issues of the quarterly New South and if you have any further comments about the magazine we would appreciate them. (Copies are also being sent to Jane Lee and to Carl.)

I still hope you will have some occasion to visit Atlanta, to get to meet more of the staff, and to view the Council's operation in more detail.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Mailed the 3 issues

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

See Income Fd. 1966
~~Ex. of Receipt~~
~~Voter Ed. Project~~

October 10, 1966

Mr. Stephen R. Currier
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Currier:

This will acknowledge, with our grateful appreciation, the receipt of the Foundation's check for $40,000 representing the second of three payments in support of the Voter Education Project.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc. - Receipt

(1)

TACONIC FOUNDATION, INC.
666 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 4, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In accordance with our letter to you of March 18, 1966, we are pleased to forward to you at this time the Foundation's check in the amount of $40,000. This contribution represents the second of three payments in support of the Voter Education Project.

I am,

With kind regards,

Stephen R. Currier

Stephen R. Currier

Enclosure

file Taconic Fd.

October 24, 1966

Mrs. Jane Lee J. Eddy
Secretary of the Foundation
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10019

Dear Jane Lee:

Thanks very much about the word on your receiving New South. Unfortunately, it somewhat undercuts the "hail columbia" I raised following my trip to New York. Nevertheless, I am relieved.

This matter of communication continues to bother me a great deal. I am convinced that the gap between performance and reporting is appalling. The Foundation's continued support of SRC is, of course, essential. But important, too, is an opportunity for some sound basis for understanding and candid exchange of information and opinions. Without this, I am convinced that we both suffer a great deal. I will very much appreciate any continued help and guidance you can give me on this.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 10/20/66

(2)

TACONIC FOUNDATION, INC.
666 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

file

October 14, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your note. First I must apologize because upon inquiry I find that you have been sending New South right along. It is simply my fault that I have not seen recent issues.

I was glad that you and Stephen could finally get together and I wish that I could have been more helpful in the process of improving communication. That task takes time, and I am sure that we will do better as the months go by.

I was good to see you as always.

Sincerely,

Jane Lee

(Mrs.) Jane Lee J. Eddy
Secretary of the Foundation

JLJE/jt

Put in money books
See Taconic Fd. 1966

November 1, 1966

Mr. Stephen R. Currier
President
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Currier:

Thank you for the final payment of $25,000 of the Foundation's support to the Voter Education Project during 1966.

Please know we continue to be deeply grateful for this important support and the Foundation's support for the Southern Regional Council.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

Rec'd 10/31/66

(7)

TACONIC FOUNDATION, INC.
666 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 25, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Check 10/31/66 C.L.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In accordance with our letter to you of March 18, 1966, we are pleased to forward to you at this time the Foundation's check in the amount of $25,000. This contribution represents the third and final payment in support of the Voter Education Project.

I am,

With kindest regards,

Stephen R. Currier

Stephen R. Currier

Enclosure

File
Taconic Fd.
1966

November 2, 1966

Mr. H. Carl McCall
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Carl:

Enclosed are documents reporting on the Voter Education Project and prepared for the Field Foundation relative to our request for renewed support. You might be especially interested in the brief narrative report which makes an attempt to indicate the degree of interest in programs of citizenship education and leadership training.

A copy is also being sent to Jane Lee.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

File Foundations Taconic 1966

November 2, 1966

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Jane Lee:

Last week we submitted to the Field Foundation a request for renewal of support for the Voter Education Project during 1967. As a part of that the enclosed material was prepared. I thought you might especially be interested in the brief program report for the period January - October 1966.

While it was not prepared for that purpose, I think the project staff undoubtedly had in mind the request I made to them following my visit at your office of the need to explain more clearly our total interests in this project, the citizenship education-leadership programs concerns and the shifting emphasis from registration to education.

If you think it desirable, I wish you would call this report to Stephen's attention. A copy is being sent to Carl.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

See Taconic Fd. 1966

November 7, 1966

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Jane Lee:

The meeting in New York with Stephen continues to disturb me a great deal. I hope I have done right in writing to Stephen as enclosed.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

File Taconic Fdt 1966

November 7, 1966

Mr. Stephen R. Currier
President
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Stephen:

The inadequacy of my conversation with you several weeks ago continues to disturb me a great deal. I would like to try to put into writing some of my thoughts and, while I know the demands on your time, your consideration of them and response to them would help me greatly.

During the past months I have given considerable thought to what the Council is and should be. Recently, I attempted to describe my concept of the organization as follows: "We must hasten to add, as we always must in accounts of this nature, that the Council has no illusions of its power or ability to change the region. At best we can look for opportunities that are promising, needs that are pressing, new developments that require interpretation, or situations which hange in delicate balance. We can only hope that such

resources as we can bring to bear will make a difference. These skills and this realistic appraisal of limitations may be the reason the Council is unique, as we think it is. The Council is a strange agency, neither completely academic research-oriented in nature, nor action-oriented in the usual sense of that term. It is an agency, born out of the particular southern mind, which is designed in the best judgment of those who direct it to meet the particular southern need. This, in the sense of building a society as well as in the sense of correcting old evils, leads to the merging of specialized skills, interests, and resources..."

The greatest need for the future is, I think, to see that this description remains accurate.

The Council has changed and developed considerably since 1956, the year in which I was first employed by SRC. This development has been due in large part to the interest of a few individuals and foundations who have understood the unique role and value of SRC. I recall quite well the visit you and Mrs. Currier made to our old office on Auburn Avenue, and the importance to us of your interest then and thereafter.

I would like to think that I have grown with the Council and absorbed its particular philosophy. More importantly, I would like to think that my presence here affords an opportunity to preserve the Council's particular value when there is considerable temptation to change its functions and structure.

As you know, on October 1, 1965 I became director. On that date we received word of a large grant from the Ford Foundation enabling us, and committing me, to a substantial increase

in program and staff. The year has been literally burdened with staff recruitment and the necessity of incorporating a number of new programs and persons into the Council's structure and Council's methods. We have been reasonably successful and are pleased with the results. However, my reaction to this has been quite mixed. A major concern has been the extent to which I should encourage this substantial expansion into program areas or to what extent this should be resisted beyond present commitments. (Some of this confusion on my part was undoubtedly reflected in our conversation.)

My reluctance to make a quick decision on this major question was primarily because of its importance. Any emotional yearning on my part for the "good old days" of SRC had to be avoided and the immediate pressure of work could not be allowed to be a factor. So too, it had to be seriously considered that we were beginning to be approached regularly with the proposition that funds would be contributed to us for special programs which, unless conducted by SRC, would not be funded.

(We have, incidentally, discouraged discussion of potential programs and projects which, had they materialized, would exceed our present total expenditures.)

After a year of serious consideration there is no further doubt in my mind. These are my conclusions about the future of the Council:

(1) This agency must retain its uniqueness and continue its particular functions as a source of information, guidance and program stimulation. It must, above all else, resist the temptation to become, itself, a program agency. We will, I trust sponsor occasional

programs and projects but they must not become confused with the basic role of the Council.

(2) In terms of size and expenditure there is for this agency a point of diminishing return. We must be aware of that and carefully avoid it. The Council, with limited resources and considerable ingenuity has accomplished a great deal. We are comfortable with limited resources and must emphasize ingenuity.

(3) Any special projects undertaken, no matter how essential or well conducted, must be seen as temporary and not allowed to become a permanent part of the agency structure. (The first Voter Education Project was needed and it was desirable -- perhaps essential -- that SRC conduct it. The same is true of the second Voter Education Project. But, I would be very disappointed if this project continued as a part of the SRC structure after 1968.)

There are two reasons especially for my deep concern. The first is that we continue to find almost no understanding on the part of most foundations of either the uniqueness of this agency or of the need to provide general support. Everyone continues to be interested only in projects. The Taconic Foundation's appreciation of the value of our function, as I have here described it, has been extraordinary, and we clearly need this support to continue if at all possible.

The second concern was reflected in your conversation. I am aware that for years the relationship between the Foundation and the Council has been considerably more than that of grantor and recipient.

For both of us, I think, this has been the most valuable part of the relationship and it would be tragic to loose it. Quite apart from financial support, we value a continued relationship with you and your staff, and would hope that you could, as you put it, continue to look on us as your "southern outpost."

My sincere apologies for this long letter, but I trust it does at least reflect my concern and my hope for a continued and respected partnership.between the Taconic Foundation and the Southern Regional Council.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file
Jacome Fd.

December 15, 1966

Mr. Stephen R. Currier
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Stephen:

Thank you very much for inviting me to your Christmas party. I deeply regret that I will be unable to attend.

Please accept from me and from all of us here every good wish of the Season to you and Mrs. Currier.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

STEPHEN RICHARD CURRIER

666 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

December 6, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

We would like you to come to our Christmas party on Wednesday, December 21st from 5:00 to 7:00 at 666 Fifth Avenue on the 35th floor.

We do hope that we will see you then and that we can have the pleasure of wishing you a very Merry Christmas.

I am,

With best seasons good wishes,

Stephen

Stephen R. Currier

R.S.V.P. PL 7-5920

file
Income Tax
1966

via air mail December 16, 1966

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10019

Dear Jane Lee:

In response to your letter of December 6th, the Council has not been ruled a "publicly supported organization" under section 170(b)(1)(A)(vi) of the Internal Revenue Code. Therefore, we are enclosing the information requested under Part 4 of your letter. If additional information is needed, please let us know.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
(Enclosures - xeroxed copies of Form 990-A for years 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, as filed with U. S. Internal Revenue Service. Included are supporting documents for information contained in each form 990-A with audits for each of the above years.)

Rec'd 12/8/66

TACONIC FOUNDATION, INC.
666 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

December 6, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

As you know, the Revenue Act of 1964 extended the 30 percent deduction to certain charitable organizations which are "publicly supported." In view of the fact that the new regulations on this matter have now been issued by the Revenue Service, our counsel has advised the Foundation to seek certain information from those organizations to which it has made grants since passage of the 1964 Act. We should greatly appreciate your cooperation in this matter.

The information we seek is as follows:

(1) A copy of any ruling by the Internal Revenue Service that the Southern Regional Council is a "publicly supported" organization within the meaning of section 170(b)(1)(A)(vi) of the Internal Revenue Code, so that contributions to it qualify for the 30 percent limit on charitable contribution deductions;

(2) A copy of any ruling by the Internal Revenue Service that the organization need not file an annual information return on Form 990-A because it is supported by Federal or local government funds or primarily by contributions of the general public;

(3) If no ruling of the type described in item (1) or (2) has been received, but such rulings have been applied for, a copy of the applications for such rulings, and a statement as to the status of such applications;

(4) If no ruling of the type described in (1) or (2) has been obtained or applied for;

(a) copies of the organization's financial statements, including a statement of receipts and disbursements and a balance sheet, for each fiscal year of the organization ending after June 30, 1960; and

(b) copies of the Form 990-A (including attachments thereto) filed by Southern Regional Council, Inc. with the Internal Revenue Service for each such fiscal year.

With respect to any confidential information which might appear on Form 990-A, our data requirements do not include names of anonymous donors; we do, however, need a listing of amounts of contributions from individuals who gave $100 or more if the information sought under paragraphs (1), (2) or (3) above is not available.

The enclosed memorandum from the Council on Foundations is specifically concerned with qualifying contributions to community foundations for the 30 percent charitable deduction, but it may be of interest to you as the rulings will apply, where appropriate, to other kinds of charitable organizations.

Thank you so much for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Jane Lee J. Eddy

(Mrs.) Jane Lee J. Eddy
Secretary of the Foundation

JLJE/jt

Enclosure

Memorandum To Members...

Council on Foundations, Inc.

345 EAST 46TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

SUBJECT: FINAL REGULATIONS ON EXTENSION OF 30 PERCENT DEDUCTIONS DATE November 21, 1966

The long awaited Regulations* defining "30 percent organizations" were published by the Treasury Department in the Federal Register of November 17, 1966, pp. 14632 - 14644. The official designation is Treasury Decision 6900. In the year which has elapsed since the proposed Regulations were published on November 10, 1965, the Treasury Department has taken into consideration the many suggestions received during the period allotted for comment.

All community foundations will wish to obtain a copy of these Regulations as soon as possible. If you do not have access to the Regulations in the office of the Foundation's attorney, a copy of the Federal Register may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402, price 40¢.

Meanwhile, we have been advised that the following important features of the final Regulations are of especial interest to community foundations.

The final Regulations continue the two tests for qualification as a publicly supported organization: (1) the "Mechanical test," and (2) the "Facts and circumstances test." The "Mechanical test," which very few organizations will be able to meet, remains the same as in the proposed Regulations.

The "Facts and circumstances test," however, contains important differences in wording as contrasted with the proposed Regulations. These include:

1. Definition of Public Support

   The source of support, one of the four characteristics referred to in the proposed Regulations, is now singled out as the primary consideration in determining whether the organization qualifies under the "Facts and circumstances test." The other three characteristics previously referred to are restated as relevant factors to be taken into account in determining whether or not the organization is of a public nature.

2. Substantiation of Public Support

   Instead of the condition stated in the proposed Regulations that the organization must be constituted "so as to receive and attract contributions, directly or indirectly, from a wide segment of the public," the final

* Since these Regulations are primarily of interest to community foundations, distribution of this Memorandum to other Council members is by single copy. Those interested may request additional copies.

Regulations eliminate the word "receive," leaving the test, in this respect, based on the intent to attract substantial support. Further, the phrase "wide segment of the public" is dropped in favor of a "representative number of persons in the community or area in which it operates."

3. Governing Body

The final Regulations amplify and clarify the required characteristics of the governing body of a publicly supported organization so that it is now clear that the governing body does not need to include public officials as such but may consist of "citizens broadly representative of the interests and views of the public."

4. Public Reporting

Also, the final Regulations are more liberal than the proposed in enabling organizations qualifying as publicly supported organizations to satisfy the public reporting requirement. It is not necessary that the foundation's basic document contain a provision requiring public reporting if in fact such reports are made. In the case of newly created organizations, however, such a requirement in the basic document will suffice until such time as the foundation has activity to report.

5. Examples

The final Regulations continue with only minor changes, the examples (1) and (2) citing cases of community trusts or foundations which would be deemed to be publicly supported organizations. Other examples are also retained but with certain clarifications which will be helpful to community foundations in understanding the broad concept of the "Facts and circumstances test."

The final Regulations also point up the fact that contributions to organizations in the 30 percent category are deductible up to 30 percent of the donor's adjusted gross income only if the contribution is "to" the organization as distinguished from contributions which are merely "for the use of" the organization. However, the final Regulations omit the requirement of the proposed Regulations that the gift be made immediately and exclusively to the organization for the donor to take advantage of the extra 10 percent deduction on his gift.

It should be noted that the final Regulations have important long term implications for community foundations in recognizing them as included among the type of organizations favored by the Congress as administrators of charitable funds.

July Income Td 1960

HE WORKED HARD GIVING

A Vanished Plane, a Fortune, and a Story

By REESE CLEGHORN

THE STORIES all said a light plane had disappeared in the Caribbean with an heiress to the Mellon fortune aboard.

That was a week ago. Flying from Puerto Rico to the Virgin Islands, Audrey and Stephen Currier and the pilot of their chartered plane had vanished. An extraordinarily intensive search followed, with military aircraft flying over every mile of the sea. Marines even searched small, deserted islands. Now a privately financed search continues. No trace has been found.

In the day's news, much was made of the fact that Audrey Currier, daughter of U.S. Ambassador David Bruce and granddaughter of Andrew Mellon, had been born with $700 million. The stories mentioned, with little elaboration, that her husband Stephen had been a philanthropist.

There was irony in all of this. Mrs. Currier, 33 years old, small, extremely shy, one who retreated even from social gatherings, had turned her fortune over to her husband's management, so that she might live quietly with their three children, out of the headlines.

In turn, Stephen Currier, 36, Harvard, bespectacled, stiff, formal, a "run-of-the-mill millionaire" as someone called him because his own wealth was in millions rather than hundreds of millions, had gone about his philanthropic business with a passion for anonymity.

* * *

BUT IN RECENT MONTHS he had emerged publicly.

The public relations firm he formerly had retained to act as a buffer so that his own name and activities would not be widely known and publicized had begun to behave differently. Even his picture began to appear in print.

His name suddenly was being seen, principally as president of Urban America, through which his fortune was being creatively used to explore the problems of the cities, and on the masthead of Architectural Forum magazine, which he had revived as it was going under and had continued as a public service.

* * *

CURRIER HAD gone public, so to speak. But he had been so successful earlier in shielding himself from public view that last week, when the Curriers' plane disappeared, public attention was directed toward his wife and her fortunes and he himself was barely identified.

* * *

THE CURRIERS' STORY is an extraordinary one. When he and his shy wife were still in their 20s, it is said, they reached a great decision. They would not arrange for their fortune to be self-perpetuating, with perhaps the annual income devoted to philanthropy. They would deplete most of it in their lifetimes in causes they felt were good for the country.

Currier's manner of doing this was not to designate good managers, sign their checks, and maintain loose laison. He worked. "He is at it at 5 or 6 in the morning, and sometimes when I poop out around 10 that night he is still going," one of his staff in New York told me three years ago.

At that point he was doing something which was to have a major impact upon the course of the civil rights movement. Bull Connor had just turned his police dogs on the Negroes of Birmingham, and Al Lingo had pushed in with his Alabama troopers (against the request of Birmingham's police chief) to beat heads and dramatize Alabama's racial repressions.

Currier, who always had been the recipient of requests for money, became a solicitor for money. He personally called upon people of wealth. He put up some of his own. And almost overnight he raised $1,500,000 as a kind of conscience-money pool to be used by seven civil rights organizations.

* * *

"MANY PEOPLE HE talks to are just ashamed of some of the things happening in the South, and in the North," his spokesman said. "I really think the photographs of Bull Connor and the police dogs did it."

The significance of that money pool was almost entirely overlooked at the time. But it reduced money rivalries that were becoming serious. And it served to steady and strengthen the major civil rights organizations of the country at a time when despair and distress among Negroes was growing rapidly.

Marxists often have said that the nonviolent rights movement in this country was a captive of Wall Street, and that leaders such as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. were pawns of the capitalists.

* * *

THAT, OF COURSE, is a familiar kind of distortion. But some day, when the history of the rights struggle is recorded with perspective, the role of wealthy men of conscience will be singled out as an extraordinary part of it, and as a main steadying influence for the nation at a time when it had to undergo rapid transition—either violently or nonviolently.

Currier's role may be properly assessed then.

Over the years in which he was beginning to spend a great fortune, he sent hundreds of thousands of dollars to the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta for its work in race relations all over the South. His more recent interest in urban problems had given promise of a continuing creative philanthropy in that field, and in it he was continuing to work daily as hard as any stevedore.

This was the remarkable man who vanished in the Caribbean and who barely made the stories that told of his wife and the Mellon fortune.

Life Incorrect 1966

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5 Forsyth Street, 5th Floor
Atlanta, Georgia

189. VAN HOEFEN, Mr. Hari
1620 Chemical Building
St. Louis, Missouri

190. VIA, Emory**
2255 Lenox Road, N. E., Apt.L-1
Atlanta, Georgia

191. WAGNON, Mr. Jake T., Jr.
822 Felder Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

192. WALDRON, Martin
c/o New York Times
Houston, Texas

193. WARNER, Dr. Clinton
319 West Lake Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

194. WATTERS, Pat**
76 Park Lane, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

195. WEISENBURG, Mrs. Charles E.
3131 Norman Bridge Road
Montgomery, Alabama

196. WELCH, Nat*
2112 Castleway Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

197. WHEELER, John H.*
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Box 1932
Durham, North Carolina

198. WHEELER, Dr. Raymond M.*
Physician
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina

199. WHITE, Mrs. Charles*
Member, School Board
2209 Southmore Boulevard
Houston, Texas

200. WILEY, Dr. Bell I.*
Professor of History
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

201. WILKERSON, Mr. Mark C.
3348 Thornewood Drive
Doraville, Georgia

202. WILKINS, Miss Josephine*
The Atlanta Biltmore Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia

203. WILLIAMS, Dr. H. Franklin*
Dean of the University College
The University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

204. WILLIAMS, Paul D.*
Publisher
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

205. WILLIAMS, Dr. T. Franklin*
Professor of Medicine
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

206. WILLIS, Mr. A. W.
588 Vance Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

207. WISE, Mr. & Mrs. Edwin S.
2026 Myrtlewood Drive
Montgomery, Alabama

208. WRIGHT, Marion A.*
Attorney
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

209 YOUNG, Jack*
Attorney
The Redmond Building
North Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi

210. YOUNG, Thomas W.*
Editor
The Journal and Guide
719 E. Olney Road
Norfolk, Virginia

211. YOUNGDAHL, James E.*
Attorney
711 West Third Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

*SRC Board members

**SRC staff members

EDWARD P. MORGAN AND THE NEWS

SPONSORED BY THE AFL-CIO

AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY RADIO NETWORK

File Taconic Found Data

February 3, 1967

Almost everybody wants to make more money but too many people who strike it rich leave a trail of trampled bodies and ideals behind. And then, sour grapes or not, a lot who don't make it automatically equate wealth with evil, sin, reckless living and the exploitation of society.

History brims with the depredations of cruel, selfish captains of industry, the ruthless rascality of the robber barons and their ilk. But perhaps the greatest mistake Karl Marx ever made was to overlook the fact that there is a little avarice in almost all of us. The appetite for tangible gain is a human one; keeping up with the Joneses -- or, preferably, passing them on the curves -- can have as much motive power as an ideology. There is another truth which Marx missed and a lot of the rest of us are inclined to forget. It is that many men -- and women -- of wealth have been powerful influences for good. Maybe some are activated by a feeling of guilt over "ill-gotten gains." But there is another breed consisting of people who use money joyously as a tool to build, so to speak, a social structure that lends a little more grace to the landscape of civilization than existed before they came along. Very likely they would have drawn the same plans without a bankroll but it is marvelous how money can help translate a blueprint into an edifice.

Seventeen days ago Mr. and Mrs. Stephen R. Currier were lost on a chartered flight from Puerto Rico to the Virgin Islands. They were virtually unknown to most Americans. But their generosity, commitment and deep, energetic concern for the human race warmed and lit up the lives of countless people so that while the loss of this young couple is a cruel tragedy it is counterbalanced by the glowing fact that they did such an incredible amount of good in such a breathlessly short time.

Inevitably, most of the news stories about the missing Curriers zeroed in on their wealth. Audrey Currier, 33, was the daughter of David K. E. Bruce, now U.S. ambassador to Britain, and granddaughter of Andrew Mellon, Pittsburgh banker and multimillionaire who was Secretary of the Treasury under Presidents Harding, Coolidge and Hoover. Steve Currier, 36, stepson of Edward M. M. Warburg, himself a prominent philanthropist and patron of the arts, was a Harvard dropout who enhanced his own fortune, small by comparison to his wife's, with wise investment.

But the real story involves what the Curriers, who leave three small children, did with themselves and their money. They did it so quietly that their immediate families are only now beginning to discover the extent of their activities. They created a private foundation, Taconic, and no tax dodge, it. The young man who never finished Harvard and the girl who finished Radcliffe with honors, used it to help through college students who just missed qualifying for other scholarships. The number of "Taconics," as they are called, on the Harvard campus today would be hard to count. Before Birmingham Police Chief Bull Connor made civil rights a national issue with his dogs and firehoses, Currier was unobtrusively immersing himself in the cause. Through Potomac Institute, financed by the Taconic Foundation, he contributed money to hire expert help in the drafting of civil rights legislation in the mid-60s, so inadequate were Congressional staffs dealing with it. He substantially supported the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and the Southern Regional Council. He went to Harlem, not to "slum" but to try to find answers to social problems. He was instrumental in organizing Urban America, Incorporated, to fight poverty and prejudice in conjunction with governmental efforts. He became enormously and expertly interested in conservation, gave an important private boost to Lady Bird Johnson's beautification program.

Currier designed himself the fabulous home they built in the Virginia hunt country and Audrey Currier did her own interior design and decoration. The magnificent estate, after their children's use of it, will be left to the U.S. government hopefully as a sort of American Chequers where presidents can take important guests for quiet weekends as British prime ministers have done in that famous country place in England.

The Curriers were not of the jet set and they shunned publicity. Indeed protecting their near-anonymity was one of the assignments of Currier's public relations men, though they were far from recluses and once organized with the other Warburg children a huge and hilariously happy weekend party as a wedding anniversary present for Steve's mother and step-father.

Eddie Warburg once encountered a moving passage in a collection of quotations which, he remembers, struck Steve as a creed worth living. It runs like this: "I shall pass through this world but once. Any good thing therefore that I can do, any kindness that I can show to any human being, let me do it now. Let me not defer it nor neglect it, for I shall not pass this way again."

It would hardly have mattered if Stephen and Audrey Currier had never heard that creed for they lived it anyway.

This is Edward P. Morgan saying good night from Washington.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

TACONIC FOUNDATION 1967

REGARDING

Nat Welch's expression of appreciation to the

Steven R. Curriers

DATE

2/13/67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

BOARD: NAT WELCH

File Taconic Fd. 1967

March 13, 1967

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Jane Lee:

Ed Stanfield will be in New York for a meeting beginning Friday evening, March 17th. Since his way is being paid, I have urged him to go up a day earlier in the hope that he can meet a few of the people and visit some of the offices. He is arriving mid-day on Thursday, the 15th, and will call your office after lunch to determine if you are available for a brief visit either Thursday afternoon or Friday.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File: Taconic Fd. 1967

April 21, 1967

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Taconic Foundation
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Jane Lee:

Enclosed is the request. I trust it's appropriate to direct it to you and of sufficient length. If not, please let me know.

I'm very happy we had the opportunity to visit and spend some time reviewing things on Monday.

Again, thanks.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

April 21, 1967

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Taconic Foundation
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Jane Lee:

This is to request the Foundation's support for the general operations of the Council.

As you know, the Taconic Foundation has provided support for our general operations for a number of years. This is our most valuable support, since we cannot operate without a core organization, and so few foundations are disposed to provide for this.

Enclosed are several supporting documents; including our budgets for 1967 and a forecast of income committed and expectable.

In summary, we have budgeted $295,700 for general operations for 1967. (This is a slight

reduction over the amount budgeted for last year; the first time in a number of years when this budget had not been higher than for the previous year.) Of the desired minimum operating budget we have yet to raise approximately $80,000. We can curtail some desired expenses if necessary, since, of course, for an operations such as ours deficit spending is at best unwise.

However, there is no hope of curtailing our general operations by the amount yet to be raised.

We have made a number of inquiries on new support and shall continue to do so. The results to date are not encouraging. Because of this need and the condition indicated above, we request consideration for a renewal of the support of the Taconic Foundation for three years at the rate of $25,000 per year.

We are aware of the serious problems facing the Foundation and would ahppily withhold this request until next year but for the critical need indicated. And, given our understanding of the Foundation's problems at this time we are all the more grateful for any consideration you can give to this request.

Needless to say, we will be happy to provide any additional information you may need.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures
Bc: Harold Fleming

See Journal Jd.

April 24, 1967

Mr. John G. Simon, President
The Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear John:

Enclosed is a copy of the program report of last year which I hope you will have time to browse next month. (It isn't as large as it looks.) Also enclosed, a copy of the Georgia Supreme Court ruling on our tax exemption which you requested.

The material for DeWind is completed and will be sent today.

I am grateful we had the opportunity to talk last week. And, when things settle down somewhat for you, we will look forward to your visit to Atlanta.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures

DRAFT

April 24, 1967

STEPHEN AND AUDREY CURRIER:

On January ~~18~~ 17th, 1967 a small plane disappeared in the Caribbean. A routine flight between San Juan and St. Thomas became a national tragedy. Stephen and Audrey Currier were dead.

The Curriers were young, devoted, happy. Stephen Currier was a talented, busy man of many interests. Audrey Currier, equally talented and busy centered her life on being mother and wife.

Together, when even younger, the Curriers had determined to use an incredibly large fortune for causes and changes that were needed and seldom supported. In their lifetime they wanted to see people whole, cities beautiful, government honorable, children taught and life good. They supported much and left behind a legacy few of any age and accomplishment can match.

Their dream was not fulfilled . Nevertheless, while tragically short, it was a magnificiently beautiful life.

File Taconic Fd. 1967

May 3, 1967

Mr. John G. Simon
President
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear John:

Thank you sincerely for the third and final installment of the grant in support of the State Councils on Human Relations. Our receipt is enclosed.

We note the conditions of the grant and shall abide by them.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure - Receipt $25,000

recorded in Money book

TACONIC FOUNDATION, INC.
666 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 19, N.Y.

April 24, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear ~~Mr. Anthony~~ Paul:

In accordance with our letter to you of November 5, 1964, we are pleased to forward to you at this time the Foundation's check in the amount of $25,000. This contribution represents the third and final equal annual grant in support of the State Councils on Human Relations.

In accordance with the Foundation's policy, we shall expect to receive reports on project development at six-month intervals during the life of the grant, and we shall expect a full financial accounting at the end of the year.

Sincerely yours,

John

John G. Simon
President

Enclosure

CR 25,000.00
5-3-67
C.L.

File
Taconic Fd. 1967

May 31, 1967

Mr. John Simon
President
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear John:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from Adrian DeWind regarding the VEP activities we discussed some time ago. The opinion is very reassuring, and I am inclined to let the matter stop here without taking it to the Internal Revenue Service.

Incidentally, these type of program interests will be a considerable part of the VEP advisory meeting at Capahosic on June 10th and 11th. I do hope you can be with us at that meeting.

The funding for the project is very encouraging. We have just received word of a $25,000 grant from New World. We have just heard, unofficially, that the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation has made a grant of $50,000;

an action I find incredible and very encouraging. And we still anticipate a modest grant from the New York Foundation.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
(See DeWind ltr. of May 12, 1967 filed in Paul Weiss ....)

See Taconic file

June 22, 1967

Mr. John G. Simon
President
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Simon:

This will acknowledge with our most grateful appreciation the Foundation's contribution of $25,000 in support of the Council's general operations.

I regret this was not acknowledged during my absence from the office, but it certainly was welcomed news to find on my return this week.

Since you have been good enough to share with me some of the problems of the Foundation this year, I am well aware of the difficulties involved in making this decision and, therefore, am all the more grateful.

We shall provide the Foundation with appropriate program and financial reports.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

TACONIC FOUNDATION, INC.
666 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

June 2, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

At its most recent meeting, the Board of Trustees of the Taconic Foundation voted to make a grant in support of the general program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

We are pleased to forward to you at this time the Foundation's check in the amount of $25,000 for the aforementioned purpose.

In accordance with the Foundation's policy, we shall expect to receive reports on project development during the life of the grant, and we shall expect a full financial accounting at the end of the year.

Sincerely yours,

John G. Simon
President

Enclosure

$25,000.00
6/16/67
c.f.

See Taconic Fd.

October 18, 1967

Mr. John Simon
Executive Director
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear John:

Enclosed is a field report prepared by the International Independence Institute, the organization I was trying to describe to you. We could not turn up the brochure, but I think this is somewhat more interested anyway. Incidentally, I am sure Gottschalk would be delighted to provide you any further information you might want.

It was good to see you last week, and I very much appreciate the time.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

BODY IN SAN JUAN MAY BE HEIRESS'S

4/28/67 N41

SAN JUAN, P. R., April 27 (UPI)—Officials at the Rio Piedras Medical Center have been asked to get in touch with the dentist of Mrs. Stephen Currier, the missing heiress, in an attempt to identify a woman's body found near here today.

Dr. Raul Marcial, head of the pathology department at the medical center, said it would be at least three days before doctors could hope to identify the body.

He said the United States Coast Guard had asked that Mrs. Currier's dentist be approached in an effort to determine if the body, found on Isla de Cabras (Goat Island), on the west side of San Juan Harbor, was that of the missing New York heiress.

Mrs. Currier disappeared Jan. 17 with her husband and a private pilot while on a charter flight to St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands. A search by the Coast Guard failed to turn up any trace of the Curriers or the twin-engine Piper Apache airplane.

A Coast Guard spokesman in San Juan said that Dr. Marcial had asked them to get in touch with the lawyers and doctors of the Curriers and that it would be up to them to decide whether to send the requested informations.

"The doctors will be notified that dental plates would be helpful for the investigation to determine the identity of the body," a Coast Guard officer said.

Jane Lee
Taconic Fd.
1967

DRAFT

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Taconic Foundation
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

(NOTE: when final copy is done, remember to send cc to Harold Fleming; a separate covering ltr. is to be sent to Jane Lee Eddy)

Dear Jane Lee:

This is to request the Foundation's support for the general operations of the Council.

As you know, the Taconic Foundation has provided support for our general operations for a number of years. This is our most valuable support, since we cannot operate without a core organization, and so few foundations are disposed to provide for this.

Enclosed are several supporting documents; including our budgets for 1967 and a forecast of income committed and expectable.

In summary, we have budgeted _____ for general operaions for 1967 (this is a slight reduction over the amount budgeted for last year; the first time in a number of years when this budget had not been higher than for the previous year). Of the desired minimum operating budget we have yet to raise approximately $80,000. We can curtail some desired expenses, if necessary since, of course, for an operations such as ours deficit spending is at best unwise.

However, there is no hope of curtailing our general operations by the amount yet to be raised.

We have made a number of inquiries on new support and shall continue to do so. The results, to date, however, are not encouraging. Because of this need and the condition indicated above, we request consideration for a renewal of the support of the Taconic Foundation for three years at the rate of $25,000 per year.

We are aware of the serious problems facing the Foundation and would happily withhold this request until next year but for the critical need indicated. And, given our understanding of the Foundation's problems at this time we are all the more grateful for any consideration you can give to this request.

Needless to say, we will be happy to provide any additional information you may need.

With best wishes,

Sincerely

File Jacoma Fd. 1967

Millionaire Couple Death Ruling Asked

NEW YORK (AP) — Surrogate's Court has been asked to determine officially that Mr. and Mrs. Stephen R. Currier died two weeks ago while on a chartered flight in the Caribbean.

The court was also asked Tuesday to admit their wills to probate for distribution of their estimated $30-million estate.

The Curriers, two of the nation's leading philanthropists, became the object of an intense air and sea search after they disappeared Jan. 17 while on a flight from Puerto Rico to St. Thomas, V.I.

Mrs. Currier was the daughter of David K. E. Bruce, the U.S. ambassador in London, and a granddaughter of the late Pittsburgh financier Andrew Mellon.

Under terms of the wills, about two-thirds of the estate will go to the Taconic Foundation, a nonprofit corporation the Curriers established to work in the civil rights, child welfare and mental health fields.

About one quarter of the estate would go to the couple's three minor children, Andrea, 10; Lavinia, 9, and Michael, 6.

Mr. and Mrs. John G. Simon of Woodbridge, Conn., were named the children's guardians and left a bequest of $500,000.

NEWSMAN DIES

RUTLAND, Vt., Feb. 1 (AP)—Seargeant P. Wild, associate editor of the Rutland Herald, has died at the age of 69.

CHESS BOUT FOR MILITARY SET IN CUBA

MIAMI, Feb. 1 (AP)—Military men from Communist nations will battle at chess tables in Havana next June. They will play in uniform, said a Cuban broadcast announcing the event.

The newcast, monitored here, called it "The tournament of the friendly armies." Listed among nations competing were North Vietnam, Red China and the Warsaw Pact nations.

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DR. ALVAREZ Says

See Doctor If You Get Ear Noise

By DR. WALTER ALVAREZ
Emeritus Consultant, Mayo Clinic

Should a person with head noises go to a doctor? Yes; if I started having head noises, I would go right off to a good ear specialist. If I were very lucky, he might find that all I had was too much wax in my outer ear canal.

Dr. Alvarez

Removal of that would probably stop the ear noises, and it certainly would improve my hearing. The doctor might find I had some fluid in my middle ear, and when he got that out through a little cut in my ear drum, I might feel like a new man.

Finally, if he found that I was getting the rather common otosclerosis, or hardening of the bone in and around my middle ear, he might perform a "stapes operation," and give me back my hearing plus freedom from noises.

The stapes is a tiny bone which normally vibrates in a little "window" that carries sound from the middle ear into the inner ear, where a tiny marimba-like apparatus sends

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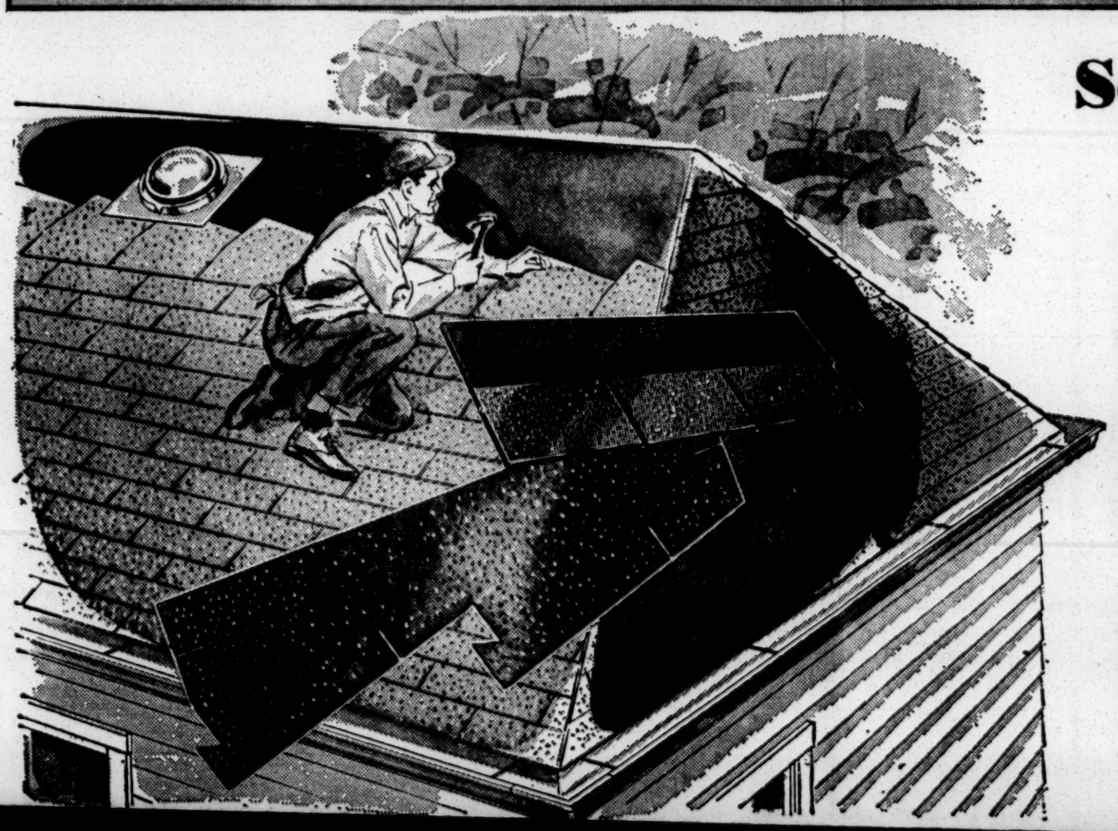

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GUARANTEED TILL 1987

18-Year Guarantee

If roof leak should develop because of any defect in roofing shingles or workmanship within 7 years of application, we repair or replace, at our option free. Pay regular current price for such repair or replacement during next 11 years, subtracting 1/216th of price for each month remaining on guarantee.

GUARANTEED TILL 1982

15-Year Guarantee

If roof leak should develop because of any defect in roofing shingles or workmanship within 5 years of application, we will repair or replace, at our option, free. Pay regular current price for such repair or replacement during next 10 years, subtracting 1/180th of price for each month remaining on guarantee.

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Dr. Alvarez

would go right off to a good ear specialist. If I were very lucky, he might find that all I had was too much wax in my outer ear canal.

Removal of that would probably stop the ear noises, and it certainly would improve my hearing. The doctor might find I had some fluid in my middle ear, and when he got that out through a little cut in my ear drum, I might feel like a new man.

Finally, if he found that I was getting the rather common otosclerosis, or hardening of the bone in and around my middle ear, he might perform a "stapes operation," and give me back my hearing plus freedom from noises.

The stapes is a tiny bone which normally vibrates in a little "window" that carries sound from the middle ear into the inner ear, where a tiny marimba-like apparatus sends the sensations of sound to the brain. In many deaf people, the stapes gets so firmly stuck in the window that it cannot vibrate. When the ear specialist either loosens it up or removes it and replaces it with a little material, the person cries out, "I can hear!"

Usually it does not take long for a skillful ear man to see what is wrong.

People describe all sorts of noises due to an oncoming deafness or a Meniere's disease with severe dizziness. They tell of hearing whistling, hissing, hammering, steam escaping, buzzing, chirping, clicking, fluttering or purring.

A throbbing that comes some 70 times a minute and coincides with the pulse at the wrist is due to the pulsating of a rather big artery that goes through a tunnel in the bone that surrounds the ear. The wonder is that we do not always hear the throbbing. When I do, sometimes at night, after having drunk a glass of wine, I get free of it by putting a crumpled handkerchief between my ear and the pillow.

Usually ear noises are heard by people over 50 who are somewhat hard of hearing, and who have some slight disease in one or both ears. Occasionally, the characteristic of the sound helps an expert to locate the cause of the noise. Commonly when ear noises come, the person fears an approaching deafness, and he may be right.

If the deafness should be a "nerve deafness," he will have to learn to live with it. The expert cannot always say just how the noise is made. Any stimulus sent to the hearing center in the brain is likely to be sensed as a noise. The pulsating noise is likely to come with a high blood pressure.

Sometimes, if the pulsing sound is irregular, with intermissions, and then a throb, the heart is beating irregularly. This is commonly harmless, and due to nervousness, or a cold, or to drinking a bit too much alcohol. A heart specialist may tell the person to forget it, or he may try to stop the irregularity of the pulse with medicine.

Long exposure to loud noises, like those around a jet airplane engine or around a boiler factory or around an airhammer used for digging up a street can bring ear noises and more or less permanent deafness. It is why men working around airplane engines wear what look like ear-muffs made of rubber.

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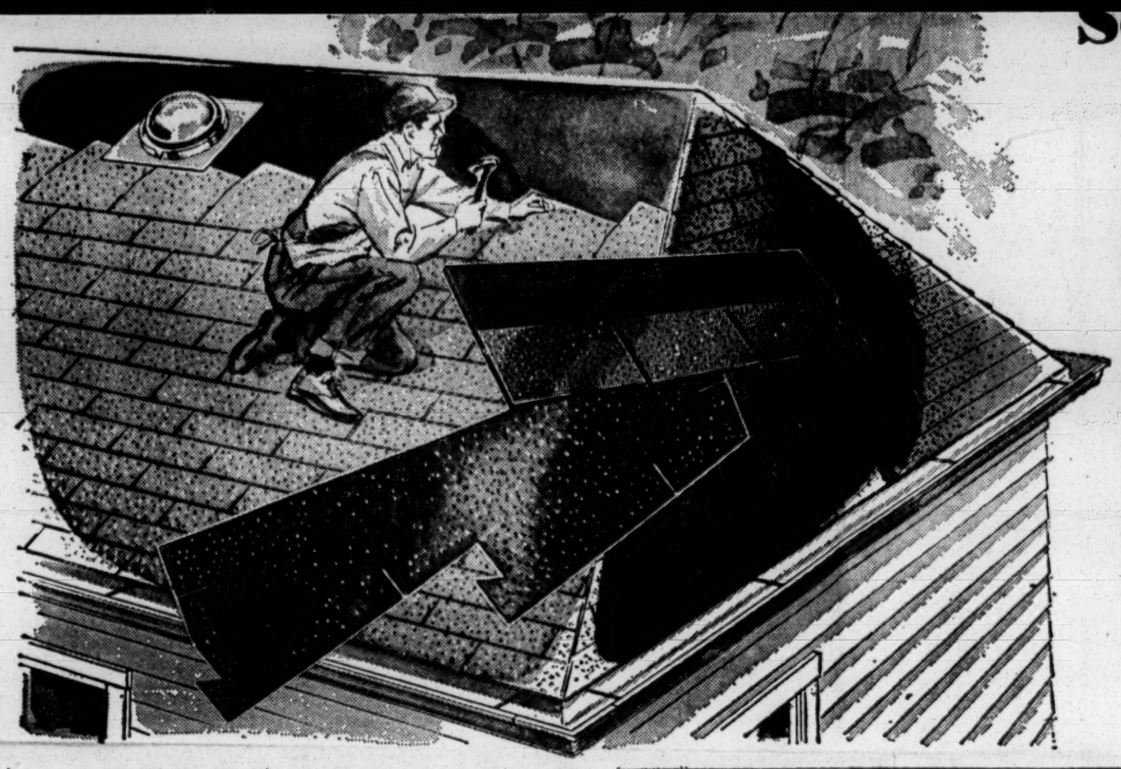

GUARANTEED TILL 1985

20-Year Guarantee

If roof leak should develop because of any defect in roofing shingles or workmanship within 10 years of application, we repair or replace, at our option, free. Pay regular current price for such repair or replacement during next 10 years, subtracting 1/240th of price for each month remaining on guarantee.

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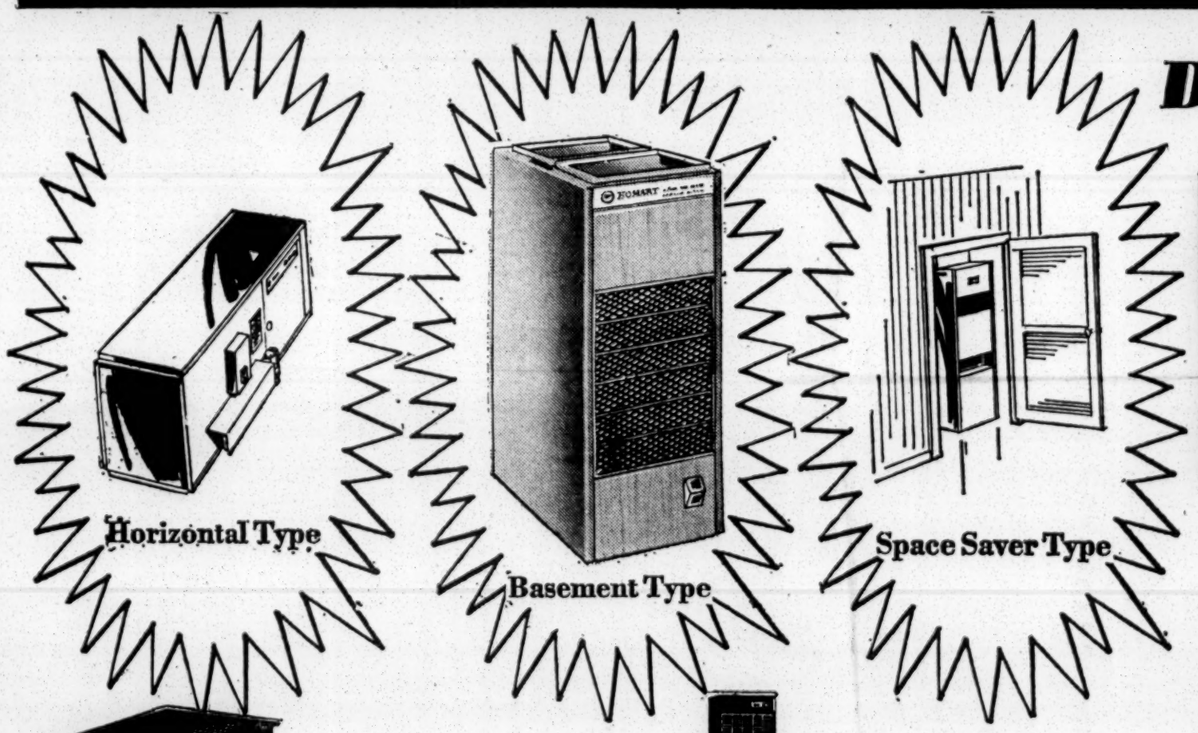

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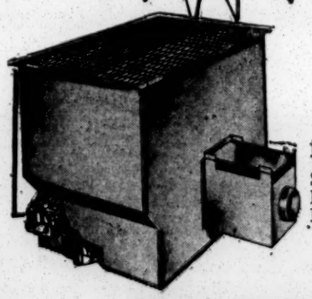
BASEMENT Contact your Sears representative about immediate installation of a Sears Basement Furnace. Choose from a wide array of Basement models. Performance is guaranteed.

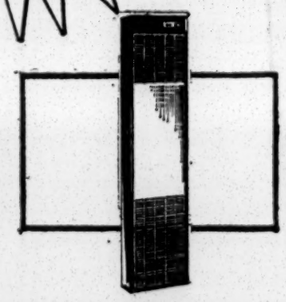
SPACE SAVER Sears space-saving furnace is just that! Let a Sears representative show you just how compactly designed our models are. Now is the time to have your new furnace installed.



Sears "600" Gas Floor Furnaces

Reg. $99.95 **$88**

Space saving . . . fast, comfortable heating. Burner guaranteed for life of furnace. 35,000 BTU's.



Counterflow Gas Wall Furnaces

Reg. $119.95 **$99**

Chimney required. Fan-forced air for warmer floors! Use blower in summer for air circulation. 35,000 BTU's.

SHOP EVERY NIGHT TILL 9:30 Ponce de Leon and Gordon St. till 9

SHOP AT SEARS AND SAVE
Satisfaction Guaranteed or Your Money Back

Sears
SEARS, ROEBUCK AND CO.

PONCE DE LEON 677 Ponce de Leon Ave. 875-8211

GORDON ST. I-20, Ashby at Gordon 758-4511

PEACHTREE ROAD At West Paces Ferry, N.W. 261-6700

COLUMBIA MALL 3570 Memorial Drive 284-8200

MARIETTA 995 Roswell Street 427-4211

See Jacoma Fd. 1967

practices of our nation.

This was apparently an allusion to the fact that the New Year celebration, known in Vietnam as Tet and observed with fervor in both parts of the country, is generally considered to be in effect for at least a week.

Several hours later the clandestine transmitter of the Front, known as Liberation Radio, described the South Vietnamese communiqué as "bellicose in nature." The Front said that Government troops and administrative personnel — apparently meaning village and hamlet chiefs—would refuse to resume the offensive on the morning of Feb. 12 (Saigon time) when the allied truce comes to an

Continued on Page 2, Column 4

STEPHEN CURRIERS LOST ON A FLIGHT

Caribbean Search Is On for New York Philanthropists

Special to The New York Times

SAN JUAN, P. R., Jan. 18—Mr. and Mrs. Stephen R. Currier of New York, who are among the nation's leading philanthropists, were missing today on a flight from Puerto Rico to St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands.

The Coast Guard said they were last heard from 30 minutes after their chartered twin-engine plane left San Juan last night for the 70-mile flight.

Mr. Currier, 36 years old, has been active in supplying funds to promote civil rights. His wife is the daughter of David K. E. Bruce, the United States Ambassador in London, and a granddaughter of Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury from 1921 to 1932.

An intensive sea and air search failed to disclose any trace of the plane, a Piper Apache. A spokesman for the Coast Guard said the search would continue.

The pilot, John D. Watson of San Juan, was the only other person known to have been aboard the aircraft.

The plane, which had been rented from Airplane Charters, Inc., of San Juan, had fuel for five hours when it took off at 6:45 P.M. yesterday. It carried two survival rafts but no flares.

About midway through the flight, the Coast Guard said, the

Continued on Page 18, Column 1

ed area 30 miles northeast of Saigon.

"It looked just like the Fourth of July," said an American military spokesman who watched the air strikes from a helicopter near the target area.

Black Clouds of Smoke

Black clouds of smoke billowing 15,000 feet into the air were seen by a civilian pilot flying near the forest, which is scarred by brown swatches, the results of defoliant chemicals sprayed in the past.

The spokesmen declined to estimate the effectiveness of the fire bombs on the 200-foot trees.

"It looked like a forest fire, except you couldn't see many flames," the civilian pilot said, indicating that the bombs may have set afire some of the forest under the top canopy.

The incendiary bomb strike today was the second of the Vietnam war. The first took place in the Central Highlands in August.

Informed sources said further incendiary bomb raids might be necessary to burn away all the layers of foliage in Zone D.

The bombs were dropped from 30,000 feet. At 8,000 feet they burst out of their canisters and ignited before tumbling into the forest.

A few miles west of today's bombing raid, American troops involved in Operation Cedar

Continued on Page 3, Column 5

Chrysler Recalls 18,124 New Cars

By PAUL HOFMANN

Special to The New York Times

DETROIT, Jan. 18 — The Chrysler Corporation called back tonight 18,124 cars of various 1967 models for possible brake and wiring defects and advised owners of 122,215 other new autos to test their windshield wipers.

The present cold spell in many parts of the nation appears to have contributed to the recall campaign. A corporation spokesman linked the cold to complaints from customers that the wipers of newly bought autos did not work in low temperatures.

Chrysler urged the owners of new Fury, Polara and Monaco models to turn on the wiper switch with the motor running in cold weather to see whether it worked. The corporation said that on an estimated total of

Continued on Page 19, Column 1

sure petition tomorrow, under Rule 22, in an effort to get a two-thirds vote to shut off debate and let the Senate vote directly on the question of altering the rule. He will be joined by Mr. Dirksen.

Mr. Mansfield favors reducing the majority required for closure from two-thirds to three-fifths. Mr. Dirksen favors two-thirds but would be willing to let the Senate vote to alter the rule.

When the 90th Congress opened last week, liberals immediately moved for a change in Rule 22. One of the motions by George McGovern, Democrat of South Dakota, was to reduce the majority required unde

Continued on Page 16, Column 3

EVELYN NESBIT, 82, DIES IN CALIFORNIA

Associated Press

Evelyn Nesbit

By The Associated Press

SANTA MONICA, Calif., Jan. 18 — Evelyn Nesbit, the surviving principal in the sensational Harry K. Thaw—Stanford White murder case of 60 years ago, died in a convalescent home here yesterday, where she had been a patient for more than a year. She was 82 years old.

Miss Nesbit was a showgirl who was married to Thaw, heir to a railroad fortune. In 1906 Thaw killed White, the nation's best-known architect, in what he said was an act of revenge against White's conduct with Miss Nesbit.

After the murder and her st

Continued on Page 31, Column

Stephen Curriers Missing on a Flight

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

pilot requested permission to fly over a Navy exercise area but was told to fly around it. The plane was not heard from again. The weather was reported clear at the time.

When the aircraft did not arrive in St. Thomas on schedule, a search was started by helicopters and air rescue planes from San Juan. The Coast Guard said the operation covered a 2,500-square-mile area.

In addition to a close search of the 80-degree water, rescue planes were also checking the string of tiny, mostly uninhabited islands that lie along the route between San Juan and St. Thomas.

The Curriers were beginning a 10-day vacation in the Caribbean. They arrived in San Juan yesterday afternoon from Boca Raton, Fla., where they had attended a conference of Unban America, Inc., a nonprofit foundation concerned with the problems of American cities. Mr. Currier is president of the organization.

Two of the couple's three children, Andrea, 10, and Lavinia, 9, are in New York. The third, Michael, 6, was in St. Thomas awaiting his parents.

Millions Given

Mr. and Mrs. Currier have quietly given millions of dollars to further civil rights and race relations from behind a publicity-shielding screen of foundations. A public relations firm has worked to keep their names out of the newspapers.

Mrs. Currier has been described by close friends as one of the wealthiest women in the world.

"They both had the deep conviction that they were born rich and had an enormous obligation to society," an associate said.

The Curriers, who were married in 1955, have shunned cafe society and the so-called jet set because "they just didn't believe in it," the friend said.

In 1958, after surveying the social areas served by major foundations and nonprofit corporations, the couple formed the Taconic Foundation to channel funds to groups fighting for civil rights, improved race relations, child welfare and mental health.

The foundation, which has its headquarters on the 35th floor of a building at 666 Fifth Avenue, left the mental health field after the Federal Government authorized funds for research.

$8-Million to Foundation

In the last nine years, a family spokesman said, the Curriers have given $8-million to the Taconic Foundation. In addition, he said, an equally large amount of money has been privately donated by the couple to projects undertaken by the foundation.

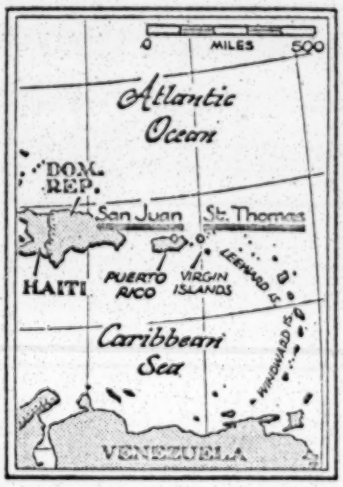
The spokesman gave the Curriers credit for having financed a large part of the voter registration drive among Negroes in the South over the last several years.

The couple have also given large grants for a study of youth employment and urban problems and to community and neighborhood organizations.

Stephen R. Currier

Associated Press

Mrs. Audrey B. Currier



The New York Times Jan. 19, 1967

Area where plane is missing

The Taconic Foundation has also established and supports the Potomac Institute in Washington. Its purpose is to "eliminate discrimination and advance equal opportunity for all Americans."

Last year, Mr. Currier formed Urban America, Inc. which merged the American Planning and Civic Association, a 63-year-old group, with the American Council to Improve Our Neighborhoods (ACTION).

Urban Problems Studied

This group is studying urban problems with the hope of helping to eliminate such problems as bad housing and inadequate planning.

The Curriers have also been working with Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson in her campaign to beautify the nation. The couple recently paid for a study by Lawrence Halprin, a San Francisco landscape architect, that outlined 10 proposals to improve Washington.

One proposal would open a 200-yard wide corridor a mile long in a depressed area near the Anacostia River that would contain pools and gardens.

Mr. Currier is also president of Currier & Co., which manages the family's business interests. He is a general partner in the Allied Casting Corporation, which manufactures precast concrete products.

As a full-time philanthropist, he is a board member of a number of organizations, including the Henry Street Settlement, the United Neighborhood Houses of New York, Inc., the Planning Foundation of America, the Museums of African Art and the United States Committee for the United Nations.

Mrs. Currier, whom a friend described as "painfully shy and retiring," is seemingly content to remain in the background. She is said to spend a good deal of time with her children.

The Mellon family owns control of a number of American businesses, including those in oil, aluminum and shipping. Mrs. Currier's uncle is Paul Mellon, the banker and philanthropist.

Mrs. Currier, the former Audrey Bruce, is a graduate of Radcliffe College, the Foxcroft School in Virginia and the Brierly School in New York. She is the daughter of Ambassador Bruce and Mrs. Ailsa Mellon Bruce. Her parents are divorced.

Mr. Currier, who is soft-spoken, taciturn and also publicity-shy, is the son of the late Richard Currier, a painter who lived in Europe for many years. Mr. Currier's mother, the former Mary Whelan Prue, is now married to Edward M. M. Warburg, a social service executive.

Mr. Currier attended Harvard College, the George School in Bucks County, Pa., and the Horace Mann-Lincoln School and St. Bernard's School in New York.

Missile Shock Wave Glows

VANDENBERG AIR FORCE BASE, Calif., Jan. 18 (AP)—A missile's shock wave was responsible for a strange aerial display viewed throughout the Southwest last night, the Air Force says. As the missile reached an altitude of about 750 miles, a spokesman said, it created a bell-shaped shock wave that was illuminated by the sun.

LONG DOUBTS NEED FOR TAX INCREASE

Senator Says No Economic Case Has Been Made

The chairman of the Senate Finance Committee said last night that "at the moment there is no economic case for the proposed tax increase" asked by President Johnson.

Senator Russell B. Long, Democrat of Louisiana, gave his views in a speech prepared for delivery at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel to the Economic Club of New York. He said "it has not yet been demonstrated that large reductions [in expenditures] cannot be made, nor that expenditures cannot be postponed until some later date."

Specificially, he urged a major slash in the antipoverty program, many of whose activities he termed "of very doubtful value." He also asked for a return of American troops in Europe, both to reduce budget expenditures and to cut the deficit in the balance of international payments.

In general, Mr. Long said "the Congress is disposed to make reductions in new domestic programs and even in old domestic programs before it votes another tax increase."

Senator Long did not completely rule out favorable consideration of a tax increase. But he said:

"It has been suggested by the President that Congress should increase taxes, which would further retard an economy which at this moment is showing signs of becoming sluggish, with the suggestion that, if we do so, the Federal Reserve Board would further ease its tight grip on the nation's money supply.

"We are willing to consider the President's suggestion on some other basis. At the m

See Income Fd. 1968

July 1, 1968

Mr. John G. Simon
President
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10019

Dear John:

This will acknowledge with our most grateful appreciation the Foundation's contribution of $25,000 toward support of the Council's general operations.

We shall, of course, provide the Foundation with periodic program and financial reports on the use of these funds.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

TACONIC FOUNDATION, INC.
666 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

June 12, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Board of Trustees of Taconic Foundation, Inc. has voted to make a grant in support of the general program of Southern Regional Council, Inc.

We are pleased to forward to you at this time, the Foundation's check in the amount of $25,000 for the aforementioned purpose.

In accordance with the Foundation's policy, we shall expect to receive reports on program development during the life of the grant, and we shall expect a full financial accounting at the end of the year.

Sincerely yours,

John G. Simon
John G. Simon Jr.
President

Enclosure

$25,000.00
7-1-68
km